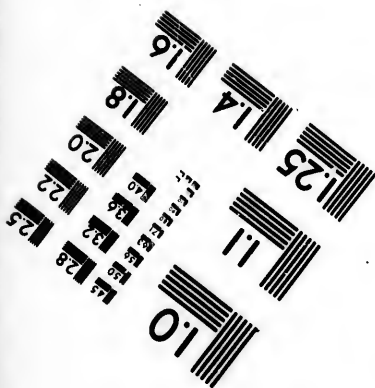
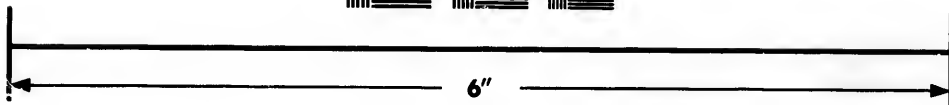
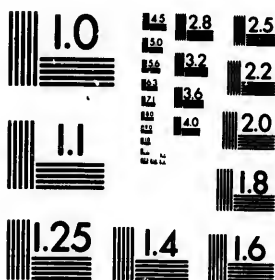


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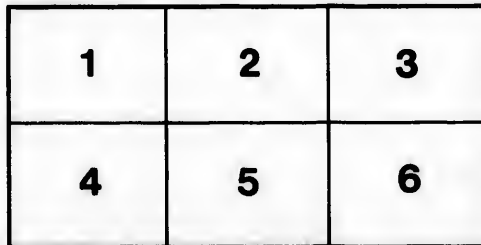
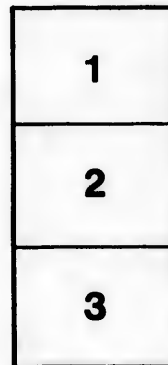
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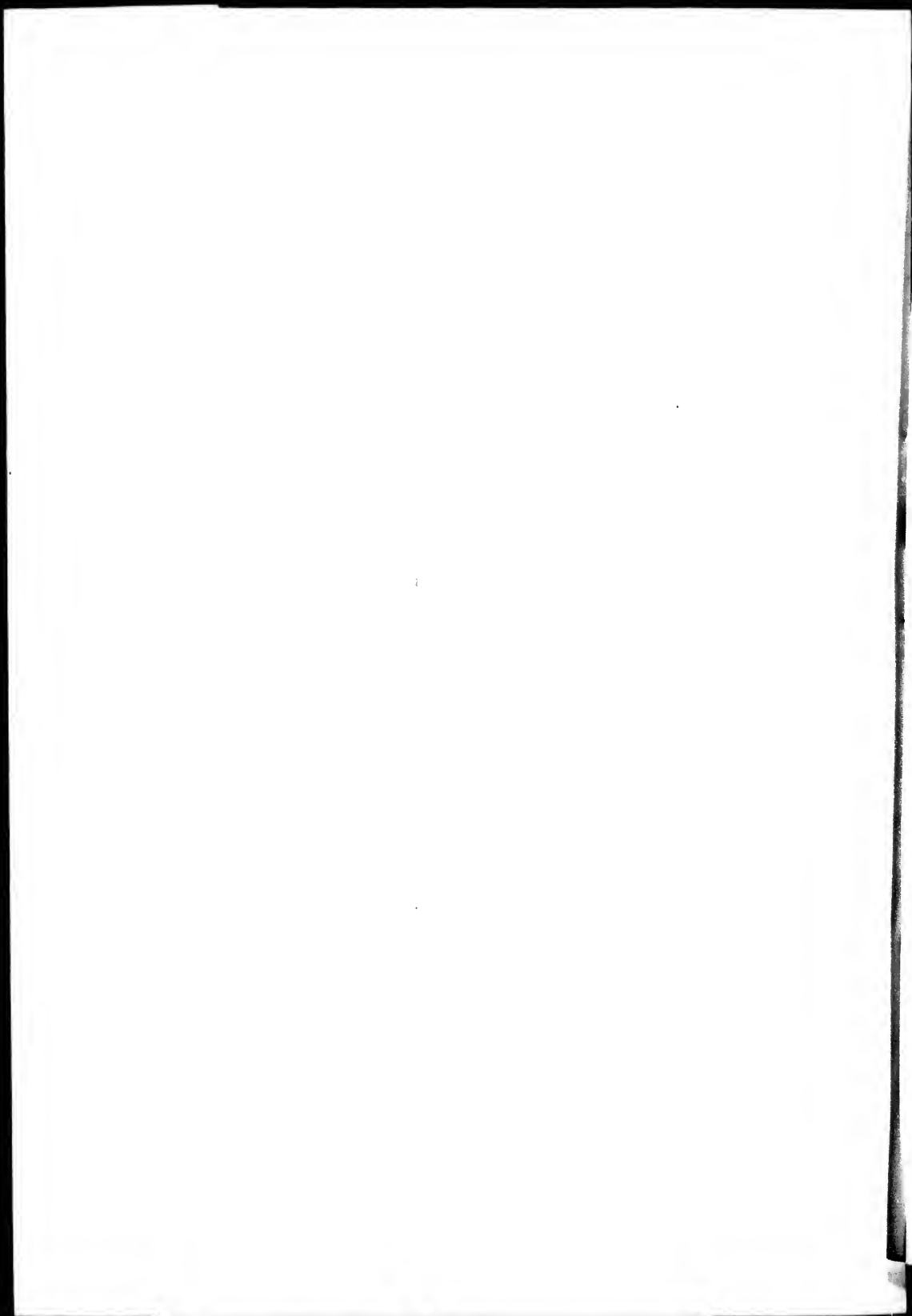
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# THE COTTON SUPPLY.

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## A LETTER

TO

JOHN CHEETHAM, ESQ.

PRESIDENT OF THE MANCHESTER COTTON-SUPPLY ASSOCIATION.

