The state and prospects of Jamaica: with appended remarks on its advantages for the cure of pulmonary diseases, and suggestions to invalids and others going to that colony / By the Rev. David King.

JAMAICA.

BY

THE REV. DR KING.
GLASGOW.

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THE

STATE AND PROSPECTS

OF

JAMAICA:

WITH APPENDED REMARKS ON ITS ADVANTAGES FOR THE CURE OF PULMONARY DISEASES, AND SUGGESTIONS TO INVALIDS AND OTHERS GOING TO THAT COLONY.

BY THE

REV. DAVID KING, LL.D.,

GLASGOW.

LONDON:
JOHNSTONE AND HUNTER,
26 PATERNOSTER ROW.
EDINBURGH, 15 PRINCE'S STREET.
MDCCCL.

TO THE

ELDERS, MANAGERS, AND MEMBERS,

OF

GREYFRIARS' CHURCH,

WHOSE INDULGENT KINDNESS IN A TIME OF

DOMESTIC AFFLICTION

ENABLED THEIR PASTOR, THE AUTHOR, TO VISIT JAMAICA,

This Treatise

ON THE STATE AND PROSPECTS OF THAT COLONY,

IS MOST AFFECTIONATELY AND

GRATEFULLY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

MANY large and elaborate works have been written on Jamaica. I have endeavoured, in the following pages, to direct attention to those features of its condition and prospects which are most interesting to the christian and the philanthropist. The subject is beset with delicacies. I leave the discerning reader to find out what these are, and to decide how far I have steered my way through them successfully.

Faithfulness has required me to present, in some instances, the dark as well as the bright side of objects. I am very desirous that a strong and united effort should be made on behalf of the colony; but I do not wish zeal to be enlisted under misapprehension; and though isolated facts may furnish matter of cavil to those who are disposed for cavilling, I am per-

suaded that Jamaica would not, on the whole, gain by concealment, and that the best advocacy of its claims is the fullest statement of the truth.

Yet I have not felt myself bound to expose and censure whatever seemed to me amiss in the government of religious societies with which I am not connected. From such party criminations I have abstained, in the belief that they could do no good, and that they would likely be productive of mischief. There are cases in which private communication is better fitted than public disquisition to promote reform.

I would have rejoiced to detail the labours of many missionaries, equally able and faithful as those whom I have noticed with commendation: but the nature and limits of my work required me to proceed on a principle of selection, and to select the examples best known to myself. When stating unquestioned facts, I have not considered it necessary to crowd my pages with references; but wherever I have come on debateable ground, I have given my authorities.

I owe much to kind friends of various re-

ligious denominations in Jamaica. They will find evidence, I trust, in this volume, that I have not forgotten their kindness, and that now, when a wide sea divides us, I am solicitous to continue united with them in affection, and in seeking the good of their lovely but afflicted island. Let us supplicate on all our endeavours the divine favour and blessing. 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.' 'Let the beauty of the Lord our God be upon us, and establish thou the work of our hands upon us; yea, the work of our hands establish thou it.'

GLASGOW, *April* 18, 1850.

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GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JAMAICA.

JAMAICA is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, about four thousand miles south-west from Great Britain. It is one of a chain of islands which extends in the form of a curve from Florida in North America, to the mouths of the Orinco in South America. This grand insular group comprises Cuba, Haïti, Jamaica, Porto Rico, the Bahamas, and the Leeward and Windward Islands. It is the opinion of geologists that these islands belonged at one period to the great American continent, and that they are to be regarded as the higher elevations of former land which is now extensively submerged. Mrs Somerville, in her 'Physical Geography,' characterises them as 'the wreck of a submerged part of the con-

tinent of South and Central America.'* She makes the following remarks regarding the island of which I have more particularly to treat:—'Jamaica, the most valuable of the British possessions in the West Indies, has an area of 4256 square miles, of which 110,000 acres are cultivated chiefly as sugar-plantations. The principal chain of the Blue Mountains lies in the centre of the island, from east to west, 5000 or 6000 feet above the sea, with so sharp a crest that in some places it is only four yards across. The offsets from it cover all the eastern part of the island; some of them are 7000 feet high. The more elevated ridges are flanked by lower ranges, descending to verdant savannahs. The escarpments are wild, the declivities steep, and mingled with stately forests. The valleys are very narrow, and not more than a twentieth part of the island is level ground. There are many small rivers, and the coast-line is 500 miles long, with at least 30 good harbours. The mean summer

* Vol. i. p. 162. This opinion is not new. Mr B. Edwards, whose work was published in 1793, says, Vol. i. p. 23, 'The West Indies are generally considered as the tops of lofty mountains, the eminences of a great continent, converted into islands.'

heat is 80° of Fahrenheit, and that of winter 75°. The plains are often unhealthy, but the air on the mountains is salubrious; fever has never prevailed at the elevation of 2500 feet.' An Almanac, published in the island, represents, on the authority of Martin, the cold ridge of Blue Mountains as reaching a height of 8148 feet. As to the comparative healthfulness of different localities, I shall have occasion to speak in another part of this Treatise.

In conventional geography, Jamaica is divided into three counties, Surrey, Middlesex, and Cornwall, and these counties are subdivided into twenty-two parishes. Kingston, the principal town, is on the south side of the island; it is supposed to contain about 20,000 inhabitants. Spanish Town is the seat of government. It is also on the south side, but is somewhat inland, being situated on the banks of the river Cobre, about six miles from the sea. This town makes a diminutive capital, and it would present rather a poor appearance if its general unattractiveness were not relieved by the superb palace of the Governor, and the associated public offices. The island contains in all about thirty towns

and villages. In 1844, the entire population, according to the New Jamaica Almanac, was 367,433. I have not been able to ascertain, with any approach to precision, the proportions of whites, coloured people, and blacks. It is obvious to any observer, that the whites are comparatively very few, and all witnesses unite in attesting that they have greatly decreased and are still decreasing in number. The coloured people are the mixed race; and they receive various names according to the affinity they have to European and African ancestry. A mulatto is the offspring of a white and a black, a sambo the offspring of a black and a mulatto, a quadroon is the offspring of a white and a mulatto, and a mestee the offspring of a white and a quadroon. These names indicate, it will be observed, successive removes from black. Formerly a person of colour yet more removed from the pure negro, as, for example, the child of a mestee by a white man, was white in the estimation of the law, and had the privileges of white subjects. Even the pure negroes have varying shades of blackness. Some of them are almost brown, while the skin

of others is of a jet black, and has the smoothness and lustre of polished marble. They present diversities not only of complexion, but also of make and features, and we learn from their appearance, as well as from history, that they differ widely in their extraction. The women in general have a noble gait and bearing. Probably the practice, very common among them, of carrying heavy loads upon their heads, has given them their erect stature, and vigorous muscular action. The blacks do not like to be called negroes; they regard the latter appellation as one of the badges of slavery, and it is creditable to them that they give such tokens of self-respect. I cannot dispense with the word negro in these pages; but my sable readers, if I should have any, will perceive that I use it inoffensively.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF JAMAICA.

JAMAICA was discovered by Columbus. The object which that great navigator proposed to himself, in planning his expedition, was not, as some have imagined, to introduce a new world to the knowledge of the old, but to find out a westward course to India. On discovering Cuba and Haïti, he supposed his end to be gained, and concluded that these islands must be some part of the eastern extremity of Asia. After the inaccuracy of this opinion had been demonstrated, the name *Indies* continued to be applied to the countries discovered by Columbus; and to distinguish them from Asiatic territories which the Portuguese had succeeded in reaching by an eastern route, they were designated the West Indies. Hence also the natives, both of the Columbian archipelago, and the American continent, were improperly called *Indians*.

Columbus discovered Jamaica in his second expedition to the western world. In his first voyage he had failed to ascertain whether Cuba was an island or part of a continent. Now he was determined to settle that question, and while with that view he was sailing along the southern coast of Cuba, on Saturday, the 3d May, 1494, he descried on the left the high lands of Jamaica. In clear weather, its majestic mountains are very discernible objects at a great distance. I shall not readily forget the impression which they made on me when I first saw them. A protracted voyage gives one strange and almost distressing conceptions of the domination of the sea. From day to day, and week to week, the waters—the circumscribed unvarying waters—present themselves to the eye, long ago wearied with their monotony and solitude. A feeling is induced as if the reign of Neptune pervaded the globe, and as if land, should it anywhere appear, might barely rise above the surface, and cause a slight irregularity in the line of the horizon. This illusion was pleasantly dissipated to our travelling party by the sight of the West Indian islands, and especially by the blue ridge

of Jamaica, transcending, when we came in view of it, successive grades of clouds which encircled its lower elevations, and lifting above all a cloudless summit, which seemed to look down from heaven in serene and glorious security on the impotent agitations of the subjacent ocean.

To resume the narrative:—'On the following morning (after Jamaica had been discovered), by the earliest opening of the day, six Indians were on the beach making signals of amity; and it was soon ascertained that they were a deputation from the chiefs with proffers of peace and goodwill. On being received by Columbus with corresponding sentiments, and sent back with a present of trinkets, in a short time the harbour swarmed with the naked and painted multitude, bringing with them an abundance of provisions of the same kind, but of superior quality to what had been found in the islands previously visited. This intercourse also afforded an opportunity for gaining some insight into the character of the rude tribe. Their canoes were better constructed than any hitherto discovered, being painted and carved both at the prow and stern, and many of great size, though made out of

the trunks of single trees, chiefly of a variety of mahogany. Irving says, that one measured by Columbus was ninety-six feet long and eight broad, hollowed out of a single tree, many of which were growing like verdant towers. Each cacique seemed to pride himself on having a regal barge of this kind.' *

Columbus is said to have learned from the natives that the island was called Jamaica, or rather, as the word used to be written by Spanish historians, Xaymaca. The meaning of this name, in the language of the Indians, is supposed to have been the 'land of springs.' In many districts the character of the island corresponds with the appellation. This is especially the case with St Ann's Parish. 'No part of the West Indies,' says Bryan Edwards, 'that I have seen, abounds with so many delicious streams. Every valley has its rivulet, and every hill its cascades. In one point of view, where the rocks overhang the ocean, no less than eight transparent water-falls are beheld in the same moment.' † But many parts of the island suffer from drought. The inhabitants must fetch water

* Jamaica Enslaved and Free, p. 10. † Vol. i. p. 187.

from a distance of many miles, or must collect and preserve rain-water in artificial reservoirs.

As Columbus, in his fourth voyage, was sailing to Haïti from Veragua, he was overtaken by a tempest which compelled him to bear away, with his vessels shattered, for Jamaica, and take refuge in one of its little harbours on the north side, nine years after the island had been discovered by him. His two ships were so damaged as not to admit of being repaired, and more than a year elapsed before he could find the means of returning to Spain. During this long stay in Jamaica, he was afflicted at once by the cruelty of the governor of Haïti, who responded to his calls for succour in terms of refusal and mockery, and also by the impatience and disaffection of his own followers. The natives also, goaded to hostilities by the Spaniards, threatened him with destruction, and it was then he availed himself of his scientific knowledge to foretell an eclipse of the moon, which, at the moment predicted, shed its gloom on the superstitious Indians, and awed them into a ready acceptance of his terms.

At the time when the West Indies were discovered by Columbus, some of these islands

were inhabited by a very fierce race, called Charaibes, or Caribbees. They were of a most warlike disposition, and filled neighbouring islands with the terror of their incursions and depredations. It is said to have been a practice amongst them, so soon as a male child was born, to baptize him with his father's blood, in the idea that the son would inherit the imperturbable courage displayed by the parent in this sanguinary ceremonial. They are alleged to have been faithful and generous to one another: but they devoured greedily the carcases of their enemies. Columbus himself, when he landed at Guadaloupe, on its first discovery, observed in several huts the detached limbs of human bodies, which were evidently preserved to be used for food. He liberated also a number of captives who had been manifestly destined to this horrid fate.

There has been a good deal of discussion as to the origin of this race of savage warriors. Martyn believes them to have been a colony from the Charaibes of South America. Bryan Edwards says—'It may be thought, perhaps, that the continental Charaibes were themselves emigrants from the northern to the southern

peninsula. But without attempting to controvert the position to which recent discoveries seem indeed to have given a full confirmation, namely, that the Asiatic continent first furnished inhabitants to the contiguous north-western parts of America, I conceive the Charaibes to have been a distinct race, widely differing from all the nations of the new hemisphere; and I am even inclined to adopt the opinion of Hornius, and other writers, who ascribe to them an Oriental ancestry from across the Atlantic.'

The Charaibes were in possession of the Windward Islands. A mild and peaceful race inhabited Cuba, Haïti, Jamaica, and Porto Rico. The account given by Columbus of the natives of Haïti was applicable to the inhabitants of all these islands. In his journal he says, 'So loving, so tractable, so peaceful are these people, that I swear to your Majesties there is not in the world a better nation, or a better land. They love their neighbours as themselves; and their discourse is ever sweet and gentle, and accompanied with a smile; and though it is true that they are naked, yet their manners are decorous and praiseworthy.' Yet Columbus

himself was so far imbued with the spirit of his times, that he sent five hundred of these Indians as prisoners of war to Spain, with a suggestion that they might be sold as slaves at Seville! This is a sad exception to the general humanity of the great voyager. Rochefort suggests that the extent and population of the larger islands had probably preserved the natives from being vanquished and exterminated like smaller communities by Caribbean invaders. But this inoffensive people were spared by heathen barbarians only to perish by the murderous hands of nominal christians. It has been estimated that the Spanish nation, in effecting the conquest of the New World, slaughtered more than ten millions of our species. Dr Robertson, who speaks as softly as he can of these atrocities, confesses that within fifteen years after the discovery of the West Indies, the Spaniards had reduced the natives of Haïti from a million to sixty thousand. 'The Spaniards,' says Bryan Edwards, 'distributed the Indians into lots, and compelled them to dig in the mines, without rest or intermission, until death, their only refuge, put a period to their sufferings. Such as attempted

resistance or escape, their merciless tyrants hunted down with dogs, which were fed on their flesh. They disregarded sex and age, and with impious and frantic bigotry, even called in religion to sanctify their cruelty! Some more zealous than the rest forced their miserable captives into the water, and after administering to them the rite of baptism, cut their throats the next moment to prevent their apostacy! Others made a vow to hang or burn thirteen every morning in honour of our Saviour and the twelve apostles! . . . . They had an emulation which of them could most dexterously strike off the head of a man at a blow, and wagers frequently depended on this hellish exercise.'*

When the British captured Jamaica from the Spaniards, in 1655, there was not an Indian left in the island. Probably the last of them had expired at a much earlier period. Like most regions abounding in calcareous rocks, Jamaica is remarkable for the number and magnitude of its caves. In like cavities of European countries, geologists have found the bones of extinct species of carnivorous and

* Vol. i. p. 86.

herbivorous animals. I am not aware that any such fossils have been discovered in Jamaica, but some of its caves are strewed with the bones of human beings; and the configuration of the skulls, which had been artificially compressed in infancy, leaves no room for doubting that these are the remains of native Indians, who had sought shelter in the gloom of such recesses from menacing destruction, and had there died from hunger, or the weapons of their assailants.

With what fearful conceptions of christianity did these hapless sufferers bid adieu to the world! I have sometimes said to myself in Jamaica, 'Oh that these dry bones might live, that these Indians might be recalled to us, were it only for an hour, to be told of the abhorrence with which enlightened christians now contemplate their wrongs, and to hear the true doctrines of the gospel of Christ affectionately expounded to them!' The wish is vain; but Jamaica, in these times, is mostly peopled by a race only less injured than were the former inhabitants. We there behold the expatriated and once-enslaved Africans, and we have ample opportunities of teaching them the truth as it is in Jesus. They

do not exhibit all the docility which some had ascribed to them; but we shall perceive, in the prosecution of our subject, that their very unteachableness results, in a great measure, from the operation of that bondage to which we subjected them, and for the effects of which we are responsible, and that it therefore increases their claims on our efforts to instruct them. Let it not be the distinction between us and the Spaniards, that they butchered their victims, and that we, having captured and corrupted men, suffer them to perish.

When the Spaniards had exterminated the Indians, they provided for the cultivation of the soil by the importation of Negro slaves; and thus commenced that system of manstealing and oppression which British conquerors adopted, and for ages perpetuated.

Jamaica was taken by the English on the 3d of May, 1655. To punish the outrages of Spain, and re-establish the maritime supremacy of England, by enlarging her colonial territories, Cromwell had fitted out an expedition for the capture of Haïti. Admiral Penn and General Venables commanded the armament, which

consisted of 6500 men. They failed in their attempt on the capital of the Spanish settlements; and then, to make some amends for this discomfiture, they attacked Jamaica, which capitulated after a brief and feeble resistance.

The British found the island in a miserable condition. The number of white inhabitants, including women and children, did not exceed 1500; and it is supposed that there was about an equal number of Africans.

Cultivation was limited, on the south side of the island, to the more favourable localities; and the whole of the north side, from east to west, seems to have been an uncultivated and uninhabited desert. The country, however, abounded in horned cattle, and horses running wild; and it is supposed by Sedgewick, that the British soldiers killed 20,000 of them within four months. Goodson speaks of horses being in such plenty, that they were accounted the vermin of the island. For a time, the resources of the country were wasted by the British soldiery, with the view of rendering it uninhabitable, and creating a necessity for their recall. But the English Government was not disposed to part with this

colony; and therefore it adopted such measures as might moderate the self-caused distress of the army, and secure the continued subjection of the island to the British crown. For five years after the taking of the island by the British, it was under military government. Colonel D'Oyley was at the head of the first civil administration. Parliament raised him to the office of Governor in 1661, and he was confirmed in this appointment at the Restoration.

It is foreign to my design, however, to furnish lists of British governors and commanders-in-chief, who have successively held sway in the island, and to detail the elements of political institutions and the changes they have undergone. I will introduce facts, whether geographical or historical, whenever they are needed, to illustrate my meaning or confirm my conclusions. At present, I pass on to notice those important enactments by which, after many conflicts between masters and slaves, the system of involuntary servitude was brought to a conclusion. Under the premiership of Earl Grey, Lord Stanley, then secretary for the colonies, submitted, in 1833, to the Reformed

Parliament, an Act of Emancipation, which contains the following provisions:—

'Be it enacted, that all and every the persons who on the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in slavery within any such British colony as aforesaid, shall, upon and from and after the said first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes free, and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and for ever manumitted; and that the children thereafter born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be free from their birth; and that from and after the first day of August, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad.'

The bill also provided for compensation to the planters, who eventually received twenty millions to indemnify them for their loss: and it substituted for slavery a scheme of apprenticeship

which was to last for twelve years, and then give place to unrestricted freedom.

This great measure obtained the sanction of the British Legislature, and it was hailed by the negroes as an invaluable boon, and by all the friends of humanity as constituting a new and glorious era in the history of the British Empire.

But the system of apprenticeship did not work well. The planters took advantage of it to exercise, as far as they could, their former power over the negro; and the very fact that a long-valued authority was passing out of their hands, tempted them to make the most of it while it lasted, and to inflict unwonted severities on their labourers. On the other hand, the negroes could not understand why they should be emancipated and yet oppressed, and they endeavoured to elude the restraints of the apprenticeship, and to extort from it, by anticipation, the advantages of liberty. The lash, the tread-wheel, the chain-gang, were brought into requisition, and kept in vigorous action under the auspices of a special magistracy, to subdue refractory apprentices, and keep them at their

tasks. But torture only aggravated irritation, and but for the influence of the governor and the missionaries, and the less austere magistrates, dissatisfaction might have ripened into open and general rebellion. Reports of what was passing reached Britain, and revived the anti-slavery agitation. Deputations from England, Scotland, and Ireland besieged Downing Street and Westminster Hall. Petitions, praying for the total extinction of bondage, and subscribed by more than a million petitioners, were presented in the House of Commons. A tide which no human power could resist had set in, and 'at length,' says Mr Phillippo, 'the advocates of liberty, and the champions of the oppressed, reaped the glorious reward of their self-denying and philanthropic labours. On the glorious and never-to-be-forgotten 1st of August, 1838, 800,000 African bondmen were made fully and unconditionally free.'

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF JAMAICA.

THOUGH Jamaica is not a land of romance, it presents many important subjects of scrutiny and reflection to a thoughtful mind. We are there invited to consider how far a race of different clime, lineage, and colour from ourselves, have distinguishing mental attributes—what properties were developed by slavery where it was long and fully established—what effects have followed from its more recent and entire abolition—what success has attended the preaching of the gospel where numerous missionaries have prosecuted their benevolent enterprises for a long series of years—and what the present distress of the colony requires at the hands of enlightened philanthropists.

These queries are highly important, but they are also of difficult solution. The facts to which

they relate have had a mutual and complex influence; and the most careful analysis could not enable the shrewdest observer to decide, in every instance, how much an individual agency has contributed to the aggregate result. The condition of the negro, as he is found in Jamaica, is no doubt a chronicle of the dire vicissitudes which have befallen his expatriated people; but it is only the God of providence who can perfectly decipher the characters in which his dispensations are thus recorded.

Even though we should attain to an accurate knowledge of one section of this colony, it might furnish very inadequate grounds for general conclusions. The several parts of the island present great natural diversities. In some districts the ground is low and flat; in others, huge ridges of mountains elevate their heads through the clouds; and the temperature, of course, changes with these varying elevations.

'On this subject,' says Mr B. Edwards, 'I speak from actual experience. In a maritime situation, on the sultry plains of the south side, near the town of Kingston, where I chiefly resided during the space of fourteen years, the

general medium of heat during the hottest months (from June to November, both inclusive) was 80° on Fahrenheit's thermometer. At a villa eight miles distant, in the high land of Liguanea, the thermometer seldom rose, in the hottest part of the day, above seventy. Here then, was a difference of ten degrees in eight miles, and in the morning and evening the difference was much greater. At Cold Spring, six miles further in the country, the general state of the thermometer is from 55° to 65°. It has been observed so low there as 44°: so that a fire, even at noon-day, is not only comfortable but necessary a great part of the year.'*

Some localities are humid to excess, while others adjacent to them are characteristically arid, and may not have a shower, or almost any perceptible dew, for many weeks in succession. The Bog Walk, for example, by which Spanish Town is approached from the north, is for ever drenched with rains; while Spanish Town itself is arid and scorched, and, owing to its deficiency of moisture, appears like a town built in a desert. I may remark

* Vol. i. p. 189.

in passing, that the Bog Walk, to which I have adverted, is one of the finest sights in the island. It tempts the colonists to 'glory in the flowing valley.'* A torrent gushing in misty depths, and fighting its downward course among scattered rocks, the narrowness of the long ravine or den through which it rushes, and the steepness and loftiness of the precipices on either side, with the richness and variety of tropical vegetation growing in all the exuberance of its foliage on every spot where a plant can rest—these features unite in imparting to the scene all the imposing effect of blending beauty and grandeur.

The diversities of the island have been increased by conventional causes. Where so much was committed to masters in the time of slavery, their power was exercised in very different manners. On some estates the slaves were cared for and kept together, and formed into a compact and orderly community. On other estates all sorts of slaves were associated in the field, as chance or avarice dictated, and the absence of affinity and sympathy among the

* Jer. xlix. 4.

members of these ill-assorted gangs, prepared them for every species of turbulent feud and dissolute conduct. Above all, the presence or absence of missionaries affected the moral complexion of neighbourhoods. In some quarters the supply of instruction was nearly as adequate as in most parishes of Great Britain. In others, the credulous inhabitants were left to their own superstitions, and the merciless sway of their sordid soothsayers. These places, viewed relatively to evangelised districts, presented all the contrast which exists between christianity and heathenism, between civilisation and savagism.

If the island abounded in facilities for intercommunication, its towns, villages, and country sides would exert on each other an assimilating efficacy. But the ends of the earth have more intercourse than the extremes of Jamaica. Between its principal towns no stage coaches run; around its coast no steamers ply. The means of travelling must be owned by the traveller, or borrowed from his friends, or hired at exorbitant charges; and he is surprised, as he passes along, to find the price of provisions halved or doubled in contiguous parishes.

At one stage he hears of urgent need for labourers; at another he is called to compassionate multitudes who are out of work. But he meets with none of the unemployed hasting to the scene of proffered employment; nor does almost any interchange of intelligence appear to cross the stream, or hill, or hedge by which demand and supply are dissociated. It is thought more practicable to bring Europeans or Coolies to Jamaica, than translate its own supernumerary workmen from its towns to its estates, from its plains to its mountains. I was told that the island had expended nearly a million of pounds sterling in bringing Irish, German, and Indian labourers to its shores, and this at the very time when many of its estates were abandoned, and its own population on these estates were thrown out of employment.

It is not to be wondered at, in these circumstances, that the accounts of Jamaica given by its own inhabitants are full of seeming contradictions. The persons with whom we speak may be of antagonist parties, and may have conflicting interests. But though no such source of prejudice should exist, and the statements made

should be informed and honest, yet the representations may appear to be incongruous and irreconcileable, because they respect different vicinities, and what is true of one district may be altogether inaccurate if understood of another.

