

SIMMONDS'S COLONIAL MAGAZINE.

THE MANUFACTURE OF SUGAR CHEMICALLY CON- SIDERED.

[WE have been requested by the friends of the author, to republish, for the information of sugar planters in the East, the following remarks on the process of sugar manufacture, which have already appeared in the *Jamaica Dispatch*, and we have much pleasure in complying with the request, not only because the subject is an important and interesting one, but because the writer, in the course of his observations, proceeds to show how objectionable the present system is, and how many of its ill effects may be avoided or modified.—Ed.]

Cane-juice contains many ingredients besides sugar, the principal of which are albumen, gluten, gum, starch, resin, wax, colouring matter, and certain salts, all of which, either collectively or individually, have the power of preventing granulation, as may be proved by their addition to a syrup of pure sugar, which will then defy all attempts to make it crystallise. If, therefore, we want to make good sugar, we must endeavour to free our cane-juice as much as possible from those substances.

Now, cane-juice is no more the sap of the cane, than apple-juice is that of the apple-tree; it is the natural product of the cane, and, in all probability, would contain but a small proportion of these foreign matters if it could be expressed without being accompanied by the sap, they being the natural constituents of the last-named fluid. A patent has, we believe, been lately taken out for separating the cane-juice without the sap. However, in the absence of such an improvement, much may be done by care and attention at the mill; the green bands and trash which usually accompany the canes from the field, should, therefore, be carefully removed before they are passed through, as they contain no saccharine matter, abound in the deleterious substances already mentioned, and communicate a bad colour to the juice; therefore, *the ripe cane only should pass through the mill*. There are but few planters who have not had to contend with sour juice, and they attribute the difficulty they experience in making sugar therefrom, to the presence of acetic acid, or vinegar; but this is quite an erroneous idea, as the acetic acid is very volatile, and evaporates quickly on the application of heat, which may

be proved by throwing a gallon of strong vinegar into a pan of liquor ; it will do no harm, provided it be boiled before tempering ; on the contrary, the effect, if it be properly done, will be beneficial, as it will promote the coagulation of the albumen ; it is the gum which is always formed during the acetious fermentation of sugar that prevents granulation ; hence, then, acidity is strictly to be guarded against, as fermentation once commenced, it will be impossible to make good sugar, it will continue throughout the process, and even in the hogshead, so that canes should be ground as soon as possible after they are cut, and all rat-eaten and broken ones carefully excluded. Canes may, however, be kept some days without fermenting, provided they be not broken or damaged, it being, as we said before, the mixture of the sap and the cane-juice that makes the liquid so prone to fermentation ; and the mill, gutters, and everything with which the juice is likely to come in contact, should be kept carefully clean, and whitewashed immediately after, and the whitewash removed before use, as acetate of lime being an exceedingly soluble and deliquescent salt, will not improve the quality of the sugar ; whilst the gutter should be short, and sheltered from the sun's rays, they having the effect of greatly expediting chemical action.

Several of our planting friends inform us that the cane-bands are never allowed to pass through the mill ; but we can assure them, that although, perhaps, they may have given orders to the contrary, they are often, through carelessness, allowed to go through by dozens ; and we could name an estate in Liguanea where they are not even removed, but merely cut, so as to allow the canes to separate. We will say no more, however, on this subject, but will proceed to consider the mode of tempering and clarifying cane-juice, and the action of lime on the various substances contained therein. The expression "tempering" has, I presume, been adopted, in consequence of the use of tempered lime for the purpose of precipitating the feculencies, held in solution in the cane-juice, into a state of suspension ; and clarification is the process by which we afterwards clear the liquor of these and other foreign matter. Now, as we said before, "fermentation should be most strictly guarded against ;" our first efforts should be directed to free the cane-juice from those substances most conducive to that process ; and on inquiry we find these to be albumen and gluten ; so far, however, from getting rid of them in cold tempering, we adopt a course which retains them permanently in solution, as lime has the power of rendering them permanently soluble, and of forming soapy compounds with resin, wax, and chlorophyle, or the green colouring matter of leaves, forming an insoluble compound with and precipitating only the starch, and converting at the same time the green colour of the chlorophyle (which is, in all probability, attached to the resin) into a dark brown, of a greater or less intensity, according to the composition of the cane-juice, and, consequently, the quantity of lime required ; it follows, therefore, as a matter of course, that if juice be tempered before these substances have been removed, they must be permanently retained, and they all have the power of preventing granulation.

Albumen and gluten are both coagulable by heat ; if, therefore, we raise

the liquor to the boiling point prior to applying the lime, taking care to remove the scum as soon as it shows signs of breaking, and continuing the boiling until the scum thrown to the surface becomes inconsiderable, we shall find that the albumen and gluten, in coagulating and rising, have carried with them the small particles of woody fibre, the wax, and a large proportion of the colouring matter, and that the lime will now throw down the starch, and any other little impurities remaining in suspension in the liquor, leaving it perfectly clear and bright. Tempering is an exceedingly delicate *chemical* operation, and we have no hesitation in saying that *on its proper performance depends the quality of the produce*; whether, as it is now generally performed, it is chemical or mechanical, we will leave our planting friends to determine. The following simple experiments, however, which they all have it in their power to try, will, if they give themselves the trouble, fully satisfy them of two important points—the *superiority of the hot over the cold mode, and the necessity for great attention to the operation of tempering*; let them take a tumbler of cane-juice and a bottle containing lime-water, add the latter to the former by drops, pausing and stirring between each, and they will find that, after the addition of a certain quantity, the opaque gummy appearance of the liquor undergoes a change, and the impurities contained in it separate into flakes, which increase in size with each drop of lime added, until they become distinct, and the supernatant liquor perfectly transparent; this is the precise point at which the liquor is tempered, and each drop of lime added after this, causes the flakes to diminish rapidly in size, at last entirely to disappear (being re-dissolved) and the liquor to resume its former gummy appearance; it is, therefore, evident that there should be no such expressions as tempering high or low.