BY A FELLOW OF THE  
ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

LONDON:  
ROBERT HARDWICKE, 192, PICCADILLY.  
1861.

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A

## LETTER TO JOHN CHEETHAM, ESQ.,

*President of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association.*

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SIR,

AMONG the many lessons taught us by the present crisis in the United States, there is none more forcibly brought to our doors than the evil of dependency. Not that I depreciate a *mutual* dependency, but where one country like England depends mainly on another, like America, for her raw produce, great danger must arise to the former from such a condition. And if this is so, which I suppose none will deny, has not the time come to put forth our full energies, to prevent the blow ere it falls, to place England in a self-reliant, self-dependent position? The disasters which have come upon the great American republic, clearly point out to us the danger which now exists of our obtaining but a small yearly quantity of cotton, if not of losing our supply altogether from the Southern States; and also the necessity of obtaining from several other sources our cotton and other raw produce.



For what is our state in reference to America? We receive in England about 2,523,200 bales of cotton annually; of this, 85 per cent., or 2,133,720 bales come from the United States. By their being our principal suppliers, we pay them naturally a fancy price for it. Cotton is to be had at  $6\frac{1}{2}$ , say 7 cents in Florida, whereas similar quality from India may be procured at from 3 to 4 cents; or, in round numbers we pay the Americans £30,000,000 per annum for what we can procure for £20,000,000. From that £30,000,000 the Americans take but about £4,000,000 of cotton manufactures from us. Whereas, paying India £4,000,000 for cotton, she takes from us £12,000,000 in goods and yarns.

And are there any reasons why we should procure our cotton only from America? In an early part of this year, the *Daily News*, in one of its leading articles on this subject, says, "The plain truth is, that affairs in the United States can take no turn which will not leave our chance of cotton supply precarious in the extreme." The quantity of land fit for growing cotton is not larger in America than elsewhere; indeed, it is smaller. For India has a larger area; Australia nearly three times; Africa eight or nine times the area of the cotton-growing states of America. Nor do we want so large a territory. The county of York alone, if it were a cotton-growing country, would supply England with all the cotton she needs.

Many countries lie open to our enterprise. We

have but to choose, and I doubt not our Anglo-Saxon perseverance will overcome all the difficulties which will naturally stand in our way. For beginnings are at all times difficult; much more so when we have to turn from an already beaten track, and to seek new fields for our energies.

There are two influences from the revolution in the United States which lie heavy on us: on the one hand, the demand for manufactures is diminished; and on the other, the consumers of cotton cannot pay extravagantly for the raw material.

For the tendency is, under such pressure, for the raw material to advance in price. If it continued to do this, which it has been doing for the last few weeks, what would be the consequence but that labour would diminish here, and poverty, famine, and misery would ensue? Yes, indeed, Sir,—misery would ensue. If half a million of bales were short in Liverpool, 200,000 or 300,000 people would be out of employ. If a million of bales were wanting, hundreds of thousands of human beings would be seen starving. The distress of Coventry would pale beside this; for such a calamity would be gigantic—not in a manufacturing view only, but even more, in a political and moral one. *Does not this prove the necessity for fresh energy?*

I have said “we have to seek new fields.” I should have added such fields lie ready to our hands. The recent experiments in Africa prove that a new field has already been opened in that continent.

Trials have already been made, though to a very limited extent ; but nevertheless cotton has been grown in Africa, which, sent to Liverpool, thence re-shipped to Boston, has been there sold for less than it could be supplied (of a similar quality) from the Southern States. Mr. Clegg, of Manchester, in an address recently delivered in the Town Hall of that city, states that he has been for many years in the habit of importing cotton from Africa. When he first commenced he received but 235 lbs. of cotton ; in 1858 he got 219,615 lbs. ; but in 1860 417,087 lbs. reached London from the West coast alone. And this cotton he would undertake to sell in Liverpool for  $4\frac{1}{2}d.$  per pound ; whereas, if slave-grown cotton, though not superior in quality, he could not deliver it for less than  $6\frac{1}{2}d.$  per pound.

The quantities in which this cotton will be received, will continue to be very small, so long as the native chiefs are more willing to sell their youth into slavery abroad than to make use of their labour at home. And this they will continue to do, if they are not made to see that the advantages arising from a permanent income are greater than from the small capital obtained from the sale of their subjects. This can only be shown to their half-savage minds, by a comparison between the poverty of their country and the relative prosperity of their neighbours.

Now, if the escaped slaves and free negroes at present in Canada and the free states of the Ame-

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rican Republic, were restored to Africa, not only would the cotton manufacturers in Manchester and Liverpool gain advantages by the free labours of the blacks in their own country, but the negroes themselves would obtain a home instead of a temporary refuge, and would there find the occupation most fitted for them.

A Society has been recently formed in the metropolis, which has, amongst other designs, this:—to give assistance to negroes to regain Africa. For, at this moment there are 45,000 free negroes in Canada, and an immense number scattered through the British islands and West Indies, who are anxious to return to their fatherland; and it is impossible to say with accuracy the exact number, probably about 250,000 in the Northern states. All these, or most of them, have had experience in the growth of cotton.

But to these, contrast those exported from Africa—a quantity yearly increasing so far as Cuba is concerned. Hear what Mr. Crawford, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul at Havannah, says: "In 1858, 17,000 negroes were imported into Cuba. In 1859, about 30,000; and in 1860, between 40,000 and 50,000 landed in that island."