For these reasons, it is difficult to give a general view of Jamaica which shall not be faulty, or, at all events, held to be so by formidable objectors. But the task, within certain limits, may, after all, be practicable. When missionaries of different denominations, and coming from opposite directions, were convened for friendly deliberations, during my visit to Jamaica, I found them of one mind on points of essential importance; and the many discrepancies of opinion which one encounters give credence and weight to coincidences of sentiment.

IMPORTANCE ATTACHING TO THE BLACK AND COLOURED POPULATION.

THE prosperity of Jamaica is, in no small degree, entrusted to its white inhabitants. Very much depends on the moral example which they set before their servants—on the encouragement which they give to ecclesiastical and educational institutions—and on the spirit of enterprise with which they prosecute commercial and agricultural pursuits. It is true that the attempts which have been made to import European labourers have not hitherto been very successful. The failures, however, in these efforts at immigration, have generally resulted from indiscretions sufficient to account for their occurrence; and I am unable to perceive why, in the higher and cooler districts, having nearly the same temperature as the most salubrious European countries, the health of any class of settlers should suffer from the climate.

But while the white inhabitants are, to a great extent, the guides and guardians of the island, it is not by their hands mainly that its fields are to be tilled or its produce gathered. The hard work, especially in the lower grounds, must be performed by 'children of the sun:' and even the proprietorship of estates is passing into the hands of 'brown ladies and gentlemen.' To form, then, a just estimate of the condition of the island, and of its future prospects, we must attend very particularly to the capacities, dispositions, and habits of the black and coloured portions of its population. Under this conviction, I will give to the claims of a fair complexion only incidental and occasional attention in the following pages; and I will make it my principal endeavour to portray faithfully the mental characteristics of the bulk of the community, who are purely or partially of negro descent.

PLEASING FEATURES IN THE NEGRO CHARACTER.

I.—THE NEGROES ARE PEACEABLY DISPOSED.

It is perfectly obvious that the negroes are of a peaceful, unvengeful disposition. The white inhabitants are exceedingly few. The constabulary and military put together are a most inconsiderable force; but the blacks remain contentedly poor and submissive under their European superiors. They have suffered unspeakably more at the hands of aggressors than the Celts of the 'Emerald Isle.' Yet we meet in Jamaica with no such rancorous feelings towards Anglo-Saxons as have long agitated and distracted Ireland. On the contrary, it is a weakness in the character of the negro that he admires Buckra as a model of behaviour, and consequently imitates vices which ought to be abhorred. Deeds of violence proceeding from any impulse are of unfrequent occurrence, and robberies and murders occupy a small

section in the calendar of crime. It is true that the miseries of slavery occasioned at different periods insurrections among the blacks. Even run-away negroes caused serious troubles in the island. The Maroon rebellion, which lasted from August 12th, 1795, till March 18th, 1796, was particularly formidable and eventful in its character. The Maroons* were fugitive slaves, who, having fled from Spanish or British masters, took refuge among woods and mountains, where they established themselves, and increased in number, till they were emboldened to sally from their fastnesses, and make incursions on the whites. Many skirmishes took place, in which the Maroons were generally successful. One of their leaders, called Cudjoe, greatly distinguished himself by his tact and spirit, and under his generalship they bade defiance to all attacks, and carried on a regular war with the Government.

* 'The term Maroon seems to be from the Spanish *simaran*, said to signify an ape, but more probably from *sima*, a mountain or dale to which they retreat. Simarron is, however, a general term for wild: thus tobacco simarron is wild tobacco in Estallo, and other writers.'—*Pinkerton's Geog.*, vol. iii. p. 397.

At length Governor Trelawny, despairing of a successful issue to the contest, entered into a treaty with the insurgents, by which they were declared free, and had tracts of land and various privileges assigned them.

This pacification was respected on both sides, till the ignominious punishment of a Maroon, who was publicly whipped by a work-house driver, for stealing a hog from a white settler, wounded the pride and roused the indignation of all that class of people. They demanded satisfaction for this insult, and an extension of their privileges. Lord Balcarras, the lieutenant-governor, withstood their menacing demands, insisted on peaceable submission, and when his proclamation was disregarded, proclaimed martial law, August 1st, 1795, and marched several regiments of regular troops to the insurgent districts. He hoped, by a prompt and vigorous effort to crush the revolt. His anticipations were disappointed. In the first action which took place, the Maroons defeated a body of 400 soldiers, and killed their commander, Colonel Sandford, with thirty more of his party. In a subsequent engagement, Colonel Fitch met with

similar discomfiture. Losses multiplied on the side of the British, till it became ignominiously manifest that the military strength of the island was no match for a handful of Maroon rebels. Consternation seized the colonists, and they prevailed on Lord Balcarras to send to Cuba for 200 blood-hounds, to be employed in the war. This expedient had the desired effect; and by the dreaded aid of these auxiliaries, though they were sparingly brought into action, the lives of the British were saved, and their ascendancy was re-established. General Walpole promised the Maroons like privileges as they formerly possessed. But the Governor and Assembly refused to ratify this article of peace; and having got the Maroons under their power, drove most of them from the island.

In this recital the negroes sustain a warlike character; and though they are said not to have forgotten the maxim, that discretion is the best part of valour, certainly the narrative shows that they have no natural incapacity for martial deeds. But proofs of their peaceableness mix in the tragic story. Some of the Maroons held sacred the treaty of their fathers with Governor Tre-

lawny, and not only did not join in the new insurrection, but helped the British in suppressing it. The slave population also remained quiet, neither aiding the Maroons, nor taking advantage of the troubles of the whites to achieve their own emancipation. Mr Stewart mentions the following instance of attachment on the part of a slave to his master, as well attested by several respectable gentlemen, who were eye-witnesses of the facts: 'During the ambuscade-attack of the Maroons on Lieutenant-Colonel Sandford's party of dragoons and militia, at a narrow defile leading from the New to Old Trelawny Maroon Town, a gentleman's negro servant, being close to his master, and observing a Maroon's piece levelled at him, he instantly threw himself between him and the danger, and received the shot in his body. Happily it did not prove mortal, and the faithful slave lived to enjoy the well-earned fruits of his master's gratitude.'*

On such grounds, one of the speakers at a great meeting held lately in Kingston was warranted to say of the African race, from whom he boldly declared himself to be descended: 'We

* Page 254.

are willing to be loyal and good subjects; but while we are so, we feel that the parent government has its duties also. We have never been a rebellious, but a loyal people; and our records can establish that fact.'

II.—THEY ARE MODERATELY INDUSTRIOUS.

Though the negro has the indolence natural to countries which afford the means of subsistence with little exertion, and which is especially characteristic of tropical climates, this fact has been often exaggerated. Their indolence seldom degenerates into absolute idleness. Few negroes refuse to work any, and prefer to beg rather than dig. I do not recollect a single instance in which one of them approached me as a mendicant, and asked alms from me. This circumstance is not to be explained by the fertility or by any peculiarity of the soil. For the Coolies, many of whom might just as easily maintain themselves as the Africans, run about in great numbers asking charity.

III.—THEY ARE OF QUICK APPREHENSION IN EARLY LIFE.

Any one who visits and examines schools in which white and black children are educated together, may satisfy himself that dissimilarity of colour indicates, at least in early life, no disparity of talent. If there be any difference, the sable competitors have more commonly the advantage in the junior classes; and should the offspring of Europeans begin to acquire an ascendancy when they reach the higher branches of education, it remains to be determined how far this turning of the scales must be ascribed to original mental constitution, or may be accounted for by extrinsic influences, and especially by the most powerful of all modelling agencies—domestic stimulus and training.

IV.—THEY HAVE TENDER SUSCEPTIBILITIES—SHOWN IN THE CASE OF SHIPMATES.

The negroes are not insensible to the power of tender and delicate associations. I shall support this statement by a curious example. To have been brought together in the same slave ship, from the land of their fathers to their house of

bondage, might seem to be a casual circumstance likely to be forgotten or unpleasantly remembered. But this fellowship in wrongs and sufferings endears the blacks to each other; and they will travel many miles, and forego many comforts, to solace their shipmates in times of adversity and sickness. I was told of an elderly woman, who fell into bad health. As she had no relations to wait on her, and no comforts reserved for the day of trouble, her bodily sufferings were aggravated by solitude and penury. A younger woman, who was then house-servant to a respectable family, evinced the deepest interest in the case, so soon as it was known to her. With the permission of her mistress, which was tearfully asked, she paid almost daily visits to the hovel of the invalid, which was distant some miles; and she took with her, at her own expense, every sort of cordial which might administer relief. Her attentions kept pace with the progress of malady; and an observer of the facts would have certainly inferred that the affection manifested was filial, and that he beheld a devoted daughter tending, with eager solicitude, the dying moments of a beloved

mother. Yet the only tie uniting the parties was that of having crossed the ocean in the same slaver. Surrounded by the filth, sickness, and death of that floating hell, they had found themselves squeezed together in the crowd of victims, and had interchanged words of comfort, amid the darkness of the night, the howlings of the storm, and the groans of the expiring. The younger of the voyagers believed herself to have been the more benefited of the two, by this woe-generated intimacy; and she deemed no assiduity of attentions an adequate acknowledgment of the sympathising companionship which had mitigated the wretchedness of that terrific passage.

The recollection of this co-partnery in grief is even transmitted from parent to child, and is accounted a ground of mutual kindness through successive generations.

V.—THEY ARE CIVIL AND COURTEOUS.

The civility of the blacks seemed to me to be a marked feature in their character. I have heard many of them asked frivolous and useless

questions by their equals or inferiors; and in no instance did they return a rude answer.* They can be obliging as well as courteous. When I was once attempting to shorten a journey by taking cross roads, I found myself suddenly arrested by a wall. The stones of it were not cemented by lime or mortar, but it had been carefully constructed, and it was rather high and massive. I asked a negro, who was on the other side, whether we were near any opening through which I might pass. He replied, No, massa, but me soon make one. He called on another negro to help him; and soon a gap was made in the wall,

* Mr Stewart mentions one example of a disrespectful reply by a negro, made, however, in circumstances by which it was sufficiently explained and justified:—'A master of an African trader, travelling in Jamaica, and not knowing his way, inquired of a negro, whom he met, the road to Mr ——'s house. The negro recognising him to be the captain of the ship in which he had been brought from his native country, eyed him with a look of ineffable contempt, without making any reply. On the question being reiterated, he replied with much indignation, as conceiving himself jested with by one who had injured him so deeply: "*You want for make fool of me—no?—you can find pass go in a Guinea country bring me come here, but you can't find pass go in a massa house,*"' (p. 258–9.) The reader has here a specimen of the broken English spoken by the blacks.

through which I could ride with safety. The injury done to a well-built fence gave me some concern. But my friendly pioneers soon relieved me on that point. No sooner was I through the barrier than they applied themselves to rebuild what they had demolished, and they left the repaired part in as good condition as they found it.

VI.—THEY ARE NOT WITHOUT A SENSE OF HONOUR.

Several instances were mentioned to me, where an appeal to the honour of negroes was responded to commendably. Mr K—— of S—— had a property, on which there stood many cottages, occupied by negroes at the period of their emancipation. When the law of England pronounced them to be free, Mr K. brought them together, and told them that he wished their freedom to include their habitations as well as their persons. He desired them to be not moveable tenants, but independent proprietors of the houses in which they dwelt. He then conducted them from house to house, and marked the value of each with chalk on its door. They were required to tell

him on a specific day whether they meant to purchase their abodes at the price fixed, or to go in search of quarters elsewhere. In case they should resolve to be purchasers, they were to be allowed half-a-year to pay the stipulated sum. They all notified, when they returned, their acceptance of his terms; and many of them immediately paid in whole or in part the amount demanded from them. He then said that he was determined that their village should be the first entirely free village in the island. To give effect to this determination, he would give them an absolute title to their houses, and would trust their unconstrained honesty for the payment of the remaining debt. Their pecuniary obligations were faithfully discharged in a very short time. I saw them in their little freeholds, and I was gratified with the neat and ornate appearance which their small township presented.

VII.—THE TEMPERANCE CAUSE HAS PROSPERED AMONG THEM.

Nowhere has the temperance reformation been more triumphant than among the christianised

section of the negro population. In a number of the churches more than half of the members are connected with total abstinence societies, and many more act on the principle, although they have not taken the pledge. I heard Mr Blyth say, in addressing his congregation at Hampden, that he did not need to expatiate to them on the evils of drunkenness, for he did not know—he did not believe—that one of them was chargeable with that vice. It was not one of their faults to indulge in the use of intoxicating liquors. How few ministers in Scotland could employ the same terms, with equal confidence, in accosting their people!

VIII.—MANY OF THEM ARE CONSISTENT MEMBERS OF CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

It is impossible to look on such a congregation as that of Mr Blyth, with its large and diversified machinery of beneficence, and hesitate to acknowledge that great good has been accomplished. There are about eight hundred communicants in his church: the average attendance on his ministrations is greater by several hundreds.

Ably and sedulously assisted by members of his family, he superintends classes of young people, prayer meetings, out-stations, etc., and all these institutions are numerically prosperous. Rarely is the first minister in a charge honoured to bring it into such a flourishing condition, even in countries long favoured with the gospel. How pleasing, then, is it to witness such a verdant garden reclaimed from the wastes of heathenism! Is not this an exposition—is it not a fulfilment of the prophecy, 'The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose!'

I have mentioned Mr Blyth's congregation, because it was more in my view than any other while I resided in Jamaica. But the same observations are extensively applicable. Nor is the good limited to any sect or party of christians. There are like fruits of pastoral efficiency in churches of the Moravian, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Independent connexions. In the missionary churches of all evangelical denominations, there are examples of devoted piety not excelled by the members of any christian societies in Britain. Artisans and sempstresses,

by contributing, in some instances a tenth, or even larger proportion of their living, for the maintenance and advancement of Christ's kingdom, show how truly they have come under the power of religion, and have learned to spend and be spent for the gospel.

BLEMISHES IN THE NEGRO CHARACTER.

ALL the foregoing assertions I could support by accredited facts, if discretion permitted me. I dare not, however, confine myself to panegyric. There is room for eulogistic statements; but these do not exhaust the whole truth. I am compelled in candour to say, that my estimate of the negro character, collectively regarded, is far from being high. It is a rare thing in Jamaica to hear a white person, whether master or servant, speak otherwise than in deploring terms of the mass of the community. I shall notice some of the vices of the negroes; and as oppression maketh a wise man mad, I shall deem it a fair subject of inquiry, how far these vices appear to have been caused or increased by the system of slavery.

I.—LICENTIOUSNESS.

Unless where the influence of missionaries predominates, little respect is paid by the blacks

to the marriage relation. And this absence of domestic ties explains much of the iniquity and degradation which are prevalent. Illegitimate children are readily abandoned by fathers, and poorly provided for and superintended by mothers. The consequent neglect of offspring, especially in times of sickness, is so exterminating in the colony, as to cause some diminution of the population, where we should naturally expect its constant and rapid increase.

But how can we expect the negro to esteem the nuptial compact, when we remember that in the time of slavery, it was almost unknown? Where scriptural instruction caused it to be understood and desired, it was not unfrequently prohibited; nay, the expression of a wish for it was relentlessly punished. A missionary, in whose word I can thoroughly confide, informed me that four negroes, who had attended for some time on his instructions, intimated to him their earnest desire to marry the women with whom they were living in concubinage, and expressed to him their hope that he would intercede for them with their masters to have the measure sanctioned. He wrote a respectful letter to the proper authorities,

soliciting their acquiescence, and despatched it to its destination on a Saturday forenoon. No notice of the communication was taken till Monday, when the four negroes were called out, stripped, and lashed, and then told to show their bleeding backs to their parson, and acquaint him that this was the answer to his letter!

The prohibition against marriage extended to whites as well as to blacks. A book-keeper or overseer perilled his situation by marrying without the consent of the attorney or proprietor; and usually it was vain to solicit any such concurrence. To the present day difficulties are occasionally interposed by the same parties to the formation of the nuptial union; and I was requested, in one case, to use my influence in obviating this kind of opposition. An attorney agreed to wave further resistance to his book-keeper's wedding, on the whimsical condition that I should accomplish a considerable journey to perform the marriage ceremony!

When such was the state of the whole colony, when fornication and adultery were everywhere practised by the lords of the soil, and the imperious agents of their pleasure, who could expect

the seventh commandment to be regarded by the negro, or what could be looked for from systematic and penal suppression of its observance but the desertion of females, the neglect of progeny, and the general dissolution of morals by which Jamaica is now afflicted?

II.—INDIFFERENCE ABOUT MEDICAL AID FOR THE SICK.

Even where parents are married and well-behaved, and where they might have medical advice on reasonable terms for their families, they are proverbially slow to send for a physician. With many of them this is a last shift, scarcely to be thought of even at the last; and they see virulent disease making unarrested progress, rather than incur the more dreaded evil of paying a doctor's fee. Such reluctance to call in medical assistance has been supposed to argue indifference to the lives of relatives, and the miserable grudging of a penurious disposition. There may be some ground for such interpretations of the fact. But when we consider, that in the time of slavery the master paid for drugs to his slaves on the same footing as to his cattle,

because they were both his property, and their health was his affluence, we cannot be surprised at the negro contracting the notion, that the payment of doctors was foreign to his obligations; nor will it seem extraordinary that old impressions should remain after circumstances have been altered. A legal enactment may suddenly change a man's outward condition, but not his first principles or his 'second nature:' the formation and the annihilation of habits are both processes of time.

III.—THEFT.

The furtive propensities of the negro are matter of general complaint. I have said that forcible depredations are exceedingly unfrequent in the colony. So little is there even of stealing, as it is commonly practised in Great Britain, that a stranger is apt to consider the negro population singularly honest. When I arrived with my friends at Montego Bay, all our luggage was thrust for the night into one of the apartments of an unoccupied flat beneath the rooms which had been engaged as our lodgings. As the evening

advanced, I went down to see that our goods were properly secured. I found that the door had no serviceable lock, or even latch, for both had been broken, or had become immoveable in rust; and boxes and bags, with loose articles of dress, were lying about equally exposed, as if they had been cast upon the streets. No watchman paced about the houses to give protection to their contents. There was not even a servant within our call; for the general usage of the colony is, that domestics attend on their masters and mistresses during the day, but take their meals and pass the night in their own dwellings.

With some difficulty, I found out the retreat of our butler, for so the servant in waiting was called, and expressed to him our surprise that our luggage had been left in such jeopardy. He seemed to be amused at our alarm, and assured us that bolts and keys were not needed to keep things safe in Jamaica. Thefts are not so uncommon in Kingston. But when we advert to the defenceless condition of the houses, of which the windows and even the doors are frequently left open, on account of the heat, it appears remarkable that so large a town should be so little

infested by plunderers. And throughout the country generally, the houses are either not fastened at all, or their guards are of the most simple and fragile description.

So far as I could learn, there is not much purloining within domestic establishments. It seldom happens that trunks or presses are despoiled of valuable articles by household servants.

All these circumstances seem to indicate a remarkable probity in the character of the people. And yet they are generally said to cheat, without limits or remorse, after their own fashion. I was told, by a number of planters, that after trying to keep a vegetable garden, and doing their utmost to render it productive, they had quite abandoned the attempt, because everything edible was carried off so soon as it was ripe, or so little came to the owner's share, that the cost of production far exceeded the profit; and he found it more economical to suffer his garden to lie waste, and buy from the negroes what they raised on their own grounds.

The same appropriating propensities are said to be exemplified on a yet larger scale. I will give an example. Jamaica now imports more pro-

duce than it exports. When we think of the advantages of its climate and its soil, this fact appears to be inexplicable. Wages are much higher in Canada; yet Indian corn can be grown there, and taken to the Canadian ports, and shipped and conveyed to Jamaica, and carried to its inland districts, and sold cheaper in the end than the same commodity raised by the colonists of Jamaica on their own land at their own doors. Various solutions are given of this paradox in trade, and each of them may contain a measure of truth. But most planters, with whom I spoke on the subject, held the rapacity of the negroes to be the principal explanation. They assured me, that when their labourers bought seed, and committed it to the earth, and watched the crop and cut it down, and carried it to the store, they taxed their trust at every stage of the process; and these successive pilferings reduced the harvest to a half or fourth of its value.

The relation of these practices to slavery is not hard to be discovered. When the negro had been himself stolen, when he had been robbed of the rights of a man and a citizen, he

naturally considered himself entitled to reparation, and reckoned all that he could take from his oppressors as poorly remunerating him for what he had lost. He did not think that he was stealing from them, but only, in the form of an imperfect equivalent, taking possession of his own.

That such was the origin of the systematic thieving practised by the negroes, is rendered probable by various circumstances, and especially by the discriminating character of their larceny. While they bleed their master's estate without compunction, and hold it as a sort of axiom, that 'to take from Buckra is no robbery,' they more rarely use such freedom with the property of each other. I was assured in many quarters, that for a negro to spoil a negro was, till lately, a trespass little known. Absolute dishonesty would make no such distinctions. A person simply bent on rapine would apply his hands wherever he could fill them. Where the rights of property are respected in the case of fellow-servants, and violated only on the estates of employers, there must be a perversion of some principle, rather than a destitution of all principle, in the minds of the delinquents. There

must in this case be the apologetic impression, that the parties who brought Africans to Jamaica may be allowably pillaged to support them there, and that to make the most of white people, and to live on them as far as is possible, were licenses in the time of slavery, which may claim a little forbearance even within the jubilee of freedom. I am far from justifying the misdeeds commented on, or wishing to extenuate them by any refinements of casuistry; but while the vices of emancipated negroes are sedulously magnified by some, as if they reflected on emancipation itself, I think it right to clear a righteous cause from unrighteous reproaches, and show that freedom is not the bane of freed men, but that involuntary servitude is a main cause of these evils—that a former bondage pollutes a present liberty, and that the curse of slavery survives it in its sins.

Jamaica is too much in the condition of the man whom the demon rent sore in coming out of him till he was as one dead, insomuch that many said he was dead. But to whom should we ascribe this lacerated and lifeless state of the man? Surely to the demon who possessed him, and not to the benefactor who said, 'Thou

dumb and deaf spirit, I charge thee come out of him, and enter no more into him.' May that same benefactor, who took the suffering man, take this suffering colony by the hand, and lift it up to the renewed enjoyment of vitality and strength!

IV.—DUPLICITY.

The negroes are much blamed for their want of veracity. I cannot say that I had any ground for this complaint. I found them commonly very true to their word. It is usual, however, to charge them with insincerity and dissimulation; and I may not oppose my individual experience to general testimony. In so far as the imputation is well founded, it were easy to show that if slavery tempted the negroes to steal, it also tempted them to lie; for acts of theft have their natural advocacy in false pretences. Language and practice have indissoluble relations, and persons cannot be honest in their speech when they have become dishonest in their conduct.

V.—GREED.

It is well known that the negroes value money, and are not easily persuaded to part with it when it is in their possession. But who set them the example of cupidity? Jamaica has not been a home to the whites, but simply and exclusively an avenue to wealth. In going thither, they have had one aim, and only one—GOLD. What wonder, then, is it if the imitative negro has become sordid; or how can we expect that the disciple should be above his master, and the servant above his lord?

VI.—INCAPACITY FOR RULE.

I offer one more example under this head. Its important nature may justify a somewhat lengthened illustration. The negroes are defective in those qualities which fit men for ruling. They are quick enough of apprehension, and they do many things with dexterity. If they have been at school for any time, they commonly write a good hand, and, with all the disadvantages of their broken English, not a few of them read

well. We find among them expert horsemen, cooks, and operatives. They have very generally a good ear, and a melodious voice; and, considering the extent of their opportunities, they rival or excel Europeans in vocal and instrumental music. But all such accomplishments they must acquire, and all such arts they must practise in subordination to superiors. If they are elevated to superintendence, and have a discretionary charge assigned them, then they become vain, irascible, capricious, or they fail in the more important province of moral principle. The reader must here, however, be reminded of the distinction already made between coloured people and the pure African race. The people of colour are mostly the offspring of planters by their black house-keepers, or other females on the estates. 'Every white man on an estate was allowed to have his concubine from among the slaves, commonly under the term "housekeeper," and thus added to the property a family of coloured children. But here the evil did not end. The great bulk of such fathers had neither property nor natural feeling enough to purchase the freedom of their children, but when they

removed from the estate left their offspring in bondage behind them; when they knew that their daughters, being generally considered unequal to the hard field labour of the negroes, would be reserved as the more suitable, for the same connexion with future overseers and bookkeepers, as that in which their mother had been placed with themselves. Thus, through one generation after another, each shade removed from black, would the more certainly render these unprotected, and comparatively innocent females, victims of this iniquitous system.'* Even planters who could not plead poverty in excuse for their unkindness, did not always liberate their coloured children: and it is dreadful to think, that rich and boastful nabobs had, in many instances, an enslaved progeny. The slaves who were brown, were not, however, placed on the identical footing with the negroes; they served in the house, and not in the field, and they were frequently made of some consequence in domestic establishments. Now that freedom is the law of the island, many of them are a most inefficient section of the population; they will scarcely stoop to shake hands

* Jamaica: Enslaved and Free, p. 122.

with the blacks, whom they regard with disdain. Still less will they toil with them side by side in the out-of-door husbandry of sugar and coffee plantations. They are gentlemen and ladies, allied to the aristocracy of skin; and they will rather pass their time in dignified indigence, or pine away and die, than live comfortably on the fruits of diligence.