Again, while England reaps advantages from the production of cotton in her own dominions, and benefits the negro race by transporting them to their own country, it is impossible that we should not at the same time see the blow thus aimed at

slavery; for in the words of the African Aid Society, we should be encouraging "the development of the resources of those countries inhabited by the African races generally," and should be causing "African free labour to supersede African slavery and degradation,"

This plan of restoring the Africans to some part of the coast of Africa, would not be fraught with any danger to the negroes themselves. Lord Stratheden brought lately under the notice of the House of Lords the desirability of appointing a consul at Mozambique; and Mr. Buxton, in a debate in the lower House, on the 26th of February, urged the Government, in concert with that of Portugal, to place stations along the coast of Africa, especially that portion occupied by the King of Dahomey, by means of which no slaves could leave the coast. This has already been done with great success by the French in Senegal; by the English on the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast; and the Americans in Liberia. What is the consequence of the American protectorate of Liberia? That no slavers dare approach that coast, extending as it does 700 miles. I deny entirely the alleged fact that slaves are sold as openly in Liberia as they are in the United States. In short, in the words of Lord John Russell, "wherever the slave-trade has been put down, honest trade has sprung up; and Christianity, and civilization, and peace have begun to produce their natural effects. On the

other hand, where the King of Dahomey and other chiefs continue to gain an unrighteous profit by selling men, wars, and misery, and heathen darkness prevail."

I say that the results of the occupation by civilized nations of the coast of Africa has been beneficial.

Let me add a few words on the way in which these advantages have shown themselves.

The slave-trade has diminished—for from the 135,000 yearly exported out of Africa, from 1835 to 1840—the numbers have fallen off, on the average, to 25,000 or 30,000. The lawful commerce of Africa has, on the contrary, increased to an immense degree. The exports last year from the West Coast of Africa alone amounted to £3,000,000 sterling.

From the Bight of Benin, the exports of palm-oil were valued between £70,000 and £80,000, while twenty years ago (that is when the slave-trade was at that high point I have mentioned above), not a puncheon of palm-oil was exported.

Besides cotton and palm-oil, ground-nuts are also cultivated, 40,000 tons of them being annually exported; from these, oil is pressed, either in the country, or more generally in France, their usual market.

The production of palm-oil and ground-nuts has tended to raise a new industry in Africa, and to create a class of agriculturists, who are beginning

to assume a position somewhat similar to that of the Yeomen of England.

The Africans engaged in this new branch of labour have begun to form small domestic institutions, on English models. They take pride in furniture, dress, and in the little accomplishments which English cottagers possess.

When we see these encouraging indications, what can we say? If Africa has thus taken such steps onwards since 1840, how will she progress henceforward? By all laws her progress will be proportionately increased. And in saying this, can we be blind to the efforts of the Church Missionary Society—the active agency of whose noble missionaries will, I believe, continue to effect much good; and by whose instrumentality in the conversion of natives to Christianity—civilization, as the attendant of Christianity, will overthrow slavery, and open a way to a glorious commerce in cotton and oil.

There is no doubt that through a joint stock company tracts of land could be purchased (even if *free grants* were not made), on which cotton might be cultivated in Africa. Free negroes might be imported by the same means from Canada and the United States, to cultivate the soil. There are, as I have said, about 300,000 free negroes in those localities, and they would cultivate *all* the cotton needed for England.

An experienced agent residing there would watch and direct the operations, and would himself pur-

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chase cotton for the association from the negroes, as brokers now do in New Orleans, for merchants at home. Many could be found who would accept such a place. Many who would carry American experience into this new field.

I hope, sir, I have thus proved the necessity of some fresh stimulus to the cotton trade with Africa.—that the first step towards it must be the return of the free negroes from Canada and the United States to their own country, and by this means that slavery may receive its deathblow.

But besides Africa, there are other countries from which we may expect great things. In India there is a great field for cultivation. There are such ample resources there, that, if railways were formed; if the laws relating to land tenure were improved from their present barbarous condition; if good harbours were made, and it is satisfactory to see the attention of commercial men turning in this direction, triumphant success must result from cultivating cotton in India. Great obstacles are in our way against our procuring cotton from thence, amongst these is the want of communication. The raw material can be purchased along the River Godavery at 1*d.* per lb. Colonel Grant says, that cotton from Surat might be laid down in Bombay for 2½*d.*, if there were good means of transport; and Dr. White stated that Indian cotton could, on the same terms, be laid down in Liverpool for 3½*d.* or 7 cents, the price, as I have already said, of the



best cotton on the plantations of Florida, before its shipment.

Let me say a few words more particularly on the Southern Mahratta country, than which a better does not exist for the cultivation of cotton. My information on this point I have gained from a printed letter of Dr. Forbes, whose deep knowledge of the subject must be a guarantee of the facts he adduces.

At the present time, Coompta is the only harbour for the cotton grown at Dharwar, though they are 130 miles distant from each other. The means of transport are most difficult and intricate, and the consequence is, that upon every ton, or 14 cwt. of cotton valued at £20, there is a dead loss of £4. 15s. by the time of its shipment in Bombay. Remember, too, there are no cotton wharfs in Bombay, though they are in the course of erection, at the enormous expense of £800,000. They will not be ready at the earliest before 1865; till which time cotton must be put on board by means of small boats. Then, adding £2. 10s. a ton for carriage, it will be seen that £7. 5s. is dissipated between the grower and the consumer. So long as this continues—so long as a greater amount, as often happens, is paid for sending the cotton than for growing it, neither the powers of India or the Ryot will be sufficient. One-seventh of the value of American cotton brings it from the planter to the consumer; it is monstrous, therefore, that nearly four-sevenths

should be wasted between the Indian ryot and the English manufacturer.

Dr. Forbes proposes a remedy which, briefly, is this:—Sedashvaghur should be improved and made into a port. Its situation is favourable for this. As it is only 70 miles from Dharwar, whereas Coompta, as I have said, is nearly double that distance, the carriage to this new harbour would be but £1. 6s. per ton; and supposing the same charges made for its transport to Liverpool as from Bombay—viz., £2. 10s., it could be laid down in the town for £3. 16s., or, if you add 2s. for pressing, £3. 18s., which is about 10s. a ton less than it can be delivered in Bombay under present circumstances.

As improvements, Dr. Forbes suggests that two piers should be constructed, alongside of which vessels could be brought to load. The expense of one of these would be £40,000, of the other £10,000. The amount expended would be paid back in the following way:—I have already mentioned that it was necessary to put the cotton on board the ships by means of boats. The expense of this has been calculated at about 6s. a ton. If then, a saving in loading of even 5s. per ton were effected by means of these piers, the whole expense, £50,000 would be repaid so soon as 300,000 tons or 800,000 bales of cotton had been shipped. At the present time 100,000 bales of cotton are exported yearly; and a considerable trade in sugar and spices and other commodities exists besides, which would

enable the builders of the piers soon to recover the sum expended on their erection.

It is impossible, nor indeed would it be within the scope of this letter, to enter into a discussion on the different public works proposed for India. Some, no doubt, would act directly, others indirectly, in favour of the cotton-trade; while I conceive others would have no effect at all. I do not believe that the introduction of railways would be of material benefit to the cotton-growers, at least in the central districts of India. For further information on this point, I can but refer to the letter before mentioned, of Dr. Forbes. I hope in a short time to lay before you further plans concerning India and its cotton capabilities, so for the present I shall dismiss the subject. I would, however, say a few words concerning land-tenure in India, to which I have already adverted.

No language can express what the universal opinion is of the present laws relating to that subject. They are injurious to India, and injurious to Great Britain. They are the result of old traditions; and similar laws exist in Persia and in Turkey.

In almost every part of India it is impossible to buy the "fee-simple" of land; though from the declarations of Lord Stanley, when Secretary of State for the Colonies, it had been hoped that it would be made possible to do so. Had land been sold at only twenty-years' purchase, it would have paid the debt now hanging over India, and filled the exchequer now in so depressed a state.

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I believe that natives, as well as Europeans, residents as well as speculators, would have bought land upon those terms, and would thus have prevented the most fertile country in the world from lying a barren waste. I hope that the consumers of cotton in England will not forget that it is mainly in their power to prevent a continuance of this: that it is for them to force the Government to change laws deleterious to themselves, and also to the country at large.

I have said enough to prove how much may be done in India. But it is impossible, in so small limits, to dwell as long as I could wish, on a subject pregnant with the prosperity of millions of people. I trust public opinion may be turned to it, and thereby save us from the blame of having neglected a country, upon which we may at no very distant day, be forced to depend for wealth or even existence.

But besides Africa and India, there is another cotton-field open to English energy, and that is in Australia. I am not sure whether it is not the most important of them all.

In the district called Moreton Bay, greater facilities are offered than in India for the purchase of land. Even if the Government were not ready to give land to every cultivator who asked for it, they would be, I am given to understand, willing to make a free grant equal to the amount purchased.

Dr. Hobbs, whose experience in Moreton Bay is well known, has stated, in his answer to a commu-

nication from Mr. T. S. Mort of Sydney, that the soil and climate of Moreton Bay "are admirably adapted to the growth of cotton"—from a thousand to twelve hundred pounds of cotton (in the seed) being produced in each acre, according to the soil. He adds, that Sea Island Cotton is that most easily cultivated in all but the clayey soils—in this Sir Charles Nicholson agrees.

I shall not add all the reasons which exist against the cultivation of cotton in Australia. Of course there are causes which operate injuriously on the cotton crop there, as elsewhere. Amongst them there are two principal ones, both of which are mentioned in Dr. Hobb's communication. The one is, the difficulties which exist for the poorer emigrants to purchase small farms; the other is, the long distance from the Governor of the province, who, ignorant of the necessities or requirements of the district, recommends that but six ships of emigrants should be sent yearly to Moreton Bay. No doubt Coolies would be as willing to immigrate there as to the Mauritius, and thus counterbalance this latter objection.

Sir George Bowen says that the territory of Queensland is three times as large as the whole of France, and almost all of it is capable of growing cotton. I doubt not but that with adequate exertions, 2,000,000 bags a year may be obtained from that district alone.

By the formation of model farms, of which, one

of 300 acres has already been made, great quantities of the best cotton may be procured. Mr. King informs us that a bale of clean cotton may be obtained per acre, each of which is annually producing £30 to £40. Do not these facts convince us of the vast number of districts from which we can obtain new and lasting supplies?

Within the last few days, from the report of a deputation to the Brazilian Minister, we have been shown the increased opening in that country. In that empire the black races are free, and have been long so. From a conversation which I have recently had with a native of Brazil, I learn the high position which the coloured races have achieved there. The best lawyers are negroes, and they have proved that three generations of freedom *can* bring the coloured races almost, if not altogether, to a level with our own more favoured race.

It is not necessary for me to dilate on Egypt, with the capabilities of which we are so well acquainted. I am informed, and am inclined to believe, that a still larger opening is before us than we have yet been prone to allow.

Nor need I touch on the subject of Paraguay. I am pressing rather for our obtaining cotton from our British dependencies. Hence, however much we may desire the improvement of Paraguay under its present ruler—who seems to seek its internal amelioration—and however much we may wish to see our intercourse with that country improved, I cannot

do more than add it to the long list of other countries from whom we can obtain the raw produce essential to our requirements.

In Honduras also, the cotton may be found growing wild, almost equal in quality to the famed Sea Island. Add to this, native labour may be procured, cheap and good; and from the closeness of that country to the sea-coast, I apprehend emigrants would be willing to settle there, and cultivate the ground.

Cotton from Nicaragua, is valued in the markets higher than that received from the south of the United States. Besides which, there are *two yearly crops*, each averaging 500 lbs. an acre; whilst in the Southern States, only one crop can be procured of from 250 to 300 lbs. at most. Here (to Nicaragua) it is needful to import coolies, of whose immigration more anon.

The capabilities of the Feji Islands offer another subject for our consideration. There are most favourable accounts from them. Cotton grows well, and each plant produces *three* crops a year. The cotton is of the best "New Orleans" kind.

Sicily also offers itself to our notice. I merely name it to show how inexhaustible are the resources at our disposal.