But while many of the brown people are conceited, slothful, and useless, we find among them truly enlightened, energetic, and interesting characters. On the north side of the island, I became acquainted with one of them, who is a blessing and an honour to his neighbourhood. In the time of slavery, and while he was himself a slave, he forcibly entered the house of an overseer, who had carried off his sister, and took his relation with him, in defiance of all menaces. He bought his own freedom for a large sum, although the conclusion of the apprenticeship was not then far distant. Now he is a man of some property, and is universally esteemed for his intelligence, uprightness, and christian consistency. I heard him address the church of which he is an elder, on the inadequacy of the exertions

made by its members for the cause of the gospel. He admitted the badness of the times, but denied that they justified the narrowness of which they were made the apology. He did not believe, he said, though there was much distress in other parts of the island, that a single member of their society had wanted one comfortable meal during the past year, in consequence of the reduction of wages; and a poverty which did not deprive them of the bread which perishes should not, he contended, disable them from obtaining and imparting the bread of life. He pointed to the trinkets on their persons, and told them that their ornaments would be their condemnation, if they did more to please the eyes of men, and be admired by their fellow-creatures, than to please God and engage his favour. Becoming more animated in his expostulation, he exclaimed, in accents of pungent grief, 'You do not love liberty; your enemies said that you did not love it, when they wished to keep it from you; and now you confirm their assertion. You wish to be free yourselves; but if your wishes terminate there, they show a spirit of selfishness and not of freedom. If you loved freedom, you would love

it for others, and try to get it for them; you would love it for the whole earth, and seek to fill all nations with its blessings. If you loved freedom, you would be anxious to commend it by the use made of it, and cause it to be so highly thought of that it would be everywhere established. But now you dishonour it by your neglect of duty, and especially by your parsimony to the cause of Him who gave himself for you; and every dealer in the blood and bones of men points to you in triumph, and adduces you as witnesses, that emancipation is a failure.' He followed up such statements by impassioned exhortation to higher devotedness in well-doing. I do not profess to have given his words; but I have indicated the ideas and spirit of his speech. His diction was not fluent or accurate; his sentiments, however, were weighty, and his unaffected earnestness added greatly to their power. He spoke the more effectively, that he is well known to exemplify what he enjoined; for his heart and hand are ready to every good work; and he contributes statedly about £10 a-year to the funds of the church with which he is connected.

On the south side of the island, there is a gen-

tleman of colour (Mr Hill) whose scientific attainments have won him a wide celebrity, and who is at the same time beloved by all who know him for his amiable moral qualities. There is another, who is now proprietor of the estate on which he was born, and of many thousands of acres besides, who carries on an extensive and complicated business with assiduity and discretion, who was for a considerable time a member of assembly, and invested with important private trusts, and who, in his uprightness, benevolence, and urbanity, blends the congenial properties of the gentleman and the christian. Beautifully does that friend (for such I delight to consider him) say in writing to me, and offering me some remarks about Jamaica, 'This is my own country, and my history in it is a peculiar one. I have much to be very humble and thankful for; and I often feel gratitude springing up like fountains within me towards that good and great God whom I love, and whom I desire to serve.' The Rev. Mr Fraser, a brown man, is one of the most esteemed ministers of the Wesleyan Methodist connexion. At the annual district meetings he fills, with high

approbation, the office of secretary to the board. Mr Moncrieff, another gentleman of colour, is a barrister and attorney-at-law, and has attained to high eminence in the legal profession. He is also an influential member of the colonial legislature. Mr Jordan, a brown gentleman, is now one of the leading members of assembly, and at a late election of mayor for the town of Kingston, he failed of being elected by only a few votes.

There is no room for questioning that such men possess equally good capacity with the nobler class of European spirits, and that they are endowed with every attribute of mind essential to the guidance of human affairs. But we do not find the negroes occupying like elevated positions in the community. Some of them have a charge equivalent to that of *foremen* among other servants; some of them are office-bearers in churches; some of them have purchased freeholds of small extent; one of them is a magistrate, I believe, in Kingston, and another is a member of the common council. Such facts I delight to mention. I wish they were indefinitely multiplied. I rejoice to add, that in the posts thus filled by them, a goodly proportion of

the black people acquit themselves creditably, and are very deservedly respected and beloved by all their acquaintances. Still, I have mentioned the utmost of their preferment and success. Comparatively few of them rise so high; and from shore to shore not one of them acquires reputation or sway, except of a local and partial description.

The point I am next called to consider is, to what cause is this state of the community traceable, and, more particularly, how far is it accounted for by the influence of slavery?

As regards the superciliousness of the brown people, it is no marvel, since so many privileges attached to a fair complexion, that even the illegitimate descendants of the privileged parties should claim a participation in their honours, and should deem their half Saxon descent and partial whiteness reasonable grounds for treating haughtily their Ethiopian fellow-subjects. The intermediate position held by this class accounts also for their dissimilar lots in life—explains why some of them, having notions of dignity, and nothing to support it, exclude themselves from industrious callings, and waste their time in loung-

ing indigence; while others of them, being well educated, and related to genteel families, and brought within the ambition-stirring influences of the upper orders, rise to the first rank of West Indian colonists.

As regards the negroes, it is obvious that a state of absolute subjection was a wretched seminary for learning the principles and acquiring the habits of superintendence; and that, when intelligence, and morals, and hopes were all perverted and debased, it must require a concurrence of very favourable circumstances to rescue even genius itself from such crushing adversities. To this day the negroes are, in a great measure, a race by themselves. A mulatto despises them, and will not accompany them to the field of labour. They enter the families of white people to perform menial offices for them, and then retire to their own huts, to maintain their old intercourse, prejudices, and usages. If any lift them up and show them deference, a change so great is trying to human weakness. The protegé is liable to have his head turned, and to show the giddiness and instability of unproved, unexpected, unprepared-for elevation.

If these observations be just, they give us appalling impressions of the lasting mischiefs of bondage. Like the serpent, it leaves its poison in its wounds; and when you have relaxed its bite, and extracted its fangs, you have still to contend with its deadly venom. Nor is the body the sole subject of its injuries; it vitiates man in his whole being, and harms him most in his highest nature. They see a small part of slavery who look only on its chains; they know little of its miseries who think only of its lash. Its worst irons are those which enter into the soul, and its direst scourge is its mental destructiveness. The man who made may break its external yoke, but he cannot rekindle the lights of reason which he has extinguished,—he cannot cement the spring of action which he has broken. A vast machinery of benevolence, and a long course of ages may be indispensable, unless a miraculous power shall interpose, to repair this moral damage, and enable us to recognise, in the abused prey of tyranny, the members of that co-angelic order of beings whom God crowned with glory and honour, and set over the work of his hands.

VII.—LEVITY.

A reflective slave would be a miserable being. With no small show of reason, it might be urged that the negroes, in their time of bondage, excluded reflection, in order to mitigate their miseries; and were thus led to foster that easy, unthinking temperament by which they are now distinguished. I have no wish, however, to push even a just principle beyond its proper limits. The profounder sentiments, where they exist, may be called into exercise by afflictive as well as by propitious circumstances; and I am disposed to think, making ample allowance for numerous exceptions, that the negro is constitutionally defective in depth of feeling and all mental qualities which are denoted by such words as *gravity* and *seriousness*. It is so far an advantage to them, that they are not very sensitive or impressible. This mental mood is akin to contentment; and I observed in Jamaica, that while the countenances of the whites were sombre and imprinted with the troubles of the island, the negroes had generally an air of happiness, evincing a willingness to make the most of their lot,

and, so far as was possible, to go through life merrily. Sometimes their thoughtless cheerfulness is useful to others. I was told, by an American captain, that although he had much to say against the blacks, he always liked to have some of them in his ship, because they seldom were panic-struck by a tempest, and their sustained gaiety kept the rest of the crew in good spirits.

But though the attribute of *levity* may please us under some of its manifestations, it pains us when we view it under others; and it is especially unfavourable to that moral greatness which genuine religion demands and cherishes.

I shall best illustrate my meaning by specifying instances. I have commended the absence of strong vindictiveness in the temperament of the Africans. But while they are comparatively void of a vengeful sense of wrong, they also disappoint benefactors by an imperfect sense of gratitude. A curious example of this occurs to my recollection. When I was going out to Jamaica, the first canoe which approached us from the land was upset within a few yards of us, by the indiscretion of its pilot. The shrieks of peril

from the deep, and of sympathy from our bark, the turned-up keel of the canoe, and the sight of human beings clinging to it, or tossed among the waves, and struggling for life—all these formed sufficiently exciting elements of such a catastrophe. Our captain exerted himself to the utmost to save all the imperilled crew, who were ten in number, and he happily succeeded. A black man, who had narrowly escaped from perishing, as he was unable to swim, no sooner found himself on the deck of our vessel than, still drenched with sea water and panting for breath, he spoke to our captain, not to thank him for his preservation, but to demand a shilling, which he alleged to be a debt of a year's standing! This fact, odd as it seems, is only one of a class by which the negroes too often evince their inconsideration and unthankfulness.

In accordance with the same view of the negro character, I found the missionaries lamenting, that profound sorrow for sin seldom enters into the religion even of the most devout among their people. If they grieve for having done wrong, their grief is not apparently of a very pungent description; and their teachers

fear that they are too easily and too quickly comforted.

Persons in our churches at home, who are but little afflicted by the thought of offending God, often show an extreme sensitiveness to the good opinion of their fellow-worshippers. A fault must not be hinted at, or it must be pointed out to them with exceeding gentleness and caution: otherwise they will be stung and exasperated by the smallest reproof. They have a sense of shame which cannot brook affront. But the negro is not so easily affronted. He can take very plain rebukes from his minister, and even very pointed remonstrances from the pulpit, and not be at all disconcerted by them. One evidence of this struck me from its novelty. The British churches naturally and properly expect that the missionary churches in Jamaica should become as soon as possible self-sustaining. The missionaries themselves are very eager for this result, and they have tried in various ways to stimulate the christian liberality of their people. One of the expedients adopted by a number of them, with this end in view, is to announce annually to the congregation the sums contributed by its members

for the maintenance of its worship. This is all right, as many of the people cannot read, and can therefore have no other than a *viva voce* acknowledgment of their offerings. But the minister, on these occasions, publishes also the *non*-contributors. He states that such a family—naming them—have given nothing; and such another family—naming them—have given nothing; and the members of these families are at the time before him—looking in his face, and encountering the gaze of the congregation, without the least symptom of being molested by the exposure.

The most unpleasant case of this kind which came under my observation, was at Bellevue, in the parish of Trelawny. The church at that place was originated by the congregation of the late Dr Heugh, of Glasgow, under the direction of that able, devoted, and lamented minister. Often had I heard him speak of this station, when it subsisted as yet only in his benevolent and enterprising purpose. Often had I listened to the animated expressions of his doubts, and fears, and hopes, regarding its prosperity. And when I saw before me the place of worship which

had engaged so much of the thought, solicitude, and prayers of my departed friend, I realised sadly the interest with which he would have looked on the spectacle, and I comforted myself by the assurance, that he has passed to a heavenly mountain, whence the glorified worshippers have a view alike comprehensive and resplendent of the kingdom of God.*

The minister of the station is the Rev. Peter Anderson. He is universally respected as a man of strong sense, high rectitude, and laborious faithfulness in his Master's service. His manners also have that plain, easy, unassuming kindness which should make them peculiarly acceptable to a simple, unlettered people. He is, in fact, loved by his flock, and the hundreds of hearers brought together by him—the considerable number he has admitted into the fellowship of the church—the large attendance on his classes, prayer meetings, and other means of instruction,

* The public have already learned from advertisements that the Select Works of Dr Heugh, with his Life by his Son-in-law, the Rev. H. M. M'Gill, are shortly to issue from the press. The publication, with such materials and editorship, cannot fail to be one of great value and interest.

all show that his efforts are appreciated and useful.

The funds of his church, like those of most other churches in the island, have declined for several years. A large reduction of the wages of labour, and in many instances a total want of employment for labourers, are the principal causes of this declension. Mr Anderson, however, did not feel satisfied about the adequacy of this excuse. There are in his congregation some most generous contributors, some poor individuals, the depth of whose poverty abounds to the riches of their liberality. But the number of such donors is small; they are yearly becoming fewer; and their exemplary conduct condemns, by contrast, the apathy and parsimony of others who have more of the comforts of life, and yet are doing nothing for the support of divine ordinances.

A juncture arose in the history of the congregation which seemed likely to call out its energies. Mr Anderson received a call from the congregation of Mount Zion, in St James's, to become their pastor. The members of his present flock seemed to be greatly alarmed at the possibility of losing him. Some of them expressed

to myself their painful apprehensions. They rehearsed to me all their obligations to their minister. He had made them as a church. He had watched over their families with parental tenderness, he had counselled them in the management of their temporal affairs, when they knew little about business themselves, and could not protect their own interests. He had stood by the beds of their departing friends, and he was identified with all their most sacred and cherished associations. What then could they do without him? What a visitation would it be if he were torn from them!

A meeting of the congregation was convened, and as I was then in the island, and residing not far off, I accepted an invitation to be present. Mr Anderson addressed his people in language which might have moved stones. He reminded them how long he and they had been united as pastor and flock. He appealed to their knowledge of his multiplied and unremitting labours. He told them that he would never leave them with his own consent, if they gave him evidence that he was doing good among them. But where was his usefulness, where the proof that he was

not labouring in vain, nor spending his strength for nought, and in vain, if they would make no effort for the maintenance of the ordinances which he dispensed to them, and if, while they complained of poverty, they had means for securing everything but the institutions of the gospel? He was not soliciting a larger income. He was contented with his present salary, limited as it was, and large as was his family, if it were paid by them, or half paid by them, and the Synod at home were relieved to this extent, or in other words, the hundreds of poor Scottish christians, who are the main strength of our missionary undertakings, were set free, to select another channel for their beneficence. While insisting that they might do more than they did for the cause of God, Mr Anderson delineated in general terms the circumstances of a number of their families, and at last becoming more particular in his allusions, he named an individual then sitting before him, who used to subscribe a sum, and could do it still, but who had withheld for some time the payment of his subscription. I was afraid that a charge so personal might give deep offence to the defaulter, and might disturb the good feeling

of the audience generally. Mr Anderson assured me afterwards, that I was totally mistaken if I thought the negroes so sensitive. The individual who was the object of rebuke, would occupy his seat as formerly, and nobody would think that anything strange or unpleasant had occurred.

After Mr Anderson had concluded his speech, I addressed the congregation. While I was speaking on the duty of christian beneficence, there were handed to me two slips of paper, containing proffers of augmented offerings for the support of divine worship. I hoped, in first glancing at them, that they might be from negroes; but they came from white persons, one of them a young physician of good promise, and the other a respectable planter—the only Europeans, with the exception of the minister's family, whom I remember to have seen among my hearers.

Some contributions may have been afterwards received from blacks, but I understand that the funds of the congregation have not been greatly augmented by the stimulating circumstances in which the people were placed, or by the faithful expostulations of their own minister and others.

RELIGION IN JAMAICA.

I AM not sorry that I have been led, in the foregoing pages, to advert occasionally to the churches of Jamaica, as I may thus have prepared the reader for learning the truth more fully respecting them. Their history is, in many views, most cheering, and calls for devout gratitude to God; while it furnishes ground also for unfeigned humiliation, sustained effort, and fervent prayer.

I.

MEANS OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

I.—STATE CHURCH.

I begin with some observations regarding the State Church.

Jamaica, from an early date after its capture by the British, has been provided with the worship of the English Establishment. But the Episcopal clergymen were long few in number. So late as the year 1800, there were only twenty churches for a population approaching

400,000, so that each parish contained at an average above 19,000 parishioners. Holy orders were readily given to men who were imperfectly educated, and of indifferent moral character. A considerable proportion of them followed the reprehensible usages of the island, and sadly neglected their pastoral duties. Such of them as aimed to be useful, restricted their attention almost exclusively to the white inhabitants. Owing to the jealousy attendant on slavery, the slaves were not easily approached by a spiritual instructor; and their limited knowledge of the English language, with their supposed intellectual feebleness, caused their instruction to be nearly despaired of. A planter and historian of the island, Mr Long, quotes the Rev. Mr Hughes as having said,—'To bring them to the knowledge of the christian religion is, undoubtedly, a great and good design; in the intention, laudable, and in speculation, easy; yet, I believe, for reasons too tedious to mention, that the difficulties attending it are, and I am persuaded ever will be, insurmountable.'*

* Jamaica: Enslaved and Free, p. 141.

In the year 1816, a curate was added to each parish, avowedly with the design of instructing the slaves more effectively. But it does not appear from the returns made by clergymen themselves to the colonial secretary, that much progress was made for some years afterwards in this laudable undertaking. The rector of Clarendon says:—'I have time but little more than sufficient to discharge the common functions of my office, in burying, marrying, and christening, and attending on Sundays my church, which is situate at least ten miles from my rectory. Limited, however, as I am with respect to time, I have yet endeavoured to do all that I could. Within the last thirteen months, I have twice made known to the principal proprietors and attorneys in this parish my readiness to attend on such properties, for the religious instruction of the slaves, as they would permit me to visit; but I have not been able to obtain the consent of more than two or three.'*

On the whole, the ecclesiastical condition of the island was, till a comparatively late period,

* Jamaica: Enslaved and Free, pp. 142, 143.

very deplorable. T. Stewart, Esq., of Jamaica, whose view of its past and present history was published in 1823, says,—'The curates were appointed a few years ago by an act of the legislature. Their salary is £500 currency; but they have no other emolument from their curacies. The ostensible object of their appointment was, that they should preach to and instruct the slaves in the christian religion—an object which, from whatsoever cause, has been rendered in a great measure abortive. Either the curates are lukewarm in the cause, or the planters do not wish the time and attention of their slaves to be occupied by religious discussions,—or, which is most probable, both of these causes have operated to render the intentions of the legislature nugatory. As it is, the curates have dwindled into mere assistants to the rectors, who were, before their appointment, fully able to perform all their clerical duties. By a law of some standing in the island, the rectors are required to set apart two hours of every Sunday to the religious instruction of the slaves; but this law is very little attended to: the truth is, that, however willing the rectors might be to perform this

duty, very few of the slaves have it in their power to attend church; they are either in attendance on their owners, or their time is occupied in a necessary attention to their own affairs; for Sunday is not a day of rest and relaxation to the plantation slave; he must work on that day, or starve.

'It has long been a subject of just complaint that the clerical office in Jamaica has been accessible to men disqualified both by education and previous habits to fill it. It was a sort of dernier resort to men who had not succeeded in other professions, or who thought it a more thriving one than that which they pursued; hence it was not unusual to see a quondam merchant, a military officer, or even an overseer of a plantation, who had the necessary interest, ordained to the ministry here. This degradation of the clerical office, by the admission into it of men who had no other end in view than to better their situation, has no doubt contributed, among other causes, to encourage that immorality and disregard of religion so generally prevalent among all classes.' *

* Pp. 150–152.

Mr Stewart admits that improvement had begun at the time he wrote, and happily it continued to advance. An order of men more faithful and better qualified began to be introduced into the ministry, and were appointed to curacies as they became vacant. Planters relaxed their opposition to the instruction of the slaves, and the arrival of missionaries from various christian denominations of this country, imparted a healthful stimulus to the Establishment itself. About the year 1825, the first bishop of Jamaica was appointed, and he is admitted by parties not Episcopalian, to have exerted a useful influence upon the upper classes, and upon public opinion generally. The author of 'Jamaica: Enslaved and Free,' published by the Tract Society, says, — 'He immediately called the attention of the resident clergy to the slaves, as a sadly neglected, but important part of their charge; at the same time, he endeavoured to increase their number by men of a missionary spirit from England. He next brought into action a much required order of men as catechists, and gave existence to the different kinds of schools

which were calculated to give education to all classes.'*

There are now about ninety ministers connected with the Episcopal State Church. The questions which are agitated among different sections of churchmen at home, are found also in the colony, and there, as here, they cause a good deal of bitter feeling. There has been little co-operation or reciprocal acknowledgment between the Established Church and churches unestablished. In relation to some important subjects, and more especially the tuition of the young, they are liable to come into collision. I was told by several unendowed missionaries that the gratuitous education afforded by the Establishment to negro children, accompanied with the condition that the parents must attend divine service in the Established Church, operates very injuriously both on the schools and chapels of dissenters, and tends to lower the estimate of knowledge, subordinate conscience to interest, and destroy habits of liberality among the whole body of the people. This ground of complaint, however, must be limited

* Jamaica: Enslaved and Free, pp. 150, 151.

to certain districts. I heard churchmen of high standing and influence speaking strongly in favour both of school fees and perfect liberty of worship.

It is freely admitted by all parties, that among the clergy of the Establishment are to be found men whose accomplishments, character, and labours are every way honouring to their sacred calling. These servants of Christ are doing great good, and yet it is small in their own eyes, when they see how much remains to be accomplished. Some of them with whom I was so happy as to become acquainted, expressed themselves in terms of grief as to the limited fruits of their exertions, and were not a little disheartened about the religious prospects of the island.

The present venerable bishop is grandson to the Duke of Marlborough, and a lineal descendant of the poet Spencer. He was laboriously occupied, when I was in the island, with the visitation of his diocese, and attendant duties of his episcopate. Very unequivocal proofs of his generous friendliness and hospitality, which I shall ever gratefully remember, were afforded to

myself and to my family, while I was in Jamaica, though we had no claim whatever on his kindness. I shall have occasion, in a subsequent part of this volume, to present a pleasing example of his lordship's zeal in behalf of human rights and the cause of universal emancipation.

II.—UNITED BRETHREN.

The first missionaries who landed on the shores of Jamaica were Moravians. They were three in number, and were appointed to the enterprise in 1754, at the request of some proprietors in one of the country parishes. The periodical accounts of the United Brethren for 1849, show that this philanthropic religious denomination have now in that colony thirteen stations, and about four thousand six hundred communicants. The details of their missions in the West Indies, for last quarter, are prefaced by these general observations:—

'We regret to say that the past three months have not brightened the prospects of our West Indian Missions. The ranks of our esteemed fellow-servants are likely to be yet further

weakened by the retirement—we would fain hope but for a season—of several others of their number, and the arrangements for the supply of the expected vacancies are far from being completed. While the spiritual state of the congregations affords subject rather for disquietude than for exultation, the hope, long cherished, of a gradual return of temporal prosperity, cannot, under existing circumstances, be very confident. The pressure which bears so heavily on every class of the West Indian population is sorely felt by the artisan and the field-labourer, and consequently by the immense majority of the members of our several negro flocks. The reduction of their wages, which has been forced upon their employers, has greatly diminished their ability to contribute to the support of their respective churches and schools, and a considerable addition to the burden thrown upon our mission fund has been the necessary consequence. It will, however, be observed with satisfaction, that there is an earnest desire generally manifested by our missionaries throughout this extensive field, to do all in their power, by redoubled efforts and increasing self-denial, to meet the

difficulties of the case, and to reduce and keep the expenditure within the narrowest limits.' *

III.—METHODIST CONNEXION.

The Wesleyan Methodists sent the apostolic Dr Coke to Jamaica in 1789, and from that period they have had a strong footing in the island. In 1849 their missionaries from Britain were twenty-four in number. They had then also four regular missionaries, and one assistant-missionary, all men of colour. Their white and coloured agents are placed on the same footing, both as to pecuniary support and ecclesiastical functions. Last year the Jamaica mission yielded to their home funds £990 12s. 11d., and received out of the same funds £5,496 18s. 3d. There were then fifty day schools, and forty Sunday schools, belonging to the Methodist Connexion. The report of 1849, as compared with that of 1848, shows a decrease of three missionaries, with a gain of four day school teachers. But I am sorry to say, on the best authority,

* Periodical Accounts of the United Brethren, Sept., 1849, pp. 184, 185.

that since these statistics were published, the financial and commercial difficulties of the colony, together with other adverse influences, have so seriously affected the mission, that it has been found necessary to discontinue nineteen schools, and apply the money which they would have required for their support to general missionary purposes in this field of labour.

There are some Methodists in the island who are not in connexion with the Conference.

IV.—BAPTISTS.

The Baptist Missionary Society sent its first agent, Mr John Rowe, to Jamaica in 1813. He was preceded, however, by christian negroes of Baptist views from America, and was more immediately sent to co-operate with one of them, Moses Baker, at Hamstead, near Falmouth. Regarding the section of Baptists founded by blacks from America, a distinguished minister of the Baptist Connexion in England, who lately visited Jamaica, thus writes me:—'Many of their churches have been, by cautious advances and kindness on the part of our missionaries,

merged into their own congregations. A few yet remain, and are unquestionably disfigured by superstitious practices. Many of their peculiarities have been charged upon our churches by persons imperfectly informed.'