I come now to consider what can be done with the West Indies, and the mainland dependent upon Great Britain. Trollope, in his admirable work entitled "The West Indies, and the Spanish Main,"

says, in the words of the planter, "Give me a sufficient number of Asiatics, and I will grow you a million hogsheads of sugar."

I have already attempted to demonstrate, I hope not in vain, that Africans should be restored to Africa, not only from Canada, but from the free States of the American Union. How then can these dependencies of Queen Victoria's crown be cultivated? What people can be introduced to do the great amount of work requisite for these Colonies? It is useless to repeat over and over again that their produce has diminished.

It has been diminishing ever since the overthrow of slavery, and between 1851 and 1853 the exports, except in rum and cocoa-nuts, have to a great extent decreased. That we may understand properly the present condition of the emigration from China to British Guiana, it will be necessary to go to the root of what is called the Coolie trade, and by doing so, I think the public who are not readers of parliamentary blue-books, will see what an immense trade lies open to enterprise, by the introduction of labourers into the West Indies.

Immigration of the Chinese did not become considerable until the year 1846; but in 1850 the sugar crop of the Mauritius had increased from 50,000 tons, to 150,000 tons. But this emigration, though most necessary to the Chinese themselves, owing to the over-population of their country, has been prevented by one of those obsolete laws which



exist in every land. This gave rise to that horrible system of kidnapping, which still exists, though since 1859, in a very moderate degree. It is not possible to explain the way in which the kidnapping was managed; sometimes by sheer brute force; sometimes by means of drugged cakes given by women; sometimes the victims were seized during intoxication.

At last things came to such a pitch, that, in the words of Consul Alcock, "no man could leave his own house, in public thoroughfares, and open day, without a danger of being hustled under false pretences of debt or delinquency, and carried off a prisoner in the hands of the crimps, to be sold to the purveyors of coolies, and carried off to sea—never more to be heard of."

Such being the case, the Chinese inhabitants of Canton petitioned the British Consul for his protection and that of his country.—*See* Appendix A.

That petition which stated, that kidnapping had been in existence for many years, and had been the means of carrying off from 60,000 to 70,000 persons, is at once acknowledged by proclamations from the allied commanders, Major-General Sir C. I. van Straubenzee, commanding the English troops; and General d'Aboville, the commander of those of France; and also from His Excellency Laow, the Governor of Canton.

This latter proclamation dated 9th of April, 1859, pronounced death against all persons found kid-

napping, a sentence carried into effect shortly afterwards on eighteen offenders.

It was at this time Sir John Bowring stated that as the old law forbidding Chinese to leave the country was the ostensible cause of a system of obtaining coolies, radically vicious, so the legalization of free immigration was calculated to strike at the root of the crimping system.

But the carrying off of 750 coolies from Whampoa, on the 21st of June, 1859, was the origin of the great outburst of feeling which penetrated even the diplomatically dull intellect of the Hon. Frederick W. A. Bruce, our Ambassador in China. In November of the same year Mr. J. G. Austen opened an establishment, or Emigration House, for emigrants to the West-India Islands. This establishment received the consent of Lord John Russell. Emigration itself being legalized by Laow, in a proclamation bearing date the 28th of October.

Great difficulties had to be overcome before this would take with the Chinese, as they were still smarting under the injuries inflicted on them by these forced emigrations. Thanks, however, to the publicity with which Mr. Austin managed it, and to the admirable rules (Appendix B), which he devised for the Emigration House, between the establishment in November, and the ensuing March, 1850 coolies had left Canton for Demarara. And that such emigration was quite voluntary, will be recognized from the fact of one applicant in three

being willing to subscribe to Mr. Austin's terms. (Appendix C). Many complaints have been made against the immorality of the Chinese, when exported, a charge perhaps well founded, when they were unaccompanied by their families. But during the season mentioned, out of the 1,850 quoted, above 1,489 were men, and 259 women, which will greatly diminish the spread of immorality. The character of the Chinese is generally good, an opinion not contradicted by Consul Alcock in a letter to Sir J. Bowring dated September 1st, 1852. (Appendix D.)

Mr. Winchester, Her Britannic Majesty's acting consul in Canton, believes that the emigration is likely to increase, a fact much to be desired by ourselves, as giving fresh blood to the cultivators of land in British Guiana; and by the Chinese, as clearing the country of an overplus of population.

Shortly after the establishing of an emigration depôt, the French, Spanish, and Americans followed our example. With the first of these, the scheme almost failed, only 54 going to their depôt. This is to be partly accounted for, by the fact of the contract with the Chinese being for eight years instead of five, as we make it. The Spaniards and Americans both wished to import to Cuba—but both failed, owing to the wonderful want of honour displayed by both these nations; nor should such a result be deplored on the part of the Chinese, for (if we may rely on the authority of Mr. Dana, the author of

a book entitled "To Cuba and Back") the coolies are no better treated than slaves, receiving no wages, and being unable to leave the country.

Thus was the intolerable injustice of the forced emigration almost entirely overthrown; a result mainly due to the energy of Mr. Parkes and Mr. Austin. We trust that the good work begun may be continued, and that under foreign official superintendence a stimulus may be given to lawful emigration.

Before going to the West Indies, let me say a word on the subject of Chinese emigration to Australia and California. In both these places, Chinese emigrants are subject to a taxation additional to that borne by other inhabitants, while from Oregon and Washington territory, they are altogether excluded by legislation. British Columbia presents a noble contrast to the illiberal and cruel principles which prevail under the sway of the stars and stripes."

You will have seen from the preceding Appendix, the agreement to be signed between Mr. Austin and the emigrant Chinese.

That agreement is for five years, dating from his arrival in the colony. Every inducement is offered, and even by the rules of the Emigration House, a certain portion of the wages may be left to be paid monthly to relatives and friends at home.

Hence, the coolies emigrating to the West-India islands or Demerara, stand in great contrast

with those emigrating to Cuba and the Spanish Main.

These latter, from the treatment they undergo, gradually sink into mere animals, and their morality becomes brutalized.

This digression will show the wonderful capacity there exists of obtaining labourers for the great fields of Jamaica and other islands. By these means, districts once cultivated, but now fallen into savage land, may be restored to their pristine fertility, and new districts annexed for the agriculturist and planter. Nor do I believe would the wages paid diminish *eventually* the profits to any great degree. I am, in fact, persuaded that free labour will, in the end, prove itself even more valuable than slave labour.

I do not agree with Mr. Anthony Trollope, who, in the work quoted above, considers that a mixed race is springing up from the whites and blacks, which shall combine the activity of the whites and the powers of endurance of the blacks. I am afraid that this plan, plausible as it may seem, is not feasible, for the mixed race dies out very early. The quadroons are rarely long-lived, indeed few can be found whose age exceeds thirty or forty years.

It is also hardly likely that a mixed race between the Chinese and the blacks will spring up, because, if the hopes of coolie emigration are realized, whole families of Chinese will arrive in the West Indies,

and few, if any, marriages will take place between them and the blacks.

Another most important object to be attained is the residence of small landowners on the soil. This can be effectually done by the localization of the emigrant Chinese.

Many of the largest landowners are, and would be non-residents. This is always the case in colonies. I could turn to a score of instances in Canada alone where it is so. But the great prosperity of a country depends upon a just and due admixture of *landed gentry* and *small proprietors*. These latter, cultivating their own land, would naturally feel a greater interest in it than as mere tenants; and would, by copying the proceedings of the greater owners, bring their soil to as perfect a state of cultivation as those above them.

In this way, too, a noble rivalry would spring up productive of mighty advantages to the state. The island of Jamaica is almost large enough to supply England with cotton, as Guiana is able to supply us with sugar; and can you then conceive the vastness and importance of the result if England depended mainly on her colonies for her support and subsistence?

And what, may I ask, would be the result of all this to the West-India islands? What effect would it have upon the planters there? I will tell you in a few words.

The planters are discouraged (for England has

done, and, alas ! is doing comparatively nothing for her colonies, as regards their produce and manufactures), and not only discouraged physically, but also morally. They half wish for the days of slavery again. They half believe our £20,000,000, and our lives of great and good men thrown away—and no wonder.

If you, Sir, go through their fields and their plantations, what do you see ? You see luxuriance run to weed, and everything beautiful to the eye, and good for food, turned into a hopeless waste. And what do you hear ? Nothing, save the complaints of the landowners against their lazy, indolent servants, who will not work even for wages. Nay, the very planters themselves are sunk in a hopeless lethargy, and thus the whole land is given up to idleness and sloth.

But now, on the other hand, by carrying out this system of coolie emigration, we should be giving the planters new labourers to till and cultivate their soil, and obliging (by the competition thus forced upon them), the lazy, reckless negroes also to work : so gradually, more and yet more land would be reclaimed, as cultivators and population increased. We should also give them hope and belief in their mother country—faith in the great past, that washed out the stain of slavery, and confidence in themselves, which would arouse them to strive that the future of their land should surpass its former doings.

Is not this an end worth striving for, and in these days (when all men should have an *aim* to carry out and live for ; and so many are looking around vainly for one), let all who feel the deep and lasting importance of this scheme band themselves together, and by united force and perseverance at one time, strike down slavery, and regenerate many of their country's colonies.

One point more, and I have done. The Americans taunt us with our destruction of slavery, and say that the islands and possessions once our pride and glory, have by the overthrow of slavery become plague-spots and desolations.

We cannot answer them, though the admission is most repugnant to our sensibilities. The land is indeed lying in a fallow condition, and the picture they draw is sadly correct. But if by the introduction of the coolies (and the re-working of the soil which would ensue), we restore our dominion to its once-vaunted position, how noble a refutation we could show them. Let us then pursue our onward course in the career of civilization and truth. America and Spain stand *nominally* beside us—both nations say they are *going* to do great things ; but as yet their words do not bring the proof of *deeds*. England alone *acts*. The world looks on, and sees our little country bravely holding its own in Europe and elsewhere. Even its weakest points, the colonies, may by proper means become its strongest supports. A great and noble future lies before us.



May we see that the opportunity thus offered us is not slighted, or it may never come within our grasp again !

I believe that it is neither the white emancipationist nor the freed black who will become the means of destroying the abomination of slavery. Neither, as I have said, do I place any reliance on the mixed race being efficacious in promoting an object so devoutly to be wished for ; but I do believe that the introduction of Chinese emigrants into the West-India islands and our continental possessions, will enable us, and that soon, to counterbalance slave-grown cotton by free labour ; and in this way shall we overcome our dependence on America for her produce, and with God's blessing hand the English name down to posterity as the great liberator and civilizer of the world.

I have said thus much on the subject, not to bring fresh ideas before the public (for I am not bold enough to think I could do so), but by the laying of it immediately before their eyes, to prove the practicability of these undertakings ; and to give them, by general circulation, fresh force. Also, hoping to obtain from those commercially interested in the matter an answer as to their opinions and feelings upon it, and whether it be not in our power to make a step onward.

I have the honour to remain, &c.

A FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL  
SOCIETY.

## APPENDICES.

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I quote these Appendices *in extenso*, as the Public may thereby become acquainted with the feelings of the Chinese, and may understand the means proposed for the abolition of kidnapping.

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### APPENDIX A.

*Petition for protection to Her Britannic Majesty's Consul against kidnapping.*

(TRANSLATION.)