The Annual Report of the Baptist Missionary Society for 1849, thus speaks of the churches in Jamaica:—'Though the committee do not include Jamaica in their report as an island to which the funds of the society are appropriated, they cannot refrain from appending a little information in reference to the work of God there. In that island there are now twenty-eight European pastors, five or six native pastors, and about thirty-five teachers, most of whom are natives. The financial and commercial condition of the country, and the sufferings of the people, have seriously increased the difficulties of our brethren. The anxieties they have had to contend with are probably no less trying than those of the days of persecution, though of a different kind. But, thus far, most of them have been enabled by divine grace to maintain a consistent and devoted course.'

I learn, on good authority, that the Baptist

brethren have in the island sixty chapels, fifty-nine houses for missionaries, twenty-nine separate school-houses, and that the total cost of all these buildings has been about £130,000. When I was about to cross the island with my family, I sent word to the Rev. J. Clark, Baptist minister of Brown's Town, St Ann's, that I would probably be at his house on a particular day. He entreated me in reply to hasten or to defer my journey, as there was to be a conference of Baptist brethren at Brown's Town on the day I specified, and all the accommodation he could spare in his house would consequently be in requisition. I stated in answer that my plans were so fixed that I could not alter them, and therefore I would simply give him a call in passing. He again wrote to me, insisting that I and my friends must come and stay with him, and mentioning that he could now receive us quite conveniently, as by a little carefulness of arrangement, he had secured lodgings for his brethren elsewhere. These circumstances I mention as affording a pleasing example of the kindness I experienced very largely in the island. When I went to Brown's Town, I attended,

within an hour or two from the time of my arrival, a missionary meeting of Mr Clark's church. It was delightful to see the place of worship crowded with blacks, who listened with the utmost apparent ardour to the speeches delivered, and remained till a late hour without any decrease of their numbers. The accounts given of the state of religion in that quarter were, on the whole, cheering, and altogether the scene brought vividly before me that seeming success of the missionary cause in Jamaica, of which I was wont to read in reports, but which is now commonly allied, both in familiar discourse and in public addresses, with the events of the past.

At the anti-slave trade meeting held lately in Kingston, the Rev. S. Ouchton, an able and influential minister of the Baptist Connexion, is reported to have said,—'Another proof of social advancement in a country, is the prosperous condition of its educational and religious institutions; but what a mournful picture, in this respect, does our island now present! Within the present year the Wesleyan Society have been compelled to abandon no fewer than twenty of their schools.

The society to which I belong have been reduced to the same sad alternative. And we are not alone; ours have been but types of other religious bodies. Chapels also have been closed, and ministers, ruined and broken-hearted, have been compelled to leave these shores and return to their native land.'

V.—THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This society has eleven stations in the island, independently of out-stations connected with them. The annual report for 1849 gives very interesting accounts of the labours and trials of the missionaries, several of whom, I am sorry to learn, have lately returned home.

VI.—PRESBYTERIANS.

There is a congregation connected with the Church of Scotland in Kingston, and one connected with the Free Church of Scotland in Falmouth.

With these two exceptions, all the Presbyterians in the island belong to the United Pres-

byterian Church. They have attained to their present numerical strength in consequence of distinct missions becoming incorporated. So early as the year 1799, the Scottish Missionary Society sent three missionaries to Kingston, two of whom died within a few weeks from the time of their arrival in the island, and the third, a Mr Reid, exchanged the functions of the minister for those of the schoolmaster. In 1824, the same society renewed its missions by sending Mr Blyth. Messrs Chamberlain and Watson followed in 1827, Mr Waddell in 1830, and a number more in succeeding years.

The United Secession Church, after aiding, from the commencement of the missionary era, the missions of other churches and of general societies, entered on this field denominationally in 1835, when it sent out Messrs Paterson and Niven. Messrs P. Anderson, W. Jameson, and others followed within a short period. In the spring of 1836, the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society and of the United Secession Church, being all evangelical Presbyterians, formed themselves into one presbytery, or joint ecclesiastical body. In July, 1847, the Scottish

Missionary Society transferred the support of all its missionaries in Jamaica to the United Secession Church. Meanwhile this church became incorporated with the Relief Church in the mother country; and they assumed, as thus amalgamated, the designation of the United Presbyterian Church. The church so formed has about twenty European missionaries in the colony, besides catechists and teachers. Several of the stations are nearly or wholly self-sustaining.

II.

PRESENT DISCOURAGEMENTS.

In delineating the character of the negroes, I had occasion to speak of some of them as very disinclined to make liberal contributions for religious purposes. The cursory sketch I have just given of the various missionary agencies in the island sufficiently indicates that the complaint is extensively applicable. Most of the missionaries are discouraged in the extreme by their continued dependence on the mother country for pecuniary succours, which they hoped to have derived ere now from the people of their charge.

I am sorry to say that there are other symptoms of waning interest in the truth and ordinances of God, besides the reluctance of those who are taught to communicate to their teachers in all good things. Connexion with the church is less valued than it was, and many members of congregations would be pleased to have their names quietly dropped from the roll of communicants, if they were to be exempted in consequence from all demands on their pocket, and all reproofs for their misconduct. They are willing or desirous to be let alone.

The exercise of discipline is more called for than formerly; and though, in the more exemplary churches, no persons living in gross sin are retained in communion, it is found almost impossible to restrain professing christians from maintaining a friendly intimacy with persons of dissolute character. In general, devotional meetings are not so much frequented as they were. The relish for reading has also diminished, and the congregational or circulating library has lost much of its fascinations. Volumes which were once in great request now lie undisturbed on their dusty shelves. I was disappointed to learn, that even

the great events of the day do not concern the negro sufficiently to make him read about them, and that a single newspaper is scarcely ever to be met with in their largest villages. The attendance of pupils in the schools is, in many places, falling off, and parents grudge or positively refuse to pay the smallest fee for the instruction of their offspring.

These statements have many exceptions—noble and cheering exceptions—but they hold extensively true; and their truth, as we shall afterwards see more fully, has been attested by ministers and private christians belonging to various evangelical denominations, and distributed over the whole extent of the island of Jamaica.

III.

CAUSES OF RELIGIOUS DECLENSION.

The question then arises, To what is this falling back attributable? First of all, I answer negatively, that it is not owing, in my judgment, to any imperfection or unsuitableness in the labours of missionaries. I have seen one official document, in which it is hinted that they are too

refined for their hearers, that they adapt their teaching rather to instructed Europeans than to illiterate blacks, and consequently shoot over the heads of their people. But there is no reason to believe that the style of preaching in the island has undergone any change; and unless it be different from what it was, its properties cannot account for a diminution of success. Inappropriateness of means might explain want of advancement, but it cannot be admitted as a reason why ground already gained should be subsequently lost.

It is a difficult task, indeed, to bring down exposition to the apprehension of such a people. There is reason to fear that a very small proportion of the persons comprising British audiences follow a discourse consecutively, so as to see the connexion of its parts and the general bearing of its arguments and illustrations; and if this class of hearers be small at home, it must be still more limited in a country where conversions have been mostly recent, where only a section of professing christians can read, and where the preacher speaks a dialect so different from that of the most of his auditors, that even in the private

intercourse of life they are barely intelligible to each other.

It seems to me, however, that the missionaries do all they can to surmount these difficulties —that they make their instructions as plain and easy to be understood as possible. Many of them deliver a sermon of a practical and almost conversational character on the forenoon of the Lord's-day, and occupy the afternoon with missionary intelligence or catechetical exercises. I have heard some of the planters complain that the missionaries, in their zeal to benefit the negro, made their tuition too simple for the taste and attainments of educated colonists, and thus, in some measure, restricted their usefulness. Charges so conflicting cannot both be true, and they lead us to believe, from their incongruity, that the missionaries, beset by many difficulties, have taken their ground with much consideration, have endeavoured to avoid extremes on the right hand and on the left, and have laboured to become all things to all men, if by any means they might save some.

The following reasons may be assigned for the retrograde condition of missionary effort:—

(1.) *As the epoch of emancipation retires into the past, missionaries, though equally faithful, are not equally influential.* Though missionaries have the same style of preaching, and prosecute domiciliary visitation and other pastoral duties just as sedulously as before, they have not the same hold on the negro population. During the time of slavery, a planter or magistrate was usually regarded with suspicion or aversion by the slaves, while they looked to the missionary as their friend and benefactor, and were therefore anxious, in every particular, to follow his counsel and maintain his good opinion. When the act of emancipation was passed, they gave the credit of it to their teachers, who had so energetically represented their grievances and demanded their rights. The joys of the occasion being thus traced to spiritual instructors, were consequently invested with a character of sacredness, and the torrent of grateful emotion appropriately flowed in religious channels. The multitudes on whom the 1st of August, 1838, shed the first light of a perfected liberty, did not justify the predictions of their adversaries by rioting in their newly-acquired freedom. They

did not defile their jubilee by private debauchery or by public tumult. Under the guidance apparently of heavenly impulse, they flocked to the chapels, where their first hopes of rescue had been inspired, gazed with delight on the messengers of mercy, in whom they recognised their deliverers, and uplifted their accents of praise in the songs of Zion. It was a noble spectacle to see an enslaved country set free, and occupying the first hours of freedom not in revellings and banquetings, not in any phrenzied abuse of newly acquired privilege, but in listening to the voice of scriptural instruction, and praising the God of all goodness in grave, sweet melody.

Was not this ardour devout? Was not the eagerness of the people to be enrolled as members of churches, and to frequent prayer meetings, and to do all such things, confirmatory of its devotional character? and might not the missionaries, with confidence and satisfaction, extend to such applicants the seals of the covenant? So the most discreet teachers thought; and the reports they sent home were swelled with tidings of conversions and baptisms. But that period has passed away; so have its conventional

impulses; and the spiritual-mindedness with which it was believed to have been allied, has proved itself to have been, in too many instances, an ephemeral excitement. The present defection is little more than a development of former delusion—I do not say imposture, because there was no intention to impose: the parties deceiving were themselves deceived. Teachers and taught believed the church to have been extended, where the testing ordeal of time has demonstrated that the world was admitted.

The present negroes were not slaves, or they have been so long free that they have grown familiar with emancipation, and are not easily stirred by the consideration of it to any special thankfulness or activity. Their existing condition has come in their eyes to be a thing of course, and a missionary must take them as he finds them, and draw but sparingly on the past in his endeavours to amend them.

(2.) *Deaths of Missionaries.* It must be recollected that some of the most conspicuous champions in the war of moral principle and human rights have been removed by death. This loss has been severely felt. Words of rebuke or

exhortation, which would have been talismanic if coming from the lips of these veteran and revered leaders, have not the same power when they are spoken by successors, to whom the negroes do not hold themselves primarily indebted for religious ordinances or civil privilege.

Even of missionaries more recently appointed, some of the most distinguished and promising have gone to their rest. I preached for some time in the pulpits of two of them, regarding whom, on that account, I may be allowed to speak more particularly, without any appearance of disrespect to others. I allude to Mr Scott of Montego Bay, and to Mr Callender of Kingston. The more elderly missionaries mourn over the death of Mr Scott as if he had been a tried associate on whose matured and respected powers they had been habituated to rest a deferential dependence, rather than a youth just ordained to the pastoral office, who might have been expected to look to his seniors for counsel and direction. Mr Callender came to Kingston a stranger and an invalid. Amid all the infirmities and discouragements of declining health, he applied himself too ardently to the work of

the ministry; he arrested the attention and aroused the interest of his hearers; he conciliated the favour of the whites and the blacks, of the learned and the illiterate; he drew around him not a few who were previously indifferent to divine things, and, with assiduous tenderness, resolved their anxious inquiries, and directed their entrance into the way of life. He formed and he fostered a christian church, and while his own bodily frame was perishing, he was enabled to bring that society into order and stability. Now that he is gone, his image is reflected in the activity, and spirit, and self-denying efforts of the people who enjoyed his ministrations. Still he is gone, and while Jehovah can bring good out of evil, and subordinate present tribulation to an everlasting bliss, there is no room for denying that the early death of such a minister is in itself calamitous to Jamaica, and when one and another, and many of the most promising missionaries belonging to different religious denominations have been cut down in the prime of life, what can be expected for a time but a sensible weakness in the cause bereft of their services?

(3.) *Retirement of Missionaries.* While many missionaries have died in Jamaica, and are interred in the field where they nobly fought the good fight of faith, it is sad to think that others have been driven from it by discouragements which they contended against, but were not able to overcome, and that numbers, still at their posts, are preparing to follow their brethren who have returned home. It was a heroic resolution which the missionaries of the Baptist communion adopted in 1842, to dispense, from that period, with aid from England, and rely for support on the people whom they instructed. Regarding that important step, the Rev. J. H. Hinton, in his Memoir of the celebrated missionary, the Rev. W. Knibb, says :—'The reader will recollect that the pecuniary pressure on the society at home had often been presented to the missionaries in Jamaica as a reason why they should be at least considerate in their pecuniary drafts. For himself, Knibb met these appeals in a prompt and generous manner, and he used his influence with his brethren to the same end. At this meeting of the association the subject was largely discussed, and the resolution was come to, that

after the 1st of August, 1842, (subject to special exceptions) the brethren would relieve the society altogether of the burden of their support. That this was Knibb's conception, and that it was carried by his influence, there can be no doubt, nor can there be any doubt of the nobleness of the impulse under which he acted. That there were some brethren who questioned the practicability and wisdom of the scheme, is true; and the time is not yet come, perhaps, for expressing a final and conclusive opinion of it. Knibb tells Mr Angus that it had been to him "a trying time," and his own feelings were evidently those of mingled anxiety and hope.' *

Had no such resolution been adopted by any party, it might have been supposed that the negroes were lulled by foreign aid into easy indifference and parsimonious habits, and that they only needed to have their burdens devolved upon their own shoulders in order to be quickened into fidelity, and become the dispensers, instead of continuing the recipients of christian benefactions. But the result has not confirmed this view of the facts. The Baptist missionaries are in

* Memoir of William Knibb, pp. 404, 405.

general enabled to subsist only by taking charge of more stations than they can at all superintend. Some of them are not preserved, even by this expedient, from distressing pecuniary embarrassments, and though there have been exaggerated reports about the number of their agents who have retired, some of them have certainly left because they had not the means of remaining. The Report of the Baptist Theological Institution for 1848, says,—'As we reflect on the circumstances of our mission in this island, the increasing diminution of European labourers by death, *and by withdrawal from the country, on account of insufficiency of means for their support*, added to the hopelessness of obtaining additional agents from home—the importance of sustaining this institution becomes daily more obvious and urgent; especially, as considerable time must elapse before the loss of European agency can be effectively supplied.'

The missionaries in connection with the London Missionary Society, though aided by that powerful institution, are, in some instances at least, inadequately supported, and several of them have recently returned to England. The Wesleyan

body, also, exchanging the question of progress for that of preservation, and finding it impossible even to remain stationary, is contracting, as we have seen, its educational operations; and so far from lengthening, is thus shortening its cords.

The reduction thus made in the number of European agents, whether ministers or schoolmasters, would be less deplorable if educated and pious natives, though of inferior attainments, were taking their places. But, with a very few exceptions, this is not the case. The posts relinquished are left vacant, or they are appended to a missionary's charge before unmanageably comprehensive, or they fall into the hands of native teachers, a large proportion of whom are miserably ignorant, and while they profess to be teachers of others, have need that some one teach them what be the first principles of the oracles of God. There is, we have seen, a class of native Baptists who have no connexion with Baptist churches superintended by British missionaries, or by agents whom they sanction. The teachers among these native Baptists are in many instances unable to write or even to read. I know of one case in which inability to read is

made a condition of holding the deaconship. This may seem to be a strange stipulation, but it is conformable to the circumstances, as a bookless pastor finds reading deacons very formidable rivals.

We shall afterwards find, in the temporal state of the colony, a principal source of ecclesiastical weakness. But the facts already stated leave little room for surprise, that missions have sustained a temporary check, and that congratulations have been succeeded by disappointments and regrets.

IV.

TESTIMONIES TO THE TRUTH OF THE FOREGOING REPRESENTATIONS.

It has not been without a careful investigation into the facts of the case, that I have given an account of the religion of Jamaica, so disappointing to our wishes, and that I have assigned various sorrowful reasons for the low and declining state of its piety. I have no wish, however, that conclusions so important should be received on my single testimony; and I shall therefore, in addition to the proofs already offered, allow some

of the colonists to speak on the subject for themselves.

A conference, attended by ministers and influential members of Independent, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches, was held in the town of Falmouth, on the 15th February, 1849. After speaking together with freedom and at length on the state of the island, the assembled brethren passed unanimously this resolution: 'That those who compose this meeting are thankful to God for the measure of success which he has granted to his own ordinances; are at the same time deeply convinced that the cause of religion has been in a low state in the island for some time, desire to feel humbled on account of the share, by neglect of duty or otherwise, they may have had in producing this evil, and pledge themselves to use such scriptural means as may be within their reach, to revive the cause of God in their respective spheres of influence.'

At a subsequent stage of the proceedings, 'The subject of education,' to use the language of the minute, 'was entertained and discussed fully. The low state of this branch of missionary effort was also admitted and deplored by all those

who were present.' In the month of May of the same year, a similar conference, attended by above thirty missionaries of different denominations, and including not a few of the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion, was held in Kingston. The Falmouth resolutions were brought under consideration, and were unanimously pronounced to give a just view of the south as well as of the north side of the island. In a document subscribed by thirty-one of the missionaries who attended this Kingston meeting, it is said:—

'Missionary efforts in Jamaica are beset at the present time with many and great discouragements. Societies at home have withdrawn or diminished the amount of assistance afforded by them to chapels and schools throughout the island. The prostrate condition of its agriculture and commerce disables its own population from doing as much as formerly for maintaining the worship of God and the tuition of the young, and induces numbers of negro labourers to retire from estates which have been thrown up, to seek the means of subsistence in the mountains, where they are removed in general from moral training and superintendence.

'The consequences of this state of matters are very disastrous. Not a few missionaries and teachers, after struggling with difficulties which they could not overcome, have returned to Europe, and others are preparing to follow them. Chapels and schools are abandoned, or they have passed into the charge of very incompetent instructors. Should this retrograde movement go on, a large body of the people, on whose culture much labour and money have been already expended, will be consigned to neglect, and will become the unrelieved prey of irreligion or superstition. The proofs are too strong that Obeahism and Miallism are even now recovering their influence. The marriage relation, which missionaries have exerted themselves to bring into respect, will anew be disregarded and infrequently formed, and habits of intoxication, which they have subdued or kept in check, will resume and extend their brutalising influence.'

The periodical press is commonly regarded as a pretty good index of the state of a country, especially when it gives its testimony to facts which the writers regret and reluctantly admit. The following passage is from an article in the

Messenger, a religious newspaper, published in Falmouth:—

'With respect to the people, on the subject of religion, much and grievous delusion has all along existed, both in this country and in England. Prior to emancipation, in the face of numerous and formidable difficulties, and ofttimes through suffering and distress, many embraced the gospel, and thus evinced their sincerity and their faith. Subsequently to that event, the rush upon instruction was great. Multitudes appeared to covet scriptural knowledge. Early prayer meetings were common all over the land. Week-day services were well attended. Class houses were filled with eager and attentive auditors, and the Sabbath gatherings were large and gratifying. Missionary stations sprang up on every side. Congregations were speedily collected, and churches formed. Everything seemed to prosper, and the future seemed bright with promise. The minds of thousands appeared as if they had been only waiting for the truth as it is in Jesus. But time has tested the reality of these appearances, and has proved them in the majority of instances to be hollow. A most painful reaction has taken place;

what was founded on feeling has been dissipated, and the number of consistent christians that remains is comparatively small. We speak not of one denomination, but of all, when we express our sorrowful conviction, founded as it is on close and lengthened observation, that were the scriptural tests of holy obedience, growth in grace, and self-denial applied to no small proportion of their members, they would be found to be awfully deficient. We would not exact from them so high a standard of christian excellence, enlightenment, or piety as English christians exhibit. This would be unreasonable. But there should be progressive knowledge, and advancing piety, and satisfactory evidences that such is the case. Is it so? Does not the heart of every faithful missionary grieve over the little impression the truth seems to make? Religious indifference among all classes of the people is rapidly on the increase. A wide-spread carelessness is everywhere apparent. The means of grace are more generally neglected, and the hold of the missionaries on the affections of the people is fast giving way before a spirit of worldliness and selfishness. This spirit is too manifestly seen in the limited

support that is yielded to the gospel. We freely make allowance for altered times, but we cannot account for it from that circumstance alone. There is an altered disposition, which does not harmonise with the inspired injunction, "Give as God prospers." The bright hopes which appeared to be so well and so justly founded have been blasted. The statement that the gospel had but to be preached here, and the people would savingly embrace the truths which it reveals, has proved a delusion, and the faithful and conscientious missionary in Jamaica has to encounter difficulties and discouragements little, if at all, less than those experienced in the more distant fields of missionary labour.

'Why this is called a christian country we cannot tell, unless a loose and general profession of religion be the reason. But it is as really a heathen land, so far as the influence of the gospel is concerned, as many others that uniformly obtain that designation. When the fearful amount of vice, of every form, and kind, and degree, the general and admitted indifference to religion, the mighty contrast which the past and the present supply with regard to its power and

prevalence, are considered, it will be but too evident that Jamaica is as much a missionary field as ever, and that instead of supporting her own missions, and sending the gospel to the "regions beyond," she is still under the necessity of seeking continuous aid from home christian societies. It would be wrong, because untrue, to say that the gospel has effected no good; but it is an humbling and a painful truth that that good has been grievously limited, far too much overrated, and most uncommensurate with the christian agency and means employed.'

Such is the language of the *Messenger*. The picture which it presents of the colony is far from flattering; yet the periodical in which it appeared, and which has been subsequently discontinued for want of adequate support, was more immediately under the direction of the Baptists, and was vehemently censured by many of other denominations as partial to the blacks, and as comparatively censorious towards the white population. I called the attention of several missionaries and private christians to the article, and they all agreed in attesting its accuracy.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

Before I proceed further, I think it may be well to pause, and offer these general reflections:—

1. We ought to be pained by the discovery, that so much irreligion still prevails in Jamaica. It would be a poor account of our christian philanthropy, if we could hear such tidings and not be distressed by them. There are some, indeed, who seem to think themselves bound to view all facts and all events cheerfully, and who therefore conduct their inquiries, if they venture to inquire at all, on the single-sided principle of finding only what is agreeable. And it is true that religion brightens everything—*except sin*. It makes joys more joyful; it subordinates weakness to strength, poverty to riches, solitude to society, tribulation to glorying. But it relieves not the malignity of transgression; rather it deepens into midnight darkness the gloom of iniquity, and makes it, by a hundredfold, a more evil and bitter thing to sin against God. The Psalmist understood this when he said, 'Rivers of tears run down mine eyes, because they kept

not thy law.'* Paul showed his sense of it in exclaiming, 'Brethren, be followers together of us, and mark them which walk so, as ye have us for an example: for many walk of whom I have told you often, and now tell you, even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ.' †

Sin has a special sadness and awfulness when it enters christian societies, when it blights promising appearances and glowing anticipations, and replaces goodly progress in well-doing by backsliding or apostacy. Nehemiah was sore grieved when he heard of the desolations of a material Jerusalem, when he learned that the remnant there left of the captivity were in great affliction and reproach, that the wall of Jerusalem also was broken down, and that the gates thereof were burned with fire. He said unto the king, who asked him why he was sad when he was not sick, 'Why should not my countenance be sad, when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire?' But a place of sepulchres lying waste is not, after all, so terrible as a place

* Ps. cxix. 136. † Phil. iii. 18.

of sanctuaries lying waste; nor are the worst vicissitudes of temporal wars to be compared in dreadfulness with the discomfitures of the church, and a renewed subjection of its privileged realms to the god of this world. Alas, that Jamaica, our joy, should become our grief, and that, when we expected to see the completion of its happiness, we should find its thorough evangelisation almost needing to be commenced!

But, when the cause of sorrow exists, it is good to be sorrowful. To lament iniquity is an evidence of piety; and blessed are they who so mourn, for they shall be comforted. They who deplore the reverses of Zion ally themselves in their grief with its citizens and children, and show that their heart resides within its precincts; and the great Messias has an appointment 'unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness; that they might be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified. And they shall build the old wastes, they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations

of many generations.'* A leading principle of these beautiful verses, viewed in their mutual dependence, is, that they who lament spiritual calamities shall be made instrumental in removing them, and in restoring that prosperity of which they deplore the departure.

2. There is some hazard of interpreting adverse appearances too unfavourably. We have seen that in former years the missionaries overestimated their success, and, in relation to the prospects of the missionary cause, allowed themselves to indulge hopes which facts have not justified. But humanity is prone to extremes; and when we have been causelessly elated, we are apt, in descending from this elevation, to become as unduly depressed. In such cases, these words of Paul are appropriate and seasonable: 'Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. . . . Wot ye not what the scripture saith of Elias? how he maketh intercession against Israel, saying, Lord, they have killed thy prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life. But what saith the answer of God unto him? I have reserved to

* Isa. lxi. 3, 4.

myself seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal. Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace.'* It was my own impression, from what I saw, that the strong complaints of failure which I have cited were stronger than the truth; and that they did injustice to important grounds of congratulation and elements of hope. To see that missionaries have done, and are doing much good in Jamaica, we have only to look to their congregations, and then to the neglected, uninstructed portions of the community. The contrast then observed is not less decided than what is found at home, when we compare the church-going and church-deserting sections of our population. The christianity of Jamaica may be inferior to that of Britain, but the heathenism of the colony is also more ignorant, profligate, and appalling, than that of the mother country. I trust it will be made apparent, in a succeeding portion of this Treatise, that the friends of Jamaica need not want the stimulus of expectancy in seeking its improvement.

* Rom. xi. 1, etc.

3. Success is not the reason or measure of duty.

It is pleasant to see the fruit of our labours; and our comfort cannot be otherwise than greatly affected by the fulfilment or frustration of our plans. But these changeful constituents of action do not weaken the fixity of obligation. If all our schemes, exploits, conquests were annihilated, the divine command would remain, and it would be just as entire and authoritative as ever. You are chagrined, perhaps, (if I may be allowed the language of direct address) that your contributions to the work of God in Jamaica have not been more productive. You expected to hear of additional thousands being converted, and of these converts developing their discipleship in their liberality, and more especially in supporting the ordinances of which they experienced the value. It was your anticipation that these negro churches would not only be self-supporting, but generous and beneficent, and that they would soon be leagued with you in imparting to others the means of grace. For such things you were looking, and had providence run in the path excavated and decorated by your fancy, you

would have followed joyously, and would have luxuriated in the enterprise. But when God has destroyed the hopes of man, and the missionary cause is bereft of fascination and romance, and the shout of victory is exchanged for protracted and weary conflict, you are dispirited,—if you would confess it, you are *dissatisfied.* Your regret has the nature of discontent, and disposes you to seek relief from the pain which it gives you, not in prayer or in renewed and redoubled effort, but in desertion and apathy. The mission is no longer an interesting mission, and you would like to be out of it, and the sooner the better.

If it be so with any, then I ask wherein their conduct differs from that by which they are offended and alienated? Is it not equally true of them and of the recreant negroes, that they are going back from Christ to walk no more with him? There and here, interest was in the first instance upheld, and has been subsequently repressed, by conventional influences.

The state of Jamaica is commending the faithful worshippers there. The true convert in that island is he who vindicates his conversion now:

who is guileless amid duplicity, self-denying amid coveteousness, zealous and active amid insipidity and sloth. And if the present state of Jamaica shows who there is the believer, it may show not less decisively who here is the benefactor,—who has that love for poor expatriated Africans which many waters cannot quench, nor floods drown—love such, and so cherished, that if another man should offer all the substance of his house for it, he would find the bribe utterly contemned. We have professed charity towards Jamaica. Let us see to the stability of our profession; for the rains are descending, and the floods are coming, and the winds are blowing, and they are beating against that house; and happy will it be for ourselves, and happy for our churches, happy for Jamaica, and happy for the world, if our benevolence stand because it is founded upon a rock.

DISTRESS OF JAMAICA.

I.

EXTENT OF THE DISTRESS.

BEFORE going out to Jamaica, I had heard not a little about its distressed condition. I hoped to find the facts better than the reports; but I cannot say that my hopes were verified. The first thing which struck me on approaching the island, as indicative of its adversities, was, that so very few vessels were in sight. There was scarcely a sail to be seen. Unless when we were passing harbours, where a few masts were visible, the ocean had such an aspect of solitude, at the very time we were sailing along the shores, that we might have supposed ourselves on a voyage of discovery. Within the island it is painful to hear of little except ruin, and to find the circumstances and spirits of the colonists equally prostrate.

In many districts the marks of decay abound.

Neglected fields, crumbling houses, fragmentary fences, noiseless machinery—these are common sights, and they soon become familiar to observation. I sometimes rode for miles in succession over fertile ground, which used to be cultivated, and which is now lying waste. So rapidly has cultivation retrograded, and the wild luxuriance of nature replaced the conveniences of art, that parties, still inhabiting these desolated districts, have sometimes, in the strong language of a speaker at Kingston, 'to seek about the bush to find the entrance into their houses.'

The towns present a spectacle not less gloomy. A great part of Kingston was destroyed, some years ago, by an extensive conflagration; yet multitudes of the houses which escaped that visitation are standing empty, though the population is little, if at all diminished. The explanation is obvious. Persons who have nothing, and can no longer keep up their domestic establishments, take refuge in the abodes of others, where some means of subsistence are still left; and in the absence of any discoverable trade or occupation, the lives of crowded thousands appear to be preserved from day to day by a species of miracle.

The most busy thoroughfares of former times have now almost the quietude of a Sabbath.

It is true that partial observation is deceptive, and that detached facts, coming under the view of individuals, may not give at all a just conception of the general state of a colony. But there are facts of a comprehensive character which point to the same conclusions. I was assured by commercial men that there is not one-third of the amount of money in the island that was in it so lately as eight years ago. Statistical returns of the agriculture of the island have also been obtained; and these are sufficiently mournful. A Committee of the House of Assembly was appointed, in 1847, to inquire into the extent of agricultural distress. The evidence taken by them was on oath; and in their report they have these statements:—

'That since the passing of the British Slave Emancipation Act, of the 653 sugar estates then in cultivation in this island, 140 have been abandoned, containing 168,032 acres of land, and having then employed in their cultivation 22,553 labourers.

'That those properties now extinct produced,

in the year 1832, 14,178 hogsheads of sugar, and 5,903 puncheons rum.

'That since the same period, 465 coffee plantations have been abandoned, containing 188,400 acres of land, and having employed in their cultivation, in the year 1832, 26,830 labourers.'

It was declared to me by many parties, that since the report containing these announcements was made to the House, in December, 1847, there has been considerable progress in the same sad direction; and that a faithful account of facts, brought down to the present time, would exhibit results more comprehensively disastrous.

On these grounds I was led to say, in addressing the anti-slave-trade meeting, held last year in Spanish Town,—'You inhabit a beautiful island. Your soil is confessed to be generally excellent. The weeds of your public roads are the ornamental plants of our green-houses and hot-houses. Your very wilds are orchards. The grandeur of your mountains is qualified only by the soft charms of their vegetation, and the bounty of nature has transformed your rocky cliffs into hanging gardens. Your isle has a central position in the ocean, as if to receive and

to dispense the riches of the earth. You speak one language, and the composition of this meeting shows that a happy harmony subsists among the sections of your community. Such facts as these would lead us to expect prosperity. But instead of prosperity, we witness prostration. You have peace, fertility, health—all the usual guarantees of national well-being—and yet your leading families are disappearing—your stately mansions are falling into decay—your lovely estates are thrown up—men's hearts are everywhere failing them for fear, as if war, or famine, or pestilence desolated your borders.'*

It may be thought by some that the Premier, in his able speech on our colonial policy, delivered in the House of Commons on the 3d of February last, gave a more cheering view of matters. As reported in the *Times* newspaper, he said,—'Taking the three years, 1815, 1816, 1817, before any of these changes took place, I

* The speech from which this extract is taken treated of the same topics as are here discussed; and I may be allowed the freedom of introducing passages from it occasionally, to save myself the trouble of saying the same things differently, and to show that I am speaking as if in the view of the facts, and to informed parties.

find that the West Indies furnished for consumption in this country an average of 2,947,824 cwt. of sugar; in the three years, 1830, 1831, 1832, before emancipation took place, an average of 3,895,820 cwt.; in the three years, 1843, 1844, 1845, before the great change of the sugar duties, 2,645,212 cwt.; and, in the three years, 1847, 1848, 1849, after both changes had been in operation, 2,807,667 cwt. Now, if you compare the first amount I read to the house with the last, you will see the change has been from 2,947,824 cwt. to 2,807,667 cwt.'

From this statement it appears that the average of the three years immediately preceding the changes referred to was 3,895,820 cwt. The average of the last three years is 2,807,667 cwt. The difference is 1,088,153 cwt.

These statistics include all our West Indian Islands. But Jamaica is more depressed than some others of them, and its individual returns would give a more discouraging result. The tables, also, have respect only to the quantity of produce, and do not exhibit the vast reduction of price.

Comparing tables given in the Eighth and

Tenth Annual Reports of the Anti-Slavery Society, I find that the sugar produced in Jamaica in 1832 and in 1833 was, on an average, 1,344,340 cwt. These years were immediately antecedent to the first change mentioned by Lord John Russell.

In 1847 the produce had fallen to 751,408 cwt., and in 1848 to 627,008 cwt.

It may be proper to give a comparative view of the amount of coffee produced in the same years. It stands thus—

In 1832, ...	19,405,933 lbs.
In 1833, ...	11,348,506 "
In 1847, ...	6,570,363 "
In 1848, ...	4,495,702 "

If the first and last of these years be compared, it will be seen that the produce has been reduced to less than a fourth of what it was.

I cannot, with any propriety, go farther into such details. The facts already presented to the reader will probably have satisfied him that arithmetic confirms observation in ascribing temporal reverses to Jamaica, and in claiming for its afflicted population some consideration and sympathy.

II.

EFFECTS OF TEMPORAL DISTRESS ON THE SPIRITUAL INTERESTS OF THE COLONY.

The commercial disasters of the island are shedding a baneful influence on its religious prosperity. It is true that afflictions may be, and often are sanctified to the afflicted. Examples of this truth now present themselves in Jamaica. It consists with my own knowledge, that several merchants and planters who were profligate in the time of plenty, have been brought to reflection and repentance by the rod of divine correction. I was much struck to hear a negro express himself to the following effect at a devotional meeting:—'Much is said about distress; but we are not yet distressed enough, for we are not yet humbled enough. When God shall reduce us to utter helplessness, and bring us in this way to entire dependence, then will be the turning point of our affairs, and then will a day of favour cast its first beams on the night of our adversities.'

Such sentiments are worthy of grave consideration; and yet they do not invert the nature

of calamity, and make it of itself a blessing. Pecuniary resources in the hands of true christians are means of doing good; and any reduction of their amount involves a diminution of usefulness, unless friendly interest be awakened elsewhere, and help come from another quarter.

The temporal reverses of the island are affecting injuriously its ecclesiastical well-being in a variety of ways. The negro, who some years ago was receiving 1s 6d per day for his labour, is not in a condition to contribute so much for the maintenance of religion now that his wages are brought down to about one-half or one-third of their former amount. Even if he has a spot of ground allowed him as a vegetable garden, a sixpence or ninepence per day can spare little from personal and family purchases for more general objects. And where the negro has no provision-ground, and is so poorly compensated for his toil, as has been stated, or it may be, is altogether out of work, he is in a very wretched and starving state.

Where some cannot give what they would for the cause of religion, others who are niggardly avail themselves of existing scarcity to withstand

application. The badness of the times is a ready answer to every claim on their generosity. These statements apply not only to the blacks, but to the whites. The African race are greatly influenced by the example of the British colonists. But masters are equally straitened as their servants; and such of them as make a profession of religion are prevented by their insolvent circumstances from making provision for the ministry, or they are tempted, without just reason, to plead inability where they want inclination.

Schools suffer equally with churches in the present crisis of the colony. The fees paid by the pupils are altogether insufficient to secure competent teachers; and what inducements have parents to keep their children at school, when there are no salaries for young men, in any department of business, to reward and encourage literary acquirement?

In a word, the distress which now prevails brings an utter heartlessness over society. All the attempts which have been made to amend matters have had one issue—*failure;* and when new suggestions are made, they are heard with the indifference of despair. Industry is para-

lysed; and such is the connexion between our lower and higher nature, that where there is no diligence in business, there is no fervency of spirit in serving the Lord.

III.

CAUSES OF EXISTING DISTRESS IN JAMAICA.

The foregoing observations show that the secular troubles of the colony have a spiritual importance, and that a service may be done to religion if we trace these troubles to their sources. I am aware that I enter here on delicate and debated ground. If this consideration call for discretion on my part, it may also give me some title to the forbearance of the reader. I shall mention most of the conceivable reasons of distress, that I may give a somewhat full view of the subject; but it will be observed that I do not, in every instance, offer a personal judgment as to their validity.

I.—BRITISH LEGISLATION.

If the question simply were, Why has a colony, once a mine of wealth, become a scene

of calamity, it would be easy to explain the change by British legislation. The Emancipation Act of 1834 heightened the price of labour. The freed negro would no longer toil for an unreasonable length of time, as when the lash was over him; and for such tasks as he chose to perform, he claimed wages previously denied him.

Then came the act of 1846, admitting slave-grown sugar into the British market. As emancipation heightened the price of labour, so the abolition of protective duties reduced the value of produce. On the one hand, the planters now spent more on their crop, and, on the other hand, they got less for it; and these discouragements conjoined have precipitated them from their former affluence to their present penury.

In these observations, I am not debating principles, but stating facts, or, if a question be involved, I am not viewing it in the light of right and wrong, but of cause and effect. That the parliamentary acts adverted to have been severe in their influence on the colony, is admitted by the leading statesmen who proposed them, and who still defend them as having been just and

necessary. Lord John Russell, in his speech of last February on our colonial policy, said: 'I will now proceed to colonies which have undergone two very severe trials, the very consequence of the great advantages which they peculiarly derived from those laws of commercial monopoly which this country till lately maintained as part of its system, and the alteration of which subjected these colonies—I refer, of course, to our West India colonies—to changes which, in the view of some parties, involve their certain ruin. The great social change there from slavery to freedom, however much it might be demanded by the rules of justice and the precepts of christianity, might well be supposed as leading to a diminution of industry in those colonies, and more especially of the more irksome and painful descriptions of labour. Again, the changes which took place in late years, first admitting foreign free-labour sugar, and then admitting foreign slave-labour sugar, exposed these colonies to a very severe trial.'

The question, however, arises, Why should not Jamaica, in its altered circumstances, get on as well as other countries where labourers have

wages, and where trade has no protective duties? This query requires us to adduce farther reasons, in explanation of the facts.

II.—HABITS OF THE NEGROES.

These have been already described, and I shall not add anything to the description here. I revert to the subject as having a manifest importance in this connexion; for a working population more trained to action, and more imbued with sound moral principle, would soon bring the island into a better condition. This cause of distress must also be kept in mind when we come to speak of remedies.

III.—IRREGULARITY OF THE PERIODICAL RAINS.

Jamaica has vernal and autumnal rains. The vernal or spring rains begin commonly about the middle of May. They come from the south. They fall commonly about mid-day, and they frequently terminate in thunder-storms. The autumnal rains begin usually about the end of August, and are in general more abundant than those of the spring. 'The heavens,' says Mr

Edwards, 'then pour down cataracts.' During the wet seasons, the atmosphere is excessively humid; and the inhabitants have been graphically described as living, at these periods, in a vapour bath. October is the month of hurricanes. Malte-Brun gives the following account of these visitations:—'A hurricane is generally preceded by an awful stillness of the elements: the air becomes close and heavy, the sun is red, and the stars at night seem unusually large. Frequent changes take place in the thermometer, which rises sometimes from eighty to ninety degrees. Darkness extends over the earth: the higher regions gleam with lightning. The impending storm is first observed on the sea: foaming mountains rise suddenly from its clear and motionless surface. The wind rages with unrestrained fury: its noise may be compared to the distant thunder. The rain descends in torrents; shrubs and lofty trees are borne down by the mountain stream; the rivers overflow their banks, and submerge the plains. Terror and consternation seem to pervade the whole of animated nature: land-birds are driven into the ocean; and those whose element is the sea, seek

for refuge in the woods. The frighted beasts of the field herd together, or roam in vain for a place of shelter. It is not a contest of two opposite winds, or a roaring ocean that shakes the earth: all the elements are thrown into confusion, the equilibrium of the atmosphere seems as if it were destroyed, and nature appears to hasten to her ancient chaos. Scenes of desolation have been disclosed in these islands by the morning sun,—uprooted trees, branches shivered from their trunks, the ruins of houses, have been strewed over the land. The planter is sometimes unable to distinguish the place of his former possessions. Fertile valleys may be changed in a few hours into dreary wastes, covered with the carcases of domestic animals and the fowls of heaven.'

Jamaica was visited with such hurricanes in 1780, 1784, and 1786. But since that period they have not recurred, unless with greatly moderated violence. The aspect of the seasons has, in other respects, changed considerably. They were always liable to variation, both as respects the different parts of the island, and also different years compared with each other.

But the general impression when I was in the island was, that the irregularity and deficiency of the rains had increased, of late years, to a most calamitous extent; and it was a common mode of speech to talk about 'the loss of the seasons.'

I was at Kingston when the spring rains should have come, but they were so slight and partial that they were scarcely regarded as falling at all. The sky became overcast, a gentle shower descended, a hope was inspired that the seasons were returning, and that now, as heretofore, God would send the former and latter rain upon the earth. But a dry wind arose, and rolled together the watery clouds, and swept them away from the celestial canopy, and left the ground like iron, and the heavens like brass. I remember of hearing a planter exclaim despondingly in such circumstances:—'It is vain for us to contend with our doom. Our controversy is not with acts of Parliament, but with the wrath of the Almighty. God is against us, and there is his curse written in the sky!'

Since that period, the rains, I am glad to learn,

have resumed, in some degree, their punctuality and copiousness; and I trust that the island will be favoured with a succession of more propitious seasons.

IV.—COLLISION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF THE COLONIAL LEGISLATURE.

It is known that the Governor and Council have had angry and protracted contendings with the House of Assembly. The principal subject of disputation has been the costliness of the colonial government and administration of justice. While I was in Jamaica, this strife of political parties was causing great excitement everywhere, and was in no small degree paralysing industry and commerce. On the one hand, it was urged that the expenditure of the colony should be brought within its income—that a system of rule which slavery may have required and protective duties could afford, is superabundant for free, peaceful subjects, and extravagant for a ruined, struggling community—and that, owing to the reduction of prices, all state-paid functionaries have in effect a large augmentation of their salaries. On the other hand, it was argued

that engagements already come under cannot be broken—that faith must be kept with individuals, who relinquished lucrative callings for their present posts—and that retrenchment, however desirable, requires to be conducted with discretion and honesty as well as with zeal.

These are points about which it does not become me to give any opinion. I rejoice, for the sake of the colony, that they seem to be approaching an amicable settlement. Lord John Russell, in the speech to which I have already adverted repeatedly, said:—'With regard to those colonies which I mentioned in the commencement of what I addressed to the house—Barbadoes and Jamaica, and those other colonies—they have for a long time enjoyed there government by council and assembly; and although such institutions led, from time to time, to differences between the Governor and the Assembly, I do not think that with regard to them there is likely to be any permanent disagreement or any evil result. It is evident, with regard to Jamaica, for instance, although the Assembly was disposed to press an immediate reduction in the judges' salaries, which we could not think to be just,

yet that the very reasonable opposition made in the Council, and the able speech of the Chief Justice in the Council, have produced a great effect in that island; and it does not appear that they will press any reductions but those they can make with justice. I believe the reduction already made will amount to about £70,000 on the expenditure of the island.'

V.—INEQUALITY OF IMPOSTS LEVIED BY THE COLONY AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY ON THEIR MUTUAL TRADE.

This is a subject to which I merely call attention, that it may be discussed by others who can understand its merits. I heard the colonists complain strongly and often about the alleged grievance of these imposts, and their injurious bearing on colonial interests. They made out a proof that Jamaica charged England 2 per cent. (subsequently increased to 4 per cent.) on goods, and paid 50 per cent. on sugar, and 400 per cent. on rum.

VI.—ABUSES IN THE MANAGEMENT OF ESTATES.

Slavery and monopoly could uphold a prodigal superintendence. Hence the estates, in former

times, had a great abundance and diversity of rule. Under the name of planters were included proprietors, attorneys, overseers, and bookkeepers. The attorney, in the absence of the proprietor, had supreme and general control. He was not necessarily or usually an attorney at law. He might be a merchant, lawyer, or physician. Sometimes there were two attorneys; one appointed to look after mercantile and legal affairs, and the other to superintend the agricultural work of the plantations. In some cases an attorney had charge of ten, fifteen, or twenty estates; and then he employed sub-agents to manage distant properties, which he himself visited once a-year. The overseer had charge of planting and farming operations. He assigned to labourers the work they had to do, and he was bound to see that the appointed tasks were performed. Next in rank to the overseer, and under his direction, were the bookkeepers, who probably never saw an account-book all their life, but who had it for their duty to follow the slaves while at work, under the piercing rays of a tropical sun, and take their turn of night watching in the boiling house.

These many masters did not secure efficient service. They kept up a system of wasteful routine, in which the hoe continued to be employed where the plough was available. Of late, the work of amendment has made considerable progress; but even now antiquated implements and indolent usages are seen in many quarters; and such remissness allow us to anticipate no small benefit from farther improvements.

Abuses such as I have noticed could not have obtained sufferance under the eye of a proprietor, and hence I mention, among causes of distress—

VII.—NON-RESIDENT PROPRIETARY.

The estates, with few exceptions, are managed not by their owners, or under their inspection, but by such functionaries as I have named—attorneys, overseers, clerks, and bookkeepers. Any man of business may judge how far his affairs would prosper if they wholly wanted his personal attentions, and were conducted by delegates beyond the reach of his scrutiny. In Cuba much of the cultivation is carried on, I believe, under the eye of parties to whom the soil belongs, and particularly of enterprising Americans, who

have established themselves in that island; and to this circumstance its thriving trade may be in a great measure attributed. Our West Indian proprietors, in consequence of their great distance from their possessions, have not been able as yet to introduce sufficiently those economical arrangements which are absolutely required by the altered state of legislation and of commerce. Where sustained and even additional outlay would be of great value, as in obtaining the improvement of machinery, they find it difficult without inspection to judge of the necessity, and although they should be fully convinced that new implements are indispensable to modern competition, their mortgaged estates and wrecked fortunes can scarcely afford the sacrifice.

That non-residence is a principal source of calamity to Jamaica, is strongly indicated by the fact, that estates which bring nothing but loss, while they are in the hands of proprietors at home, may be rented or sold on remunerative terms to parties on the island. Some have made more of this fact than it warrants. They have spoken as if an attorney must have been a very negligent or dishonest steward, when he made an

estate burdensome to its owner, and yet is willing to advance money to become its farmer or purchaser. But this argument is not decisive against his fidelity. While he works for others, he must walk by their restrictions. When he becomes sole master, he can choose his own markets, his own shipping; he can discard favourites who may be dispensed with, and introduce improvements where he deems them to be essential. These facilities may render the estate considerably more valuable to himself than it was to his remote employers, and may account for the bargain he is willing to make with them. Yet these transactions have proved, in many instances, ruinous to attorneys and to others who have staked capital upon them; and therefore they do not furnish ground for strong conclusions. I detach the subject from all questions of blame, and say only that the delegation of trust, so common and almost universal in Jamaica, is a principal cause of its present misfortunes.

VIII.—SYSTEM OF NEGRO PROVISION-GROUNDS.

In the time of slavery, many of the negroes had grounds assigned them, on the produce of

which they and their families subsisted, and for the cultivation of which the law allowed them one day in each fortnight. They retain these grounds still, in some instances paying a small rent for them, and in others holding them as payment in part of their labour. It appeared to me that this mode of supporting a large proportion of the negro population is attended with serious evils. If the negroes take offence at anything, or if they are simply disposed to have a pastime, they retire to their grounds. Instead of taking one day in a fortnight, they now take two or three days in a week for their gardening operations. Hence the business of the estates is most seriously interrupted; and after labour has become sufficiently cheap, the planters are still subjected to extreme inconvenience and loss by the uncertainty and inconstancy of service. The system I am speaking of has resulted from the great extent of Jamaica, compared with the small number of its inhabitants. Masters are thus tempted to pay for labour in land rather than in money. Therefore, I mention, as another cause of distress—

IX.—THE WANT OF LABOURERS.

When so many estates have been thrown up, and so many thousands of labourers have been thus deprived of employment, it appears paradoxical to affirm that there can be any difficulty in finding people to do the work of the plantations. But where there is such an extent of territory so thinly peopled, the unemployed blacks can retire to their grounds, or to the mountains, or may squat in fertile spots, and long defy all attempts at their ejection; and hence the abandonment of some estates brings little or no additional service to others. If the population were doubled, industry would become indispensable to comfort, and every species of gainful employment would be more assiduously prosecuted.

X.—UNEQUAL COMPETITION BEWEEN THE FREE LABOUR OF JAMAICA AND THE SLAVE LABOUR OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

I know that the comparative expense of free and slave labour is matter of controversy; and it may be the case that our West Indian colonists overestimate the mercantile advantages which they

would derive from the suppression of slavery in countries with which they have to cope. I have looked into the statistical details by which some have attempted to show that an estate in Jamaica is more cheaply worked now than it was in the days of slavery, and over the items of a conflicting representation, by which a proof has been offered in regard to the same estate, that the cultivation of it is now much more costly than it was in former times.