The duly prepared Petition of the Chinese mercantile community at Canton, engaged in business, under the following denominations:—dealers in foreign goods, cotton hong, cotton yarn hong, dealers in cotton fabrics, gold shops, silver shops, rice stores, black-tea company, green-tea company, Tsing-yuen tea hong, Kung-e tea hong, King-e tea hong, Hee-jin tea hong, satin ribbon hong, raw silk hong, sandal-wood hong, silk piece goods hong, birds'-nest shops, dealers in fish-maw, &c., dyers, lead and tin shops, iron-ware hong, ratian dealers, paper hong, fur shops, new clothes shops,

old clothes shops, tea-box makers, matting shops, linguist guilds.

Our object in presenting this Petition is to entreat that you will communicate (with the other Consuls) in order that the system of kidnapping which is being carried on by craft and violence, to the great injury of the good and virtuous, may be examined into and repressed; that the people's existence may thereby be secured, and a great evil be done away with.

Our province of Kwang-tung has for more than two hundred years had commercial intercourse with your country. Both parties have observed good faith, mutual confidence has subsisted, and each and all have enjoyed the advantages accruing. Unexpectedly the Portuguese have recently built several barracoons at Macao; and, in conjunction with Chinese merchants, whom they protect and screen, they have hired not only steamers and lorchas, in connection with which they make use of your country's name, but also all kinds of river-boats, large and small, all having Portuguese on board, and which anchor at Whampoa and various other places in all parts of the Canton waters, where numerous stratagems and devices are employed in order to deceive and delude the children of virtuous families, and also the inexperienced country louts. These, having been once kidnapped, are seized by violence, or as it is called, "the pigs having been bought," are taken to the large sea-going vessels, where they are

bound and confined in the dark hold, and then carried to the "pig guild" at Macao. At the time of examination and numbering, such of the people kidnapped as submit, escape ill-usage; while those who refuse to yield, are most cruelly treated—perhaps even shot dead: and on witnessing such barbarous atrocities, their only resource is to submit under compulsion—for ah! who is there that dreads not death! They are then taken across the sea and sold as slaves, when they suffer such hardships that not one out of ten thousand lives; while at home their parents, wives, and children, hoping to be nourished and supported by them, and having no one else to depend on, lament and mourn both morning and evening, not seeing them return. Cases even occur in which they have carried off and sold the sole existing representative of many preceding generations, the support of a mother preserving a chaste and virtuous widowhood, on whom rested hopes that he would continue the race, and transmit a line of descendants who might continue to offer up incense before the ancestral shrine. The succession thus irremediably cut off (the mother), borne down by grief, puts an end to her existence. Families are scattered, and individuals perish. Alas! the kidnapping of an individual entails the extinction of a family; and as the evil has now been some years in existence, *the people* carried off must number 60,000 or 70,000. So that the number of families ruined may be said to be 60,000 or 70,000.

At this point of the statement, whose heart is there that is not grieved?

Possibly the Portuguese Consul does not take notice or institute examinations because he is not fully acquainted with the evil; but the British Consul, being right-minded and honest, and cherishing in his bosom benevolence and rectitude, will not, we imagine, sit quiet and look on, doing nothing, when informed of such atrocities. Every day by which haste is made to deal with the matter, will be saving of some hundreds, whilst the consequences of a day's delay will be the destruction of thousands. We therefore make a clear statement of the case, and humbly request that you, the honourable Consul, will communicate with the other foreign consuls, in order that with a reverential respect towards high Heaven's love of animate creation, stringent measures may be adopted, and the matter examined into and dealt with. If the good people that have been carried away can be brought back again, and this great evil done away with, our gratitude will be unbounded. We accordingly repair to you, the British Consul, and hope that you will grant our request.

Petition presented Hienfung, 9th year, 3rd moon, 3rd day (6th April 1859).

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## APPENDIX B.

*Proposed Rules for Emigration House.*

1. Any applicant for admission to the Emigration House, to be fully informed by the Resident Agent, in presence of the Mandarin, of the terms offered, the proposed destination, and rules of the house.

2. Full particulars as to the sex, name, age, place of birth, &c., must be recorded previous to admission.

3. Medical inspection must take place before admission.

4. Emigrants, once registered, must be taken to the bath-room, to be there cleansed, and clothed in the house dress. The old dress must be washed, and put away in a special "old clothes' closet," with the emigrant's number, for re-delivery to him on final departure from the house.

5. No emigrant to leave the house, or return thereto, without notice to the door-keeper, who will keep a register of the hour of exit and return.

6. No emigrant to be absent more than eight or ten hours, without special leave from the Resident Agent, on pain of being arraigned before the Commissioners as a deserter, or for theft of the house clothes.

7. Any emigrant, desiring to quit the house, and

be struck off the register, must intimate the same to the Resident Agent, and shall be allowed to depart with his own clothes, on re-delivery of those supplied for the use of the depôt. Should an emigrant have remained in the Emigration House more than seven days, and be then only induced to change his mind, he will be liable, if not giving satisfactory reasons for a change, to prosecution, before the Commissioners, for obtaining food and lodging under false pretences.

8. Emigration House to be thoroughly cleansed twice a day; each emigrant being responsible for the cleanliness of the room, or space allotted to him, whilst such parts as may be considered public, shall be cleansed by the emigrants generally, in rotations fixed by the Resident Agent.

9. Unless by special permission to the contrary, the meals must be taken at the tables specially provided in the public portion of the house, and at such stated periods as the Resident Agent may direct.

10. The emigrants must all be washed and dressed at eight A.M., and must then assemble for morning inspection.

11. The diet of each emigrant shall be as follows:—One catty sound rice, four taels fresh pork, or four taels salt fish; tea and vegetables to the value of twenty cash; firewood and soap will also be supplied.

12. Except by special permission of the Resident Agent, no lights other than the public ones,

shall be used in the Emigration House after eight P.M.

13. For unruly conduct, or for any breach of the house regulations, the Resident Agent shall be at liberty to order an emigrant to close confinement for any time not exceeding six hours; a special register being kept of all such cases, and a report thereof sent to the Allied Commissioners.