It is foreign to the character of this Treatise to trouble the reader with such a war of figures. After examining the evidence, I state my general persuasion, that Jamaica is disadvantageously situated in its competition with such a country as either Cuba or Brazil. That this is the case, is the all-pervading belief in Jamaica itself, and all parties have there combined in giving expression to this conviction. While I was in the island, a great meeting, embracing whigs and tories, churchmen and dissenters, whites and blacks, was held in Spanish Town; and one of the resolutions then passed was in these words:—

'That so long as the sugar planters of Cuba,

Porto Rico, and Brazil, in defiance of the laws of their respective countries, and of the treaties by which the Spanish and Brazilian Governments stand bound to Her Majesty, are permitted to reinforce, by fresh drafts from slavery, the means of increasing their profits, it is hopeless, in countries so thinly peopled as Jamaica, Guiana, and Trinidad, for the proprietors of the soil to persevere in its cultivation.'

In supporting this resolution, I made the following observations:—

'The resolution to which I am speaking declares that commerce cannot revive here, while the slave-trade pours its victims into those countries with which Jamaica is now brought into competition. This may appear to some a startling proposition: it may seem to them a libel on the divine government to allow that free labour is unable to contend with slave labour. If that admission be made, where, it may be asked, is the noble adage that "honesty is the best policy?" I am anxious to present this subject in a just light; and I begin by granting to these objectors that the largest confidence may be reposed in equity. If it be confessed to me that a system is

wrong in principle, and I be at the same time counselled to let it alone, because it is old and respected, and upheld by adventitious circumstances, I reply, "Down with it"—*Fiat justitia ruat cœlum*—Let justice take its course, though the heavens perish. But in judging a great principle, you must try it fairly. Partial justice is often the grossest injustice; and a restricted freedom may be tantamount to oppression. You think it strange and sad that slave labour should be more productive than free labour. But of what is it more productive?—of morals, health, happiness? No: only of money. And what is there discreditable to liberty in the idea that violence may have an unrighteous advantage over it in the single article of pecuniary profit? If unprincipled force were never successful in its extortions, much of the language of scripture would be unmeaning or fallacious. There would then be no room for the wages of iniquity, and no place for the trials, and I may say for the triumphs of virtue. If one man employ his workmen for ten hours a-day, and another his bondsman for eighteen hours daily, and the latter is allowed to repair his cruel waste of life by

grafting on the slave-owner the functions of the man-stealer, then I know of nothing but a miracle that can give the humane master and the inhuman monster the same amount of mercantile return. The slave-trader adds to his revenue; but a great principle is not disproved or compromised by his success; that success is limited and short-lived, even to the individual; guilty gains are infinitely worse than guiltless losses; and if we view the world generally, what sordid acquisition of Spain or Brazil can compensate for the unfathomable wrongs and sufferings of Africa? I hold myself entitled, then, to advocate the general advantageousness of virtue, and yet contend for the accuracy of this resolution.'

In these observations, I held as granted that the slaves are overtasked in Cuba. Any one, by glancing at occasional numbers of the 'Anti-Slavery Reporter,' may see overwhelming evidence to this effect. Beyond all doubt, the poor negroes are there most barbarously used. The late Lord George Bentinck, in one of his parliamentary speeches, estimated the average life of a slave in Cuba at seven years. This computation, too well supported by its data, gives an

appalling view of the murderousness of slavery. The question, however, with the Cuba planter is not one of mercy, but one of money. He finds that the loss sustained by occasional death among his slaves is not so great as would be the loss resulting from abridged hours of labour to all slaves daily—so long, that is, as he can steal living men, or buy the stolen to replace the dead.

How this revolting calculation can disparage free labour I am still unable to perceive. Suppose that a man buy his horses at a fair price, and feed them well, and work them moderately. Is such a man in a condition to cope with another, who feeds his horses sparingly, and works them severely, and when they die in his hands, steals others from his neighbours, or buys them for a trifle from horse-stealers?

Yet if parties will swear only by the god Mammon, and think it an infallible denunciation of any system to be discountenanced at his shrine, there is one view in which slave labour is more expensive than free labour. To keep slaves may be less costly to individuals than to hire servants; but slaves have to be more than kept—they have

to be *kept down*; and this latter part of the process is expensive to the community. It burdens a country with all the onerousness of a large standing army. These things keep pace with each other. For just as the slave is worse and worse treated, in order to exact more toil and treasure out of him, it becomes increasingly hazardous to perpetuate such cruel bondage; and the growing danger of resistance and vengeance must be met by additional corps of constabulary and military.

These reflections point to ultimate relief from the wrongs deplored. But now I detain attention on the fact, that the bondage of other countries is a bane to Jamaica. We saw that it still suffers from its own past slavery, and now we see its suffering to be perfected by the present slavery of Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil.

What a giant evil, then, is this enormity of claiming proprietorship in human flesh and blood! Allow it to take root anywhere, and there is no limit to its bitterness. When you suppose it to be eradicated, the moral atmosphere where it stood is poisoned by it for centuries. And when you have fled from it to the uttermost

parts of the sea, you find it pursuing you with its malignant power, present in all its pestiferousness, thwarting all industry and diligence, and eliminating from the curse of toil the only soothing element of earning bread by the sweat of the brow. The upas tree is a fiction. But were all its fabulousness turned into fact, it would be a harmless plant—a tree to be cherished in orchards and pleasure-grounds, compared with this monster production of human cruelty, by which man is robbed, chained, bought, sold, made cheap and vile, till the wide world is withered by the outrage, and the course of nature stagnates in its channels. How shall God bless us, or how shall the earth yield its increase, while one immortal seizes another, and throws him on the earth, despoils him of human attributes, and extorts a submission which God does not ask, and effaces or disfigures the image of his Maker by the brand of slavery?

This cannot always last. If there be a God in heaven, and justice and judgment be the habitation of his throne, it must come to an end. The needy shall not always be forgotten. The expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever.

Arise, O Lord, let not man prevail. Put them in fear, O Lord, that the nations may know themselves to be but men.

II.

REMEDIES FOR THE DISTRESS IN JAMAICA.

I may here premise, that relief need not be expected, for it is not likely to be obtained, from a restoration of protective duties. That hope is gone, and to discuss it is only to perpetuate irritation by the discussion, and to withdraw attention from practical suggestions. Therefore, I give no opinion about the justice or injustice, the wisdom or folly of applying the free-trade policy to our West Indian colonies, but pass on to speak of remedial measures which admit, as I think, of being carried into effect.

I.—AN IMPROVED MANAGEMENT OF ESTATES.

We have seen the evils of non-residence. These would be cured if proprietors now in England would go out to Jamaica, and reside on their colonial properties, or even if they would pay stated visits to their estates. The presence of such

landlords would be in many ways of vast benefit to the island. But if they cannot think of emigrating to Jamaica, they may sell their estates to residents. Or if a sale cannot be immediately effected with advantage, a lease may be the alternative most proper to be adopted. If none of all these steps can be taken, a proprietor may send out, or engage on the spot, a competent individual, to examine into the management of his property, and ascertain where agency and instrumentality can be simplified and economised without detriment to essential interests. The reductions which have been effected in this manner, within two years, are almost incredible. I know of one firm having, through the exertions of a junior partner who was sent out, effected retrenchments last year to the extent of £1000!

It was always a thing to me most mysterious, that estates should be absolutely thrown up, and permitted to lie waste, instead of being farmed out in small lots to the negroes, if they could not be turned to account otherwise. In the plains, I saw cleared and fertile land made no use of whatever; and when I ascended the mountains, I saw the negroes felling trees and blasting rocks,

to bring into cultivation a wilderness for which they had to pay rent. Surely there is some remissness and error in this state of things. After all that I have heard about attempts and failures, I retain the conviction, that well-directed enterprise would lead to happier results.

II.—IMMIGRATION OF FREE BLACKS FROM AMERICA.

Schemes of immigration for our West Indian colonies have always been regarded with suspicion by the friends of humanity. And the fears entertained on this subject have been to a lamentable extent justified by facts; for the attempts hitherto made to import labourers into Jamaica, though productive of good,* have been less beneficial than was expected, and have been attended with great loss of life. Yet the

* On this subject, a friend who has property in Jamaica says to me,—'It is true that immigration has not worked well in all cases for our West Indian colonies. But this is simply because it has not been judiciously conducted. To all the extent that it has been fairly tried, it has proved most beneficial. I know of one instance in which Portuguese labourers are receiving a shilling per day because they work regularly and well, while negroes are allowed only ninepence. In one estate in Jamaica we have a good many immigrants, and we find them so useful, that I do not know how their services could be dispensed with.'

opponents of oppression do not deny that a scanty population is disastrous to a country, or that immigration admits of being conducted on just and humane principles. In the Annual Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for 1848, it is said,—'The supply of foreign labour, and the principles which should regulate its introduction into the British colonies, have been, as the members of this society well know, the topic of earnest controversy. The ground taken by the committee has ever been that, supposing the necessity for the importation of immigrants really existed, it should meet the following conditions:—First, that it should be perfectly free, the spontaneous act of freemen; secondly, that a due regard should be had to the equality of the sexes, and to the introduction of families; thirdly, that the expenses attending it should either be borne by the immigrants themselves, or by those specially requirin their services; and fourthly, that they should be subjected to no exceptional legislation.'

In this statement of principles I entirely concur; and I am of opinion that, in perfect accordance with them, a supply of foreign labour

might be obtained for Jamaica. The colonists, with a fatality attending all their measures of relief, have looked to every quarter but the right quarter. Why not get free blacks from America? Many of them are runaway slaves from the South, who are inured to toil in a tropical climate. Their brethren in the North, to whom they fly for shelter, are at a loss how to dispose of them; and they are sent in considerable numbers to Canada, where the change of temperature is trying to their constitution. Others of them, rather than suffer the social persecution to which the prejudice against colour exposes them in all States of the Union, allow themselves to be shipped off by the Colonization Society, and undergo a virtual banishment to Liberia. Would not such negroes, with a full knowledge of the facts, prefer, to either Canada or Liberia, a near and fertile island of the ocean, where they would find a climate suitable for them, abundance of provisions to be had for little labour, and friendly intercourse with whites on a footing of equal privilege?

This proposal seems to me to have many recommendations. The negroes in America speak

the English language much better in general than those in Jamaica, and have been more accustomed to provide themselves with ministers and schoolmasters. The communication of such attainments and usages to the population of our colony would be unspeakably in its favour. But would the free blacks come from America? If they were properly encouraged and directed, I am convinced that they would. The Rev. Dr Pennington, of New York, whose eloquence, discretion, and amiable deportment, afford of themselves decisive proof that the negro mind admits of high cultivation, was lately in Glasgow, and commended himself to all sections of its community. I took the opportunity thus afforded me of getting his opinion regarding the project now under consideration. Here is his answer:—

'To Rev. Dr King.

'Dear Sir,—In answer to the question you have put to me—to wit, "Can enterprising, industrious coloured people of the United States be induced to emigrate in any considerable numbers to Jamaica?"—I have to say, that I believe

they can, if judicious steps are taken to show them the decided advantages which will result from the measure to themselves, and to those whom they leave behind.

'While on a visit to Jamaica, in the winter of 1846, I made a tour of the island, with a view to inform myself as to the adaptation of the country for coloured people from America. The result was quite satisfactory—the more so, as I met with a number already from America who were doing well. I returned to the United States in the spring, fully intending to agitate the subject, and to urge upon my brethren in America the desirableness not only of emigration to Jamaica, but of more commercial, ecclesiastical, and literary intercourse with our brethren of the West Indies. When I arrived at home, a severe domestic affliction awaited me. This visitation, and other unforeseen difficulties of a local nature, occupied me far more than any scheme of emigration. Then followed the death of my predecessor, Rev. Theodore S. Wright, which has resulted in putting under my care the largest coloured Presbyterian church in the country, and has filled my hands with work up to this moment.

But the subject to which you refer has not at any time been dismissed from my mind. I may add, that so far as I have been able to speak of the subject to the people in America, it has been received with favour.

'Yours truly,

'J. W. C. PENNINGTON, D.D.

'Glasgow, March 22d, 1850.'

If this proposal is adopted, the primary effort should be to secure the comfort of the immigrants. Such a course is dictated alike by humanity and sound policy. Let them be located, not where their services are most urgently required, but where they are most likely to enjoy health and happiness. Their good report of the island will then cause others to follow them. In a few years they will be so acclimated as to be fit for moderate labour in any district of ordinary salubrity, and the entire colony will feel the benefit of their domestication within its borders. I know that the present governor, Sir Charles Grey, would gladly do all in his power to promote the well-being of the negro immigrant; and I trust I do not transgress in mentioning, that Dr Pen-

nington himself had substantial evidence of the generous kindness of his Excellency. But schemes of immigration conducted by government have had, in some instances, such dire results, and are regarded with so much jealousy by parties whose zealous co-operation is greatly to be desired, that I am disposed to recommend a less imposing machinery. A society in Kingston, with branch societies throughout the island, would form perhaps the fittest agency to carry the suggestion into effect.

III.—A ZEALOUS MOVEMENT, TO SECURE THE ENFORCEMENT OF TREATIES WHICH PROVIDE FOR AN EXTINCTION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Slavery depends on a continued supply of victims. Its waste of life must be compensated for by man-stealing. If, then, the slave-trade were abolished, slavery would perish.

But Britain has entered into treaties with the principal slave-trading nations, by which they stand bound to terminate this abominable traffic. Not only have promises of its discontinuance been obtained, but large sums have been paid, to compensate for any loss which the relinquish-

ment of it might occasion. On this ground, a debt of £400,000 was remitted to Portugal, and the same amount of money was deliberately handed over by Great Britain to the Spanish exchequer.

As this is a subject of great importance, I shall extract a brief history of these treaties, from the excellent speech of Dr Macfadyen, delivered at the anti-slave-trade meeting, held lately in Kingston :—

'The first engagement entered into by Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade was in 1814, when by a royal ordinance, Spaniards were prohibited from engaging in it, except for the supply of the Spanish possessions. There was a further treaty in 1817, in which his Catholic Majesty engaged that the slave-trade should be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain, on the 30th May, 1820. It was further stipulated that England should pay the sum of £400,000 as a compensation to Spain for the losses that might be sustained from the intended abolition of the trade. This was followed by empty professions on the part of Spain, of her readiness to observe the treaty, and repeated re-

monstrances on the part of Great Britain, at the manner in which the treaty was notoriously and flagrantly violated. It was in 1835 that another treaty, regarded as the most efficient for the purpose, was entered into by the late king of England and the mother of the present queen of Spain. In this it was stated "that the slave-trade was hereby again declared, on the part of Spain, to be henceforward totally and finally abolished in all parts of the world." By this treaty it was ordered that mixed courts of justice be established for the adjudication of disputed cases. I need scarcely say that the conditions of this treaty also were not observed, for slaves continued to be imported into Cuba, though in a less open and shameless manner. . . . The Brazilian treaties were of a similar tenor; and there has been a similar want of faith in their observance. I may, in the first place, mention that when the Brazilian government declared its independence, it professed to be bound by the treaties the parent state had contracted with foreign powers. Now, among these treaties were several that had been entered into for the abolition of the slave-trade. In 1826, negotiations

were commenced, and soon after a treaty was signed with England, stipulating that the carrying on of such trade by Brazilian subjects, three years after the date of the treaty, would be deemed and treated as piracy. Had the Brazilian government been sincere, and acted with good faith, there is no doubt but that the slave-trade would long ere this have been abolished in that part of the world. On the contrary, they made application in 1828, and again in 1829, to have the term specified in the treaty extended. In the meantime the abominable traffic was carried on—papers continued to be issued, sanctioning the practice; every impediment was thrown in the way of the fair working of the mixed commissions; and masses of human beings continued to be imported and consigned to a bondage forbidden by the laws of Brazil founded on this treaty. At length, in 1843, the British government intimated that it would remain for Her Majesty to take alone, and by her own means, the necessary steps to carry into full and complete effect the humane object proposed by the convention of 1826. It is upon this resolution that our government has continued to act, and it

was for the repeal of this treaty that Mr Milner Gibson recently made a motion in the House of Commons.'

Such is Dr Macfadyen's epitomised account of the treaties.* I believe that not only did the

* As the treaties above mentioned are of great importance, I shall offer in this note some additional testimonies regarding their objects and provisions. The Earl of Aberdeen, in a despatch to Mr Bulwer, of December 31st, 1843, says:—'Sir, I have to desire that you will take the earliest opportunity to call the attention of the Spanish government, by a formal note, to the state of the slave-trade and slavery in the island of Cuba. By the preamble to the treaty concluded in 1817 between Great Britain and Spain, Spain bound herself to Great Britain to "adopt, in concert with her, efficacious means for bringing about the abolition of the slave-trade, and" for "effectually suppressing illicit traffic in slaves, on the part of Spanish subjects." And Spain further engaged by the treaty itself, that from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty, it should not be lawful for Spanish subjects to carry on the slave-trade on any part of the coast of Africa, north of the equator, and that from the 30th day of May, 1820, the slave-trade should be abolished throughout the entire dominions of Spain; so that after that date "it should" not be lawful for any of the subjects of the crown of "Spain to purchase slaves, or to carry on the slave-trade, on any part of the coast of Africa, upon any pretext, or in any manner whatever." The cruisers of each nation were empowered to seize vessels with slaves, if found at sea, under the flag of the other nation. Tribunals, composed of individuals of each country, were to try such vessels, and the slaves taken in

Brazilian government admit the claims of treaties which had been entered into by the parent state with other powers, but that Britain acknowledged its independence on the express condition that these treaties should be respect-

them were to be emancipated by those tribunals, and to be delivered over to the government in whose territories the case was tried; and in the regulations for the guidance of the tribunals, it was specially declared and pointed out to their attention, that each government bound itself to guarantee the liberty of such portion of the individuals as should be respectively consigned to it. In consideration of the stipulations of that treaty, Great Britain engaged to give to Spain the sum of £400,000 sterling, in full compensation for all losses sustained by Spanish subjects on account of vessels captured previously to the treaty, and also for the losses which, in the words of the treaty, were described as "a necessary consequence of the abolition of the slave-traffic."' The most important clauses in the treaties with Brazil are contained in the following extract, from the Report of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for 1842:—'The treaties and conventions of this country with Portugal, for the suppression of the slave-trade, were equally binding, both before and after the separation of Brazil from that country, on the latter power. In November, 1826, the Brazilian government entered into a convention with Great Britain, having the same object in view, which was ratified in March, 1827, and which stipulated that "*it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave-trade, under any pretext or in any manner whatever; and the carrying on such trade after that period by any subject of his imperial Majesty shall be*

ed. Yet Portugal is the only country that has kept faith with us in respect to these stipulations.

It appears, from evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, that between November, 1848, and November, 1849, from 60,000 to 65,000 Africans were imported into Brazil. The fact was also established, that if the treaties were now carried out, more than half of the slaves of Cuba would be found to be held in bondage in violation of solemn compact, and to be as legally entitled as any one of us to the enjoyment of liberty. Yet not only does the Spanish government permit the continuance of this unlawful traffic, but actually receives so much a-head for every slave brought into Cuba.

Why is such perfidy allowed? In the name of justice and mercy, why are these treaties not enforced? The enforcement of them would be

deemed and treated as PIRACY." On the 7th November, 1831, a decree was passed by the Legislative Assembly, which received the sanction of the regency, the first article of which declared that "ALL SLAVES entering the territory or ports of Brazil, coming from abroad, ARE FREE; that all persons concerned in the slave-trade should be liable to fine and corporal punishment; and that slave-ships should be confiscated."'

in itself one of the most glorious epochs in the history of the world. It would encircle Lord Palmerston, who originated these treaties, with a purer and brighter halo of renown than the battle of Waterloo has won for its hero. While extending civil liberty all over the world, it would have the benign and most seasonable effect of relieving our colonies. One and another, and numbers of the speakers at the late anti-slave-trade meetings, held throughout Jamaica, declared, that if these treaties were fulfilled, they needed nothing more, asked nothing more, wished nothing more to insure their prosperity. 'Were the slave treaties enforced,' (said one of them in Kingston, and many gave utterance to the same sentiment,) 'the planters of Jamaica would successfully compete with those of any country. This is a beautiful island, favoured in soil and climate, and surpassed by few in natural advantages. All that we require is a fair field and no favour. Do not ask us to compete with slave-holding countries, backed by the slave-trade; and then we will ask for no favour in the shape of protection.'

If the confidence here expressed be deemed

extravagant, still the demand made is reasonable. And why then not enforce these treaties? I fear nothing more than a hasty answer—a surly or despondent assumption that the task is Utopian. Let a subject so grave have a deliberate hearing.

Is Lord Palmerston the man to frame impracticable, and therefore preposterous engagements? Is he such a fool as to hand out hundreds of thousands of pounds from the British exchequer to attain an object, and not see any possible way of reaching the equivalent? We may be sure that he had some scheme in his mind for keeping these countries to their terms. He did not simply take knaves for honest men, and hand out money to them in reliance on their integrity. He knew the parties he had to deal with; and having all their reluctance, and evasions, and hindrances in his view, he concerted measures by which he made sure of keeping them to their word.

But a statesman sitting in Downing Street is apt, perhaps, to be theoretical—to be more scheming than practical. Lord Palmerston has not shown, in other instances, such dreaming

misconceptions of the living world. But if he is not to be trusted about the possibility of surmounting difficulties in Cuba because he has not seen them, there is a servant of the state who has seen them, and who is better qualified, from united discernment and experience, than perhaps any other living man, to estimate their amount. David Turnbull, Esq., was long consul in Cuba. He afterwards bore to that island a commission having respect to these very treaties. Alone and unarmed, he brought away a number of the negroes who had been illegally enthralled. He must then know the position of affairs. I had many conversations with him on the subject while I was in Jamaica, and I know it to be his unqualified conviction, that if a mixed commission, including at least one British judge, were appointed, and if such securities were taken as Britain is quite competent to take, that suspicious cases should be examined into, then the slave-trade must cease. It is a timid and critical commerce, as shrinking and cowardly as it is barbarous; and if insecurity were hung over it, no power of chicanery or menace could confirm its loosened joints, or avail to keep it up.

But if Brazil and Spain obstinately withstand our interference, or systematically neutralise it, what is to be done? You will bring on a war, we are told; and the objection is made in a tone which admonishes us not to be inhuman, when we are pleading for humanity. I answer, Did Lord Palmerston forget this alternative when he made the treaties? or, do the treaties in question differ in this feature from any other which Britain holds sacred and inviolable? If this be the last resource of all treaties, are we to see British gold and life prodigally wasted on the exaction of promised trifles, on the vindication of some captain's right or lieutenant's honour, while no account is made of lacerated benevolence? and whenever the question comes to affect the freedom of immortals, and their unrestrained preparation for immortality, are these same belligerents, red with the blood of India and China, to turn round upon us, and tell us plaintively not to think of enforcing treaties, as a faithful enforcement of them might involve us in hostilities?

Were the case one of some bags of rice due to Great Britain, and withheld by an Indian Rajah, trammelled and dishonoured in the throne of his

ancestors, how speedily would the cannon's mouth teach the refractory vassal the sacredness of his vow?

But there will be no need for war. If Britain only declare itself equally intent, and equally resolute on fulfilling these treaties as other treaties, the hint will be well enough understood, and will have all the effect which artillery could produce. We have not acted here as if we were in earnest. When our attitude announces that faith *must* be kept with us, those who care little about faith will pay some deference to the prognosticates of force.

But even the threat of war may be dispensed with. There is another that will be all-persuasive. Tell Brazil and Cuba that we are committed now to free-trade principles, and that we will not exclude sugar, because it is slave-grown, from our markets; but at the same time, that we retain some respect for integrity and covenant-keeping, and that we cannot traffic with countries who subscribe our stipulations, and then tear the subscribed document to pieces, and trample it under their feet. This is surely due

to ourselves, and to justice, and this will secure the end contemplated.*

* The following is a portion of the evidence given by the Right Hon. Dr Lushington, before a committee of the House of Commons:—'Do you imagine that a large number of the slaves now in Cuba and the Brazils are retained in slavery contrary to treaty with this country? There cannot be a doubt about it, that a very large number of slaves have been detained in the Brazils and Cuba contrary to the treaty.

'Do you think that those slaves are legally entitled to their freedom? CERTAINLY, BY VIRTUE OF THE COMPACT WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

'Is it your opinion that it would be possible for this country to urge upon the countries of Cuba and the Brazils the manumission of those slaves? *This country would have a perfect right to make that demand.*

'Would it not be possible to give due warning to those governments, that unless they will manumit those slaves who have been illegally imported, we will refuse to receive their produce into this country? Certainly, we might give that notice, and we might follow up that threat by the execution of it, having fully made up our minds, that if we make the threat we would perform it.

'You think, as they have broken their treaties with us by retaining those persons illegally in slavery, in spite of any construction which might be put upon the treaty, we should be justified in excluding their produce from this country? I think so, certainly; *I take it to be an undoubted principle that every breach of treaty gives the offended country absolute rights;* but, in practice and by custom, the offended country always in the first instance makes a representation. If that representation is not attended with effect, the next step has generally been to issue an embargo, and in some instances to

But some will say, the Cubans, rather than be coerced by Great Britain into the enforcement of these treaties, will go over to America.

I answer, that if it were made distinctly to appear that Britain sought nothing more than the emancipation of bondmen illegally enslaved, and if America were to annex Cuba expressly to prevent the liberation of these captives, such an outrage against our common nature would lead to a crisis in America itself, and do more, perhaps, than anything else could, to bring to an end a system productive of such atrocities.

I answer farther, that America has got more than enough of slave territory, and is already too encumbered with this body of death to lust for annexations of the same sort. A determination is spreading and deepening in America, that

seize vessels at sea. *Upon the principle of having the power to do all, you may do less than all. Therefore, the treaty having been violated, it would be competent to Great Britain to make any demand which she thought fit.*

'Do you imagine that the exclusion of the produce of Cuba and the Brazils from this market would practically be a great hindrance to the prosperity of those countries? *Yes, I think it would, because I believe the direct trade would be infinitely more profitable than the indirect trade.*'

there shall be no more slave territory added to the Union.

I answer, still farther, that America, while yet a colony, remonstrated against the slave-trade with Africa, and abolished that trade, so far as its own shores were concerned, immediately on attaining its independence; and therefore this very measure, instead of defeating, would thus far advance the object we have in view.

I answer, finally, that I have a better opinion of America than to charge it, by anticipation, with such conduct. There are millions of its people who deplore slavery, and desire the extinction of it. Every year increases the tokens that the slave system is approaching its end. More slaves are running away, and fewer are apprehended and sent back. Four newspapers are advocating emancipation in Virginia, and other states are decreeing the education of the negroes as preliminary to their manumission.

America is making gigantic advances in arts and commerce. It is outstripping us in its educational institutions, in its charitable institutions, in its abundant literature, and enlarging christian missions. And I cannot think that a country

'going ahead' of all others in so much that is noble, is to be last of all in the race of emancipation, and still lingering in the course after it shall have no competitor. Even in Brazil and Cuba themselves there is a considerable and influential party disgusted with the abominations heaped upon their strand, and only awaiting encouragement to seek relief from the infliction.*

If all this be so, why, it may be said, is not Lord Palmerston on the alert? why is not he enforcing the execution of his own treaties? I am greatly mistaken if the weakness of the Foreign Minister lies not in our own supineness and apathy. Let us give that countenance to his measures—that combined, energetic, untiring support of them which a minister of the crown needs, but cannot decorously demand, and then it will be time to complain of him

* 'The Committee are decidedly of opinion that in Cuba a very strong feeling of opposition to the continuance of the slave-trade exists, especially among the Creole or native population, but they regret to say that, except among a few of the most enlightened part of the community in that important colony, there appears no desire for the abolition of slavery itself.'—*Report of the Anti-Slavery Society for* 1842, *p.* 33.

if he turn recreant to his professions, and show pusillanimity in abandoning what he had the heroism to propose.*

* The following is a portion of Lord Palmerston's evidence regarding these treaties, before a committee of the House of Commons:—'Does your lordship think, that if the treaties which we already have with respect to those slaves who have been surreptitiously introduced into Brazil were fulfilled, that would be of great effect towards the suppression of the slave-trade? That question relates rather to a law, I apprehend, of Brazil, than to a stipulation of treaty. By the treaty of 1826, the Brazilian government pledged itself that any slave-trade carried on directly or indirectly by any Brazilian subject should be deemed and treated as piracy. The Emperor, moreover, passed a law, according to which any negro brought in and landed in Brazil, after a specified date, should be *ipso facto* free. NO DOUBT IF THAT LAW WERE ENFORCED, A VERY LARGE PROPORTION OF THE NEGROES NOW HELD IN SLAVERY IN BRAZIL WOULD BE RESTORED TO THAT FREEDOM WHICH BY THE LAW OF BRAZIL IS THEIR RIGHT.

'Does your lordship consider that England is entitled by the treaty to demand the execution of that order?—ENGLAND IS ENTITLED TO DEMAND FROM BRAZIL A FULL AND COMPLETE FULFILMENT OF ITS TREATY ENGAGEMENTS.

'Does your lordship suppose, if the Spaniards were to fulfil honourably their engagements with us, that in Cuba also, as well as in Brazil, a great number of persons now kept in slavery would be set free?—What I have said with regard to Brazil applies also to Cuba; for there is a Spanish law to the same effect as the Brazilian law which I have mentioned, namely, purporting that every negro brought into Cuba, after a specified date, should be *ipso facto* free; THERE

Be that as it may, the conduct of others does not determine our duty. We break these treaties, if our silence aid the breaking of them. We give our testimony to falsehood and oppression, if at a juncture like this we refuse to lift our voice for truth and liberty. We ought to feel as if our own liberty were vile, and as if it covered us with reproaches, till we exert the arm which a gracious God has unshackled in disenthralling our species and breaking every yoke.

A happier occasion for unanimity in action could hardly be imagined. Not one of all our disputed points here opposes co-operation. This is no question between conservatives and radicals, between churchmen and dissenters. Even the principles of free-trade and protection do not come into this field to thwart philanthropy by dividing its forces. Every man who is not a slave-trader will condemn a murderous traffic in human beings, and every man who has not made falsehood his profession, will acknowledge that solemn treaties ought to be respected.

CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THERE MUST BE IN CUBA A GREAT NUMBER OF NEGROES WHO ARE ILLEGALLY HELD IN BONDAGE.'

The only scruple having the least speciousness, respects the probability of success. But it is time enough to despair of the end when the means have failed. Let us not treat them so harshly as to condemn them without a trial. Slavery has been abolished in the dependencies of France, Portugal, Denmark, Mexico. Why may it not be so in all parts of the world? When spirited anti-slavery meetings, countenanced by all parties and classes, have been held in Jamaica, of what should we despond? It may be said that our colonists now oppose slavery out of sheer desperation, and without any regard to duty or beneficence; and it were vain to deny, that their change of situation has modified their judgments. Who that upbraids them is superior to such influences? But the less credit you give them for their resistance to cruel injustice, because of its cruelty, the more do you indicate the omnipotence of that providence which has all means and all agencies at its option and disposal. This much I can testify, that often as I heard the colonists lament their adversities, I never heard one of them express regret that slavery had been abolished, or betray the faintest wish

to have it restored. When one of them told me how much he had lost and suffered since the period of emancipation, I said to him, Then, would you like back slavery? No, he replied with tearful emotion: I would rather endure all this calamity a hundred times over than be again involved in the abominations of that system.

The meetings recently held in the island had all the elevated tone and fervent animation of sincerity. I have no hesitation in saying, that the demonstration made in Spanish Town would have done honour to Exeter Hall, in the best days of our anti-slavery agitation. The bishop of the island presided, and his opening address was appropriate and effective. As some may respect his opinion who turn a deaf ear to all my pleadings, I make no apology for the length of the following extracts:—

'In the responsible position which, in compliance with your wishes, I have ventured to occupy,' said his lordship, 'I am greatly sustained and encouraged by seeing around me so many of the most enlightened and influential members of the community—judges, legislators, magistrates, clergymen, commingled with the repre-

sentatives of your planting and commercial interests—all assembled and associating without political or religious distinction, for the furtherance of an object well worthy of such a coalition, and which, if pursued with unanimity and moderation, can scarcely fail to be accomplished. Gentlemen, it is for no party, no trivial or idle purpose, that this great meeting has been called. It has been called, too, on a day which may be considered as eminently auspicious, commemorative as it is of the birth of our gracious and beloved Sovereign; and it has been called on a strength and respectability of requisition, that has perhaps no parallel in the annals of this island. The object which it contemplates is one of the highest and holiest that could engage the affections, or stimulate the energies of christian and reflecting men. It is an object which stands out in lofty prominence above the narrow sphere of local politics; and in soliciting for it the consideration of her gracious Majesty, and the Imperial Parliament, I have no fear that we shall give umbrage or embarrassment to a liberal ministry, one of whose members did in fact devise the very measure to which we recall their

attention, and which, if faithfully carried out, would imply all the relief which we ask or desire. Gentlemen, it must, I think, be readily admitted, that the great and predominant evil under which Jamaica, in common with the other West Indian islands, is at present suffering, arises from the projected admission of the produce of slave labour into the markets of Great Britain and her dependencies, without the discriminating and protective duty which had heretofore been allowed to operate in favour of the free-born, or free-made cultivator of the soil. It must, however, at the same time be confessed, that this extinction of the principle of protection is now so entirely essential to the sustainment of the free-trade system which has been adopted by the mother country, as to render any restoration of the former system—be it good or evil, just or unjust in its intrinsic character—utterly and for ever hopeless.

'It comes not then within the province of the present meeting (and to this point, I would especially direct your attention) to confederate for the purpose of impugning a policy, which, whatever may be our individual opinions of its

nature, seems now to have assumed the shape of the settled policy of the empire; and although our legislation in these days of continued change and reform can hardly be compared to the celebrated "law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not," I see little reason to expect any alteration in this particular. But our plain and single object is, to press upon our rulers, by all the constitutional means within our reach, by petition heaped upon petition—by proclamation, loud and continuous, of what we know to be the truth—by such advocacy as we can procure within and without the walls of Parliament—the justice and the necessity of compelling the states of Spain and Brazil to a fair and full compliance with these treaties by which they are solemnly bound to her Britannic Majesty; treaties which had, and have for their express object, the extinction of the heaviest curse that ever fell upon mankind—the suppression of the inhuman traffic in slaves, with all its hideous and murderous incidents, and the gradual abolition of slavery throughout every portion of the civilised world. In the series of resolutions which will be presently

submitted to you, and in the able manner in which I doubt not they will be advocated, you will have this purpose, and the means by which we propose to effect it, clearly and completely developed. You will perceive that our object is pure, our instrumentality unexceptionable, our expectation reasonable, and our cause such as to induce the belief that the divine blessing will be largely in our work. Averse as I have always been from entering on the stormy arena of political agitation and party politics, cautious as the ministers of God's altar should ever be to exercise their ministry without offence—I cannot think that we shall so offend in the present instance, even should we become the most prominent and uncompromising advocates of a cause, which is based on a great and godlike charity.

'I will tell you that the demonstration which we shall this day make against these atrocities will not be solitary. It will be accompanied, like Banquo's progeny, "by another, and another, and another," from every town and port in the Antilles. It will be followed, if I read the signs of the times aright, by many a similar movement in Great Britain, and it will at least have the

effect of bringing, with unmistakeable emphasis, before the British government, the British parliament, and the British public, a fair exposition of our grievances, together with the means by which we believe that they may at once be mitigated, and ultimately removed. Gentlemen, am I too sanguine in attributing such results to the proceedings of to-day? I think not—I am happy to believe that the great nation to which we all claim affinity, "is a wise and understanding people," and I am still happier in believing that their wisdom and understanding is the wisdom and understanding which are derived from christianity. Let England, christian England, then, only retain the place among nations which she has assumed; let her continue to tread the path, which, at the cost of so much blood and treasure, she has opened up; let her, as far as her ability extends, procure freedom for the slave, and religious instruction for the emancipated—and she will let in a flood of light and glory on mankind, which will go further to embellish and emblazon her immortal history, than the thousand victories by which her wondrous dominion has been achieved, or than her naval supremacy, by

which the standards of her power have been unfolded from Indus to the Pole.'

The addresses of the vice-chancellor, the attorney-general, and other speakers who followed his lordship—some of them gentlemen of colour—sustained the spirit of this auspicious commencement; and I felt as if I should have willingly crossed the Atlantic to hear the court-house of Spanish Town, that former seat and stronghold of slavery, resound with denunciations of all tyrannical legislation, and the applauded advocacy of entire and impartial freedom. A similar meeting was shortly after held in Kingston, with similar success; and almost all the towns and villages in the island joined in the movement.

Is Great Britain to stand back from the goodly enterprise? Some are nauseated by the very phrase—West India interest; and turn from any cause on which it is inscribed. But think of the innocent who suffer with the guilty; think of the blacks as well as the whites; think of christian missions imperilled and perishing. If Jamaica can in no view enlist your sympathy, turn from it altogether, and view these treaties in relation only to other countries—to Africa,

whence slaves are brought to Cuba and Brazil, where they are imported. When hundreds of thousands of fellow-men are victimised annually by the slave-trade, and the evil, in despite of every check, grows yearly more gigantic, it is high time we should bestir ourselves. If we do not, we shall be verily guilty concerning our brethren; and they will be an awful cloud of witnesses against us on the judgment of the great day. Even if the treaties cannot be enforced, look to the moral effect of the movement. A demonstration comprehensive as the British empire cannot be made in vain.

While we debate, oppression acts. Now the man-stealer is murdering the strong, and carrying off the helpless. Now the slave-trader is packing his contracted and suffocating hold with his human cargo, or committing his prisoners, heedless of their piteous screams, to the deep, that he may elude the British cruiser. Now the governments, who have bound themselves to suppress the slave-trade, are taxing its importations, and thousands and tens of thousands of new victims are lashed into the usages of the cane-field, in utter scorn of broken pledges and British

power. While we know these things and do nothing, the king of terrors is more tender than we, and anticipates our tardy interposition by removing the prey of the merciless to that land where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest, and the slave is free from his master. If the spirit of Wilberforce and Buxton survive them on the earth, let it resume their work with vital energy. And where human compassion fails, and man appealed to and implored has still no pity on man, may the Author of revelation fulfil his predictions, and show that Ethiopia shall not fruitlessly stretch out its hands unto God. 'I know that God will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the rights of the poor.' Thou God of all grace, maintain them now! Uphold them by thy free Spirit, and fill the earth with abundant and blissful proofs, that where the Spirit of the Lord is there is liberty!

IV.—MAINTENANCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

It has appeared that these institutions are languishing; and the friends of humanity in this country should be fully aware of the declension

they have undergone, and the greater danger to which they are still exposed. Let there be no misapprehension in the case. If vigorous efforts be not made, a sad issue awaits our undertakings in Jamaica. Christian philanthropists who have there uplifted the standard of the cross, and there waved the banners of victory, must look to their conquests. They must beware lest they lose the things which they have wrought. Ignorance, unbelief, superstition, and profligacy are hovering, like birds of prey, over our chapels and schools, and are ready to consume them.

But some may say, We can do no more for Jamaica. We do not see it to be a duty that we should. The people have had the gospel preached to them—they have been baptised and formed into churches, and if they will not support the ordinances of which they have experienced the value, on their own heads be the guilty responsibility. In answer to such objections let the following propositions be well considered:—

(1.) European missionaries cannot there be maintained on much smaller salaries than at

present. Though living is cheaper than it was, it is still much costlier than in this country. Most of the stores or sale-rooms, not being in good credit here, get very indifferent supplies from this country; and missionaries are obliged to pay at a high rate for clothes and other articles of the most indifferent and perishable description. Medical bills are there very heavy. The courtesy shown throughout the island to strangers exempts them from formidable charges under this head. The difficulty I experienced was to induce physicians to take any remuneration for the most kind and sedulous attentions: and I cannot too strongly express my sense of obligation to the members of the medical profession with whom I there formed an acquaintance. I believe that, generally speaking, doctors have there reduced their charges. But as they have made a sacrifice in going to Jamaica, and exposing themselves more than any other section of the community to the hazards of the climate, they consider themselves warranted on this account to receive, if possible, some compensation. One of the most respectable inhabitants of the island told me, that he knew of a

gentleman who had come to Jamaica within the last two years, and who shortly after arriving was taken ill, and was attended by two physicians. Their attendance began and ended within a fortnight. He asked their accounts, and the united charges amounted to £130! I learned that a catechist who had only £70 per annum, had paid last year £30 for medical advice to his family. These charges may be unusually high. I have little doubt that they exceed considerably the average charges of the island; but they point to a serious item of cost in the missionary's expenditure.

But the most serious of all expenses to a missionary is the buying and keeping of horses. The horses are more apt to be sickly there than here, and to die in the hands of their purchasers. In some parts of the island, all sorts of provender for horses are excessively dear. Yet a missionary cannot dispense with these assistants. If he visits his people, or goes some distance to church, or attends meetings of presbytery, on all such occasions he must ride or drive. There are no stage-coaches; and it would be certain destruction for a European to attempt such journeys on

foot under a tropical sun. Where a missionary has a family, and any of them take the fever of the colony in a chronic form, the invalid is ordered off to America or Britain, as the only means of saving life. The cost of such a cure may be more than the half of a year's income to a missionary. A few such examples may be sufficient to convince anybody that we cannot have missionaries in Jamaica, and give them greatly smaller salaries than they have at present. Even now, we can hardly get any one to go; and a reduction of the means of health and life to those who are there would be equivalent to their dismissal.

(2.) The negroes will not generally pay such salaries as European missionaries now receive. In Kingston, Montego Bay, and other towns, congregations have shown a most praiseworthy desire to be self-sustaining, and to provide liberally for their ministers. Each of the United Presbyterian churches in these towns is anxious to raise at least £300 annually for the support of its pastor. This fact may show our people at home that, the colonists themselves being judges, our missionaries are rather under paid than over-

paid. Still, the principal contributors in these places are the white inhabitants. One or two congregations, consisting almost entirely of blacks —such as Mr Blyth's of Hampden, and Mr Simson's of Port Maria—have paid the salaries of United Presbyterian missionaries. And this is a fact of great importance. But these are exceptions to the general rule; and it will never be otherwise. That negro congregations generally will ever raise, at an average, about £250 for the support of the ministry, I have no expectation whatever.

In so far as this hopelessness results from the penuriousness of the blacks, we have seen that their sordid habits are the result in a great measure of slavery; and let us remember, that for their enthralment and its demoralising effects, we are specially responsible.

But the negroes, in many parts of the island, are in great poverty, and they could not if they would raise any such sum. It is out of all proportion both to their ideas and circumstances; and they cannot be expected to make extraordinary sacrifices, in order to place another in a condition so dissimilar to their own. We know how difficult

it is for the poorer operatives in our own country to appreciate the necessities of a minister's family; and it were foolish to anticipate that the negro labourer should be more enlightened and magnanimous than the British weaver.

(3.) While European missionaries cannot be supported on much less than their present salaries, and these salaries will never be paid by the negroes, there is no class of educated and pious natives ready to replace the existing agency. The facts which have been already mentioned demonstrate that the brown people, at least, are susceptible of the highest mental culture; and if they were as effectively trained as they might be for the ministry, they could be supported much more cheaply than Europeans. They can endure exercise and exposure with impunity, which would be most destructive to any settlers from this country. They have also modes of eking out a living, which are unknown or inaccessible to strangers. They would also have great advantages in the discharge of ministerial duty, from their thorough knowledge of the people, and of their notions and usages. A stranger comes in contact with them only in a few points, and they

ward him off from close appeal very dexterously. But one arising from their own condition and rank would be intimately conversant with all the coverings and subterfuges of deceit. Had we such an agency, we might retire forthwith, and leave the churches in appropriate hands. But there are no such successors for our missionaries.

The Baptist denomination has a theological institution at Calabar in Jamaica. Its tutor is Mr Tinson, who is greatly esteemed, and is universally acknowledged to discharge efficiently the duties of his important office. But according to last report, there are only six students in the institution; and it was thoroughly crippled for want of funds. 'Should it be the fixed resolution,' say the committee of management, 'of the christian public in England to withhold all future aid from mission stations here, which it is hardly possible to conceive, if the nature and causes of their exigencies were fully known, after all the money that has been spent, all the lives that have been sacrificed, all the triumphs that have been achieved, and might yet be achieved in Jamaica; it cannot surely be too much to hope,

that British christians will at least help Jamaica in her present condition of distress and trial, in this last and almost forlorn effort to diminish, and thus ultimately to avert the perils that surround her.'

The United Presbyterian Church has an academy at Montego Bay, admirably conducted by its teacher, Mr Miller. But he has to teach boys of all ages, and he has to instruct them in all branches; and to think that he can graft theology on such a multiform system is out of the question. There should be at least another teacher under him for the junior classes, and a theological tutor at the head of the institution. This is the smallest staff with which it can be efficient for ecclesiastical objects. I repeat that, in the meantime, we have no coloured probationers to take charge of the churches, if their white pastors are withdrawn.

It seems to me that, till theological seminaries are placed on a strong footing in the island, a number of native youths should be brought to Britain, and educated here. By this arrangement they would be removed from many pernicious influences, and would be placed in the

most favourable circumstances for mental enlargement.

The Rev. Mr Birrell of Liverpool, who visited the Baptist churches in Jamaica, says, in reference to education:—'Never till I reached the spot had I had a just appreciation of the difficulties in the way; never till then did I so clearly perceive the extent to which the education of the people in civilised countries has been carried on in the persons of their ancestors—the extent to which qualities, which we deem natural and innate, are the result of subtle influences in society, the operation of which we cannot detect, and of which we cannot tell "whence they come or whither they go." Of all these hereditary advantages the people of those lands are destitute. The entire population stands intellectually at zero. Every man must rise in his own person from that point; a circumstance which not only renders the process of elevation more tedious, but has a tendency,—and he who wonders at that tendency is, I fear, but partially acquainted with himself,—to charge the individual so distinguished from the surrounding multitude with so much vanity as materially to

interrupt his usefulness. Until the standard of education be raised universally, there will always be great obstacles in the way of a highly-qualified race of native pastors. Yet a beginning has been made, and well made.'

After quoting these excellent observations of Mr Birrell, the committee of the Calabar Institution say,—'The transforming process on the mass must be slow, where it has to contend at every step with inveterate habit, which not only pervades the whole economy of existence, but is burnt in by immemorial practice. In a more advanced state of society, and in seminaries of longer standing, there are aiding influences, which could not exist here. Where there are a number of students of different attainments, and some who have enjoyed early advantages, association with such can hardly fail to exercise a healthful influence on the mind of the raw and less informed pupil. In England, even during vacations, and in occasional supplies, young men, whose previous circumstances precluded an acquaintance with the courtesies and habits of refined society, are often benefited by their contact with persons of cultivated minds, who,

combining with practical piety superior wisdom and experience, are able to show them the way of God more perfectly; while such intercourse would tend to discover deficiencies, lessen self-esteem, and impress the necessity of progress and improvement. But here, as our friend justly remarks, "every man must rise in his own person." God is, however, enabling us to surmount these difficulties, and we cannot but think that he is establishing the work of our hands upon us. To him be all the praise.'

These remarks all tend to the conclusion, that an important object might be accomplished if we educated some black and coloured youths in England, and sent them back to Jamaica fully instructed and regularly ordained. All this, however, is prospective.

(4.) It follows, that if we retire now, we abandon the island to spiritual destruction. Religion will be supplanted by infidelity, or more probably by a dark and malignant superstition. The people have brought with them from Africa a certain faith in magicians. These impostors are called Obeah men and Miall men. An Obeah man is a destroyer, a Miall man is a pre-

server; the former inflicts curses, the latter removes them. But though this is the theoretical distinction between these orders, I could not learn that it was practically sustained. The Obeah man is employed both to impose and remove spells.

When the negro supposes himself under the malediction of an Obeah man, he is troubled and miserable, and sometimes becomes frantic with terror. Imaginary evil causes real disease; and it not unfrequently happens that the victim of imposture gets into such a frenzied state as to die from brain fever, or in a fit of convulsions. I was assured by medical practitioners of high respectability, that poison is occasionally administered to aggravate the effect of panic, and inspire the community with the greater awe of these ghostly deceivers.

These Obeah men infest estates, and show off their consequence by causing a suspension of employment, and bringing the whole business of agriculture into unsettlement and confusion. Nor does their interference terminate with week-days and secular affairs. They insinuate themselves into christian churches feebly super-

intended, and exert a pestiferous sway over the belief and character of the membership. I heard, on authority which seemed to me decisive, that in some of the native churches, (not under the charge of European missionaries) the Obeah man and the minister worked to each other's hands. The Obeah man, by his terrorism, caused the stipend to be paid, and the minister winked at jugglery which secured him his bread. The people are thus led to worship the Lord and serve other gods, and are fed by an admixture of Obeahism and Christianity.

Is it to such abominations, yearly becoming worse, that we are to resign the people? Is it into this sink of tyranny and cruelty that we are to let down the churches? Every christian principle shudders at the conception. Not so does God abandon us when we rival all the inconstancy of the negro without his apologies. We have tempted God to cast us off, and he would not. He has still said, 'My people are bent to backsliding from me: though they called them to the Most High, none at all would exalt him. How shall I give thee up, Ephraim? how shall I deliver thee, Israel? how shall I make

thee as Admah? how shall I set thee as Zeboim? Mine heart is turned within me, my repentings are kindled together. I will not execute the fierceness of mine anger, I will not return to destroy Ephraim: for I am God, and not man; the Holy One in the midst of thee.'*

If we forsake Jamaica now, the consequences of our desertion will extend far beyond the island. An abused liberty will bring reproach wide as the world on the cause of emancipation; and the hopes of benighted regions, for whose climate and population negro instructors would be specially adapted, will be indefinitely deferred.