14. The Resident Agent shall be at liberty to dismiss summarily from the Emigration House, and strike his name off the register; the reasons influencing his conduct being entered in the register, under the head of "Remarks." No dismissal, however, shall be carried into effect save by day.

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#### APPENDIX C.

The undersigned, having now been appointed by his Government to set on foot an Emigration from Kwang-tung to the British West Indies, has determined upon conducting this at Canton, under certain regulations (five in number) which have received the sanction of the Allied Commissioners and his Excellency the Governor of the Province. The Kinlung packhouse in the Je-lung-le street in the Western Suburb, has been engaged by him as an Emigration House for the reception of emigrants, in conformity with the regulations; and it now remains for him to make known to the people full



particulars of the conditions under which he is prepared to engage labourers, and which are contained in the following Articles:—

1. There is no slavery where the British flag flies; the law in all British possessions is the same for rich and poor; and all religions are tolerated and respected. The British Government have also appointed Special Magistrates in the West-Indian colonies to look after and protect the strangers who go there to seek employment.

2. The climate of the British West-Indian colonies is very similar to that of Southern China. The cultivation is chiefly that of the sugar-cane; but rice, cotton, and coffee are also grown there, together with most of the fruits and vegetables produced in China.

3. The emigrant to the British West Indies will be engaged under contract to serve there for a term of five years, to date from his arrival in the colonies. Should he require it, an advance of wages to the extent of 20 dollars will be made to him, to be repaid by gradual deductions from his wages, after arrival at his destination. He will be provided with a free passage, the cost of which may be estimated at 75 dollars. Clothing for the voyage, and of course, food will be supplied gratuitously—and it should be known that the feeding of the emigrants on their passage is regulated by a special law. The length of the voyage may be estimated as under 100 days.

4. As the emigrants themselves have no knowledge of the price of labour in the British West Indies, a fixed sum of 4 dollars a month is first offered them; but if, on their arrival in the colony, they prefer to be paid by the day, in the same way as the non-contract labourers, they have only to signify their wishes to the magistrate, who will make the necessary alterations in their contract, and see that they are placed on the same footing as to remuneration. They will still, of course, have to serve the stipulated period of five years. Should it happen, however, that any labourer having thus entered into a contract for five years, wishes to cancel it at the close of the first year, or at any other subsequent period of his service, either from a desire to return home, or to accept elsewhere any other occupation, he is at liberty to do so on repayment of four-fifths of his passage-money, if he has completed only one year's service, or a less sum, calculated at 15 dollars for every year's service remaining to be fulfilled. In addition to the said wage of 4 dollars a month, food, house, garden-ground, and medical attendance will be provided. A day's labour consists of seven and a half hours' work, and the labourer is at liberty to employ the remaining time in each day in whatever manner he may find profitable to himself. If, instead of taking the monthly wage of 4 dollars, he prefers the daily pay of the non-contract labourers, he will then have to find his own food, but will still be entitled to

house, garden-ground, and medical attendance, free of charge.

5. Those emigrants who are unable to take their families with them, and wish to provide for their maintenance, may allot to them 1 or 2 dollars out of their monthly wages of 4 dollars, which allotment shall be paid monthly to them by the emigration at Canton; the remaining portion of the wage—namely, 2 or 3 dollars, as the case may be, being received by the labourer himself in the colony. On the other hand, those emigrants who wish to be accompanied by their families, may take them with them, free of charge; and a gift of 20 dollars to the wife, and 5 dollars to each child, shall moreover be paid to enable them to provide extra comforts for the passage. The women will be unfettered by any engagement whatsoever, being entirely free either to work or accept service, or to attend solely to their household duties, as their own wants or inclinations may determine. Families will in all cases live together, and provision will be made for the gratuitous education of the children.

6. In order that the emigrants may have the means of constant communication with their families or friends, their letters may at all times be forwarded, free of expense, through the Government, from the colonies to Kwang-tung, and through the emigration agent from Kwang-tung to the colonies, by the usual bi-monthly mail steamers.

Remittances of money may also be made in the same way.

Dated at Canton, the 5th day of November, 1859.

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#### APPENDIX D.

*Consul Alcock to Sir J. Bowring.*

(EXTRACT.)

September 1st, 1852.

They (the Chinese) are fairly industrious, and can get through a good day's work, not equal to European labourers in temperate climates, but much more than the latter could accomplish under a tropical sun. They do not, however, bear being kept very closely to it, or to be driven forward at a faster pace than is habitual to them. Being an agricultural people, field-work finds more favour in their eyes than any other; but a Chinaman does not bear worrying, and would rather give up the best place in the world, than be subjected to a continued fret. In their own country they require both patience and management in their employers, whether native or foreign, to be well looked after, and firmly but kindly dealt with. They have many good points; they are good-humoured upon the whole, patient and temperate as a class, yet often hasty in temper, and with strong feelings. If they do not like their work or their employers, they leave their situation at once, however advantageous it may be in other

respects. Living is cheap, and they never care, therefore, to live in a place that does not suit them. If in circumstances where they cannot, or dare not leave, and they are dissatisfied with either their work or their treatment, they are apt to become sulky and very impracticable. They are fond of a sort of gossiping relaxation, and will often leave off for a few minutes in the middle of their work, however well disposed to do it fairly, while they smoke and chatter. Their own people, who may be supposed to know by practical experience, how they may best get a good day's work for their wages, do not attempt to prevent this unless the license is much abused, when a sense of justice among the workmen would not be wanting to give effect to the master's remonstrance, or threat of applying a remedy.

The Chinese labourers are fond of holidays, and manage, in their own country, to make a good many. They spend much of their spare time in tea-shops; and wherever they may be in any number, it would be essential, I conceive, to establish some, where they could resort, drink their national beverage, gossip away their leisure time, and get, if desired, their frugal meal of rice and vegetables. They have the great advantage of being a very temperate race; and, upon the whole, are very easily contented, if well and discreetly treated, with some regard to their national habits and customs.