But how can churches and societies retreat from a field so important—to which they have devoted so much labour and life—on which they have staked, to such an extent, the honour of their operations and the interests of humanity? A summer that never leaves these lovely valleys would reproach our retirement. The missionaries interred there would speak, though dead, and lift their posthumous voice to intercept our flight, and ask us if we meant thus to deprive

* Hosea xi. 7, etc.

them of their full reward; or if we grudged the sacrifice of silver where they offered so cheerfully the costlier sacrifice of life? Africa would present to us her wounds, too fresh, alas! and streaming with blood, and ask when and how they are to be healed, and whether we mean to extinguish her last hope in her christianised children. Our unanswered prayers would recoil upon us, laden with rebuke, from the throne of God whence we had fled, without awaiting an answer.

And why should Jamaica be given up? What is there to enforce this dire alternative? Here is a colony easily accessible—under British law—of splendid climate—having one language, and that language our vernacular tongue—with a larger proportion of the people already brought under the means of grace than we witness in any other missionary sphere, unless some of the South Sea Islands.

I admit the existence of discouragements. But where are they not? Sin would not be that evil and bitter thing which it is if it did not interpose serious impediments to the progress of the gospel. Besides, Jamaica is in a state of

transition, and transition periods are always trying periods. The germs of reformation, however, are discernible in the unsettlement and confusion of change. The negroes who demanded, in the first instance, exorbitant wages, are now thankful for ninepence per day. It is demonstrated by experience, that for this small sum they will toil eight or nine hours daily. The management of estates is becoming economised, and when farther and more general retrenchment shall have been effected, the cost of production will be greatly diminished, and the success of competition with other countries will be proportionally increased.

A discernible improvement has taken place in the morals of the white population, though to a large extent iniquity still abounds. The Sabbath is no longer the market-day. A wasteful profligacy is no longer practicable or reputable. Many of the colonists, including a class of well-educated young men, show a disposition to regard divine things seriously, and exert themselves for the promotion of pious and benevolent objects. I was delighted to see them, especially at Kingston, associated in missionary committees,

and superintending Sunday school classes. Where in this country shall we find a handful of people, of whom most are poor and none are rich, willing, as in Kingston and Montego Bay, to raise £300 sterling per annum for the support of their religious ordinances?

Prejudice against colour is also rapidly dying away. Browns and blacks mingle with the whites, in public and in private, in the house of God, and in social festivities. So that if union be strength, this approximation of races, once so separated, must tend to give stability to the interests of the colony. Like remarks are applicable to party spirit in religion. The missionaries of different unendowed communions,* who once contended as keenly with each other as Paul

* I am grieved to learn that much bitterness between churchmen and dissenters has been created by the introduction into the House of Assembly of an Education Bill, which, so far as I can understand its provisions, gives the most exclusive and absolute power to the Establishment. The interests of the island imperatively require at present that its own inhabitants, and also its friends in the mother country, should cultivate a spirit of harmony, of which partial and intolerant measures would be utterly destructive. Even if the bill in question has passed into law, I fervently trust that its offensive enactments will be repealed. All who wish well to the colony, whatever may be their

and Barnabas, were ready, when I was in the island, to meet in friendly conference regarding the general state of the missions, and to prosecute joint measures for diffusing more effectively the blessings of a common salvation. When the servants and churches of God are thus of one mind, and living in peace, shall not the God of love and peace be with them?

Cotton is about to be planted, and the prospect of its cultivation is such as to hold out good hopes of considerable benefit from the exportation of this article. Even the negroes who are leaving abandoned estates are forming new villages and communities among the mountains; and if these incipient settlements be only preserved from the savagism of neglect and superstition, they may one day give another and better aspect to the condition of the island. I have inspected some of the mountain residences, and been struck with their great superiority to our Highland cottages. I have seen the negroes extracting, by mills of their own mak-

political or religious views, should unite in seeking this end. Co-operation cannot be had without just and equal legislation.

ing, the saccharine juice from sugar-canes of their own growing, and applying an energy to the process such as I have never witnessed in any of the operations of our indolent Highlanders. I have become acquainted with instances in which the black people, so situated, have felt the want of instruction, and have engaged and paid schoolmasters for the tuition of their children. Is not this a handful of corn sown on the tops of these mountains, and may it not yet shake with fruit like Lebanon?

Having so much to cheer us, let us thank God and take courage. We are told of a day in which the isles shall sing a new song. That song shall ascend from Jamaica. In a spiritual, as well as in a natural sense, that land shall be a land of springs, a well-watered garden which the Lord hath blessed, and all its favoured inhabitants shall draw water with joy from its wells of salvation. Its mountains shall bring peace to the people, and the little hills by righteousness. The perpetual verdure of its goodly forests shall form alliance with the undecaying loveliness of its trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified.

The breezes by which it is fanned and refreshed will convey tidings of its wellbeing to the remotest shores, and invite all nations to join in its strains of thanksgiving and praise. We may have gone hence before this end be attained; but if we struggle with difficulties in the scene of them, and, amid all temptations to inconstancy, prove faithful unto death, we shall rest from our labours, and our works will follow us.

APPENDIX.

ADVANTAGES OF JAMAICA FOR THE CURE OF PULMONARY COMPLAINTS—HINTS TO INVALIDS AND OTHERS VISITING THAT COLONY.

SOME time ago I sent the following statement, in the form of a letter, to some of the newspapers :—

'The season has come when persons in delicate health begin to consider in what warm and genial climate they should seek refuge from the severity of a British winter. It is not for me to say whether an individual be in that state of indisposition which makes it advisable for him to go abroad: on that subject he must consult his physicians. Nor may I presume to offer a personal testimony to one country as more beneficial than another, when I have not myself visited both. But as I have recently come from Jamaica, in the West Indies, and as many inquiries regarding its advantages for chest complaints are proposed to me in private, I hope that I may do a service to some parties by gene-

ralising my replies, and giving them the form of a public statement.

'1. The length of the voyage to Jamaica is in favour of the patient. It becomes especially agreeable and exhilarating after he enters the trade winds; and I know of several instances, where the results of being at sea appeared to be of a dubious character, or to be positively hurtful, till the vessel passed Madeira, and then the sufferer began to revive, and to feel all the cheering and inspiriting efficacy of returning strength. One of the most eminent physicians of America said to me, that where change of climate was resorted to in pulmonary affections, he regarded the voyage as the principal part of the remedy.

'2. The entire change of scene is of great value in detaching the invalid from depressing associations, and in turning his thoughts away from himself. Even though he should find a spot equally novel in its features at a smaller distance from home, still the consciousness of vicinity to relinquished places and occupations might operate as an element of disastrous influence. It is of much consequence for the sickly traveller to leave farther and farther behind him the familiar objects on which distress has shed its melancholy, and to know, and be often reminded, that he has locally done with his bitter expe-

rience of prior months or years, and that he is now removed by all the width of the world, from the limited walk, the chamber of sickness, and the bed of languishing. Most captivating are the graces and charms of Mother earth, when she is saluted at the conclusion of protracted sailing. One feels as if the waters of a second deluge were subsiding, and the mountains, by a new emergence from overflowing floods, were regaining their ascendancy. The invalid, on actually reaching Jamaica, finds himself in another world. I approached it on the north side. My party disembarked at Montego Bay. The bay, which gives its name to the town, was exquisitely beautiful, and all the scenery was expressively tropical. The shore was skirted by palms of different species, especially by cocoa-nut trees. We descried, a little more inland, the deep green of the sugar plantations. In passing from the vessel to the wharf by a small boat, we saw under us the variegated branchings of coral reefs. When we entered the lodgings which kind friends had sought out for us, we saw from our windows, oranges, shaddocks, pomegranates, the akee-tree, the coffee plant, the castor-oil plant, the tobacco plant, several varieties of the cactus, and I know not how many more tropical productions, displaying all the strength, freshness and beauty of native growth. The effect

was not a little enhanced, when some humming birds appeared among the twigs, and flapped their tiny wings before pretty flowers, and extracted by thread-like bills their honeyed repast. I mention these particulars to give some idea of the change of scene which Jamaica presents to Europeans, and of the happy influence which it is calculated to exert on the pensive spirit and the enfeebled frame.

'3. The change of temperature is very decided. To go to Jamaica is no half measure. The winter is not there moderated, but excluded, and it gives place to the reign of a gorgeous and perpetual summer. Some may think that the change is just too great to be good; and I believe that the objection which weighs most heavily against Jamaica, is the supposed intensity of its heat. But it has mountains, and plains, and valleys; and the invalid may have almost any temperature he prefers, by selecting one place of residence or another among these varying elevations. Few persons have any dread of paying a visit to the United States, as being destructively warm; yet the thermometer, while I was at Philadelphia, stood at 101 Fahrenheit, in the shade, and the transitions of temperature are there so great and rapid, that the thermometer sometimes rises or falls thirty degrees in the course of a few hours. In Kingston, the

warmest town in Jamaica, the thermometer very seldom rises above 92 Fahrenheit, in the shade, and the temperature scarcely varies so much as ten degrees between day and night, summer and winter.* The average temperature of the island may be 76° or thereabouts. Besides, the houses of Jamaica are adapted to ceaseless summer, and are therefore abundantly ventilated; while the houses in America have all the closeness and sultriness of adaptation to winter.

'It is a remarkable fact, that the natives of Jamaica who visit this country, do not for a time suffer so much inconvenience from its cold as we do ourselves. I have known one of them, while here, travel on the outside of a coach for a great distance during the month of December, in his tropical attire, and experience no injury. On the other hand, persons who have just come from Europe to Jamaica are not so sensitive to the heat as others who have resided for some years in the island. It seems as if travellers carried with them a stock of the physical constitution appropriate to their respective lands, and were enabled by this supply to withstand for a time contrary influences. This much I know, that while the colonists were melting and languishing in their hot-house atmosphere, I was finding

* In other parts of the island, the variation of temperature is considerably greater.

salubrity and luxury in the splendid weather; and I travelled from town to town, and shore to shore, and performed ministerial duty on the Lord's-day and on week-days with no more sense of fatigue than if I had been in Scotland. No doubt Jamaica is a warm country; on that account it is recommended as medicinal for the lungs. Persons must there use all proper cautions in not exposing themselves needlessly to the shadowless radiance of a vertical sun. But the ideas which prevail here of the intolerable heat of the colony, even during the cooler season of the year, are, so far as I may judge from my own observations and experience, altogether exaggerated.

'4. The extent of Jamaica is favourable for invalids. Although a limited spot were the best conceivable situation in itself, yet its limitation gives to the debilitated and unemployed visitant an impression of imprisonment. He sees one set of objects—and only one—from week to week, and month to month. For exercise, he goes up a hill and comes down again, and he cannot, if he would, widen or vary the range of his excursions. His only promenade is frequented by invalids as poorly as himself, or still more disabled by malady; and he sees his own illness and danger menacingly reflected in a hundred countenances. To-day he is walking with a

fellow-sufferer, of whose end he hears a day or two afterwards; and time is measured to him by a succession of deaths and funerals. Such a place must soon become a "weary land;" and its monotony and mortality cannot fail, I should think, to operate very disastrously on the spirits of an invalid.

'But Jamaica is a wide word. The invalid can there choose one locality, and if it do not please him or do not agree with him, he can betake himself to another, where he will get a second change nearly as great as the first was when he came to the colony. Several cases came under my own observation, where individuals had ceased to be benefited by their first place of residence, and yet derived the most decided profit from visiting another section of the island. As consumption is little known there, the consumptively threatened patient is not persecuted by his own image in the frailty of his comrades, but his sickness is soothed and relieved by intercourse with health.

'5. Jamaica is a British colony. The invalid from this country is not there an alien addressed in a tongue which he knows not, and subjected to the exactions and vexations of foreign law. After crossing a world of waters, he finds himself abroad as to climate and scenery—but at home as to speech, society, and legislation. The

value of this combination must be experienced in order to be duly appreciated.

'6. The ordinances of religion are purely administered in Jamaica, by excellent missionaries belonging to various evangelical denominations. While the balmy breeze is inhaled, and the orange grove is admired, a higher feast is provided for souls hungering and thirsting after righteousness in a faithful dispensation of the bread of life. I know at least of one individual who went out there seeking health for the body, and missed his aim, but who accomplished, to all appearance, a higher object, in securing for the soul life eternal, and who died in the faith and hope of the gospel. Pious parents and other relatives will not lightly esteem such considerations. If persons are benevolently disposed, they will find plentiful opportunities of imparting as well as receiving good in Jamaica, and may in many ways countenance and assist the missionaries in diffusing the blessings of a great salvation. The consciousness of being useful will not chafe the mind, or mar the progress of bodily recovery.

'7. Suitable accommodation may now be had in Jamaica at a moderate expense. I know a number of missionaries who would gladly receive well-behaved boarders into their families. Not a few gentlemen, engaged in business, who have participated in the commercial distress of the

colony, would cheerfully do the same. Several planters and merchants resident in Kingston, agreed, at my suggestion, to act as a committee of arrangement, in receiving invalids, supplying them with requisite information about the condition and usages of the island, and directing them to dwellings where they may be comfortably, and yet economically, accommodated.

'I only add, that the hospitality of Jamaica is one of its principal recommendations. We all know how much of cure there is in kindness, and in Jamaica that medicine is found in its perfection. The colonists have their own differences, and just now the island is suffering from the strifes of political parties; but they seem to bury their mutual hostilities in their amicable efforts to oblige a stranger; and never shall I forget, while memory is left to me, the multiplied, delicate, and generous attentions which I received from that people.

'In making these remarks, I have no wish to describe Jamaica as a fairy land. Individuals may form a visionary estimate of anything, and hence subject themselves to disappointment. I met travellers at Niagara, who expressed nothing but mortified surprise in first contemplating its ocean falls! I have not landed at Madeira or Santa Cruz, but I found persons at Jamaica who

had fully tried those places, and who assigned to Jamaica an immeasurable superiority over both of them.

'There is much more I would say if I might, but this statement is already too long. Allow me only to remind persons who are going abroad, that the benefit of the measure depends exceedingly on the mental frame in which it is undertaken and prosecuted. If it be looked upon only as an affliction, then it may prove only deleterious. But if it be considered a privilege as well as a trial, and acquiesced in with submission and gratitude to that God who furnishes the means of exchanging a destructive winter for a renovating summer, then a merry heart will do good like a medicine, while a broken spirit drieth the bones.

'DAVID KING.'

'2 QUEEN'S CRESCENT,
'GLASGOW, 24th August, 1849.

'My friend, Dr King, having submitted the above letter to me, in manuscript, in consequence of my having spent several months in Jamaica during the winter of 1842-3, I feel great pleasure in expressing my entire coincidence in the views which it so ably presents. Since my return from Jamaica, I have personally known of at

least twenty persons affected more or less with pulmonary complaint, who have gone to that island, all of them, with the exception of two, or at the most three, with decided and permanent benefit.

'JOHN ROBSON, D.D.,
'Minister of the United Presbyterian Church,
'Wellington Street.'

The christian community has much reason to bless God that Dr Robson's own health was re-established by his visit to Jamaica: and I found there so many traces of the good service he had rendered to the missionary cause, as to impress me with the conviction, that, where no question of health is involved, deputations might be sent with great propriety and benefit to cheer and stimulate our churches in the West Indies.

To the preceding statement I will subjoin a few hints on subjects which are of some importance to those who think of going to Jamaica:—

SALUBRITY OF JAMAICA.

Jamaica is classed with unhealthy regions by most of our Insurance offices, and a large extra premium is exacted from the assured who pay a visit, even though it should be for the benefit of their own health, to that island. It is much to be regretted that statistics of health within the

colony are so limited and imperfect. The judgment of Insurance companies is founded mainly on the rate of mortality among soldiers, sailors, and free living planters; and the conclusions hence derived are exceedingly inapplicable to well-ordered people who conduct themselves with sobriety and discretion. Since the troops were removed to an elevated position, called Newcastle, where they have better air and fewer temptations, their sanitary state has been greatly improved.

So far as I could form an opinion from what I witnessed myself, and learned from my intercourse with physicians, the estimate generally entertained of the unhealthiness of Jamaica greatly exceeds the truth. Many diseases very fatal in Britain are unknown there, or they are found only in modified and gentle forms. So it is with hooping-cough and measles. The complaint most common in the island is fever. In most cases it is slight and transient, and occasions little suffering or alarm. It is liable, however, to become virulent, especially if persons are so imprudent as to get wet and not change their clothing, or if they make fatiguing journeys in the heat of the day, or pass the night in the neighbourhood of lagoons and marshes. As respects yellow fever, about which so much is said here, it there rages as an epidemic at times, but

it is far from being a prevalent disease in the island. Its characteristic is 'the black vomit,' and I met with different physicians who, after practising for many years, had never seen fever accompanied with this symptom. There were some such cases at Montego Bay when I arrived there, but they were few, and I heard of no more of them so long as I was in the colony.

Many of the physicians in the island administer calomel and quinine, in very large doses, to all persons affected with fever. But others of them condemn this mercurial treatment as carried destructively far; and they ascribe to it much of that debility of constitution with which a proportion of the colonists are afflicted, and which is commonly charged on the enervating tendency of the climate.

I could not learn of an instance where an invalid, or any of his friends coming to Jamaica to spend a single winter there, had died of fever. Persons affected with pulmonary complaints are considered particularly secure from its attacks.

WHAT PATIENTS SHOULD GO TO THE WEST INDIES?

This is a question for physicians to answer. Though doctors are said to differ, that is not a sufficient reason why an invalid, without consulting them, should determine of himself to go to a tropical climate. There are cases in which

medical advisers of experience and skill would unitedly condemn this measure. To leave home and friends, and accomplish a voyage of 4000 to 5000 miles, and try the effects of a totally new climate, is of course a serious undertaking, and no person should, on his own responsibility, expose himself to its hazards.

At the same time, medical opinion is regulated by experience, and if doctors who send patients to Jamaica should be encouraged by the results, there can be no doubt that the experiment will be tried on a larger scale. Happy would it be for humanity if the success of the prescription were such as wholly to divest it of an experimental character. A physician of eminence in the island said to me that where hectic fever was strong and constant, the patient should not come to Jamaica, as its warmth would probably increase the fever, and thus prove prejudicial; but if the pulse did not indicate much fever, he thought that the patient, even although reduced and enfeebled, had great inducement to make trial of the colony, as he never found any, in these circumstances, fail of being benefited by making it a temporary place of residence.

OUTFIT.

There are mercantile establishments of great respectability in Jamaica; but in many localities

the articles which are supplied by the stores are not of the best or cheapest description, and therefore travellers do well to take at least a small outfit with them. It is necessary, even for the comforts of the voyage, to have some variety of clothing. Though the vessel is bound for a tropical climate, the first part of the voyage is apt to be cold and stormy, and therefore the traveller, especially the invalid, should be amply provided with warm attire. In the latter part of the voyage, the passengers commonly find the vessel close and sultry, though all windows are thrown open to give it ventilation, and then light dresses are a great relief. I found a brown linen blouse, which replaced coat and vest, a great comfort as we approached Jamaica, and it appeared to be envied by my fellow-passengers, who complained of their heavier apparel as very oppressive. Something cooler for the head than either a beaver hat or fur cap, becomes also a luxury on board ship, and it should be of such make and material that the wearer can keep it on with comfort when he leans back, or lies down, or tries, by whatever attitudes, to turn ennui into rest.

As regards the best sort of clothing for the island itself, the general rule is, that thin flannel should be worn next the skin, and then upper coverings may be of a light description.

Many, however, dress there in nearly the same manner as here, and they have the impression that this course is the safest.

Persons newly come to the island are peculiarly annoyed by the mosquitoes. It is some defence against them to wear boots which protect the ancles; otherwise shoes would be cooler and more agreeable. Most of the beds in Jamaica have mosquito curtains; but they are generally in such bad repair as to be of no use, and are in many instances of such dense texture as seriously to impede ventilation. The traveller might with benefit take as much stuff of the right sort with him, as would defend a bed from these troublesome assailants, and thus secure for himself unmolested repose by day or night. The curtains can be made in the form of a portable 'bag net,' and dropped down over any bed, as convenience may require. These are minute details; but invalids will find that they have an important relation to comfort and health.*

* It is of much consequence for a sickly traveller to select a good vessel. I sailed in the Trelawny, a new and commodious barque, belonging to the firm of Stirling, Gordon & Co., and I am glad to have an opportunity of expressing my special obligations to Captain M'Neilage, for his kind attentions to myself and the friends who accompanied me, and more particularly to that member of my family for whose benefit the voyage was undertaken.

MOST ELIGIBLE LOCALITIES IN JAMAICA.

A person who can choose his place of residence, has first to decide whether he will sail for the north side or the south side of the island. It is not easy, in the absence of all public conveyances, to cross from north to south, and therefore the traveller should, if possible, embark for some port near to the district where he means to settle for a time. The north side is in general the more verdant and beautiful; even its towns are imbedded in vegetation. It is also cooler than the southern coast and adjacent territory. On the other hand, it is more liable to wet stormy weather, and to breezes called norths, which are occasionally trying to invalids. Commonly, however, the weather is charming, and the visitant may find on the north side very delightful spots where he will be little in danger from injurious atmospheric influences. He should seek a position which is somewhat inland, moderately elevated, and in some degree sheltered from the north. I could name just now several such situations; and if visits to Jamaica were becoming frequent, more adequate preparation would be made, and the visitants could easily learn in such towns as Montego Bay and Falmouth where they could be desirably accommodated.

Kingston, on the south side of the island, has the character of being very hot. It is exceedingly arid. Its streets, and even its gardens, are heaps of sand. One leaves the town a mile or so, even in the most verdant direction, before he sees anything to be called grass, or almost a solitary small plant, unless a species of honey-cup which struggles here and there for existence, and after a shower or two becomes more diffused and vigorous, till it is again withered by the scorching sun. Trees, and the larger shrubs, can send their roots far enough down to derive humidity from underneath the sand, and thus only are they enabled to contend successfully with heat and drought.

Yet Kingston has its recommendations. Its temperature is exceedingly equal, and its almost entire exemption from dews, enables the invalid to stroll in the evening with impunity, when in other places he would be harmed by such exposure. Even during night, windows may be kept open in the town with very little hazard from the night air. Some families also who are willing to keep boarders, have town houses and country houses, and the visitant could make trial of both, or could relieve sameness, and secure variety, by occupying now the one, and again the other.

It is very exhilarating to get for a time to

some elevated house, where the view is commanding, and the breeze is refreshing. Invalids, however, should beware of ascending very far, as the change of temperature is then too great, and the dews and rains are also frequent and heavy in the loftier altitudes.

On the whole, Kingston is found to be more suitable for chest complaints than almost any other place in the island, and if the visitant should tire of it, he has better opportunities there than in any of the northern towns, of shaping his course according to his convenience or inclination.

CAUTIONS TO BE OBSERVED IN THE ISLAND.

A visitant will receive plenty of counsels, but he will not always find them accordant with each other. What one advises, another denounces. It is universally agreed, however, that good use should be made of the morning. About sunrise the air is always cool and pure, and a ride or drive is then most healthful and pleasurable.

Severe exercise under the sun is always dangerous to Europeans. Wet clothes are very apt to induce fever, and if they be so much as damp from the slightest shower, they should be put off as soon as possible. The dew of the evening, especially if it be impregnated with the miasma of any marshy district, is also a cause

of disease, and it should not be needlessly encountered. A person may brave all these perils, and having escaped a hundred times, may become quite fearless. But danger is not annulled in being scorned, and these heroes are very apt to repeat their daring *once too often.*

In respect to the most suitable food for the colony, some difference of opinion exists. The same questions are agitated there as here about the advisableness of abstaining wholly from the use of wines, spirits, and all intoxicating liquors. All unite, however, in maintaining that intemperance is a principal cause of disease, and that it cannot be indulged in without the most imminent hazard.

It seems to be an opinion with many that animal food must be eaten very freely to neutralise the enfeebling power of a tropical climate. I saw numbers of children getting fish or flesh twice, or even thrice a-day. All the best physicians condemn this usage as alike mistaken and mischievous. They declare that the languor complained of is caused, in a great degree, by the undue consumption of animal food which the system has not power to digest, and they advise dependence rather on the best 'bread kinds' and vegetables.

The island abounds in fruits; and physicians there are of opinion that the climate ren-

ders a moderate use of them rather salutary than deleterious. But of course the kinds of fruit, and the state of health of those who partake of them, are elements to be considered; and as experiments on health are peculiarly hazardous in a tropical climate, it is wise to indulge in no sort of luxury without medical permission and direction.*

* I have reason to expect that a work on the climate of Jamaica will be published shortly by one of its most eminent physicians, Dr James Macfadyen of Kingston. Such a treatise is much needed, and the preparation of it could not be in better hands. In the expectation that it will soon appear, I have been as brief as possible in my concluding paragraphs having relation to the same subject.

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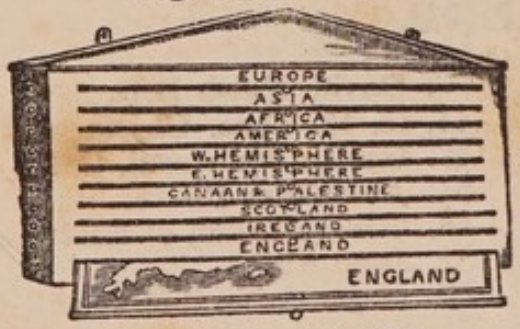

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