The reason why some liquor is so difficult to clean is, that it is either tempered high or low; if it be exactly tempered, the impurities contained in it being entirely separated and thrown out of solution, rise to the surface immediately on the application of heat, and are easily removed; but if there be too little lime, a great portion remains in solution, and if too much, a proportional quantity is re-dissolved; and in either case cannot be removed by any mechanical means. It is, therefore, necessary to have *some precise test* for the application of lime; and we have no hesitation in saying, that *such a desirable test is now in our possession*, and that we can, by its assistance, walk into any boiling-house and temper the liquor, without asking either the quantity it usually takes, or the soil from which it is produced.

As regards the superiority of the hot over the cold tempering, let any one take, in separate vessels, two gallons of cane-juice, and temper one, adding the lime in small quantities—say, of three grains at a time—and keeping an account of the quantity used; he will find that the first portions produce no effect whatever, and that it is only after the addition of a considerable quantity that the desired precipitation of the impurities manifests itself. Why is this? Because albumen, gluten, resin, and chlorophyle, *being soluble in lime*, lime is equally so in them, and they must first be saturated before it will produce any other effect; let the

liquor thus tempered be then placed on one side. Put the other gallon over a fire, and boil it, removing the scum just before, and during, ebullition; let it then be taken off the fire, and tempered in the same way as the other. The very first quantity of lime added causes the appearance of the floccy precipitate; and if the addition of the lime be continued until it be precisely tempered, it will be found that the hot possesses the following advantages over the cold-tempered liquor:—*In a quarter of an hour its impurities will have subsided to a sixteenth of its bulk, leaving the supernatant liquor as bright and clear as pale brandy; while those in the other have only sunk to one-quarter of its bulk. The colour of the former clear liquor will not be less than one-half the intensity of that of the latter. The lime used in the hot has been less by one-third than the quantity used in the cold tempering.*

Of course, on level estates there is little difficulty in tempering liquor, but on hilly properties scarcely two pans will require the same quantity. Our test, therefore, although, of course, useful in ascertaining the tempering point, would not improve fine sugars, but on some estates it would be invaluable; and we take the liberty of referring our readers to the gentleman in charge of Hall's Delight, St. Andrew's, who will inform them, that the liquor tempered by means of our test made better sugar by 3s. or 4s. than that made by the estate the day before and after, although the canes were cut from the same piece during the three days; also, to our friends, the patentees of the new filter, who will testify as to the superior curing of the sugar so made, they having satisfied themselves by examining the bottom of the cask, and found it as well cured as the top.

We shall now proceed with our examination of the efficiency of lime as a temper for cane-juice.

It is generally believed that the object of adding lime to cane-juice is for the purpose of neutralising an acid, and it is to the general reception of this fallacious idea that it is indebted for its long and continued use, and the present backward state of sugar manufacture is attributable: we unhesitatingly assert that, if there be an acid present in the cane-juice, the addition of lime to it will be injurious instead of beneficial. There are only four acids that we could expect to find in cane-juice—mucous, saccholactic or saclactic, oxalic, and acetic acids. The three first-named of these, however, have never been traced, even in the most minute quantities; and if the latter be present, which, unfortunately, is but too often the case, the addition of lime would only result in the formation of acetate of lime, which is, as we have said in our last, an exceedingly difficult crystallisable, very soluble, and deliquescent salt. It has a bitter, saline taste; 100 parts consist of 64.5 acrid, 35.5 lime, and it is easily recognisable by its taste in the molasses made from sour cane-juice; so that, supposing the cane-juice sour, every pint of acid present would require nearly half a pound of lime for its neutralisation, independent of the quantity required for the tempering or precipitation of the feculencies contained in it, and would result in the formation of one-and-a-half pound of the above-mentioned highly deleterious salt.

Suppose we boil the cane-juice prior to tempering it, we then drive

off a great portion of acetic acid, much less lime will be required, and if we could, by filtration or subsidence, get rid of the precipitated feculencies, we would make a tolerably good sugar; but, as under the present plan, we have no means of so doing, the acetic acid which is still forming during the whole process of evaporation (as fermentation still goes on) unites with the lime before it can be dissipated by the heat, and thus not only forms acetate of lime, but causes the re-resolution of the precipitated feculencies, thus rendering it necessary to add a fresh portion of lime in the tache, a proceeding always to be avoided, if possible, but generally necessary in boiling down sour liquor. Take a small portion of cane-juice (hot or cold) in a tumbler, and temper it with lime until the feculencies are precipitated and the flakes perfectly visible, then add vinegar by drops, and it will be found that the flakes will speedily disappear and be re-dissolved, showing that lime has a greater affinity for acetic acid than starch, and that, although when added to sour cane-juice, it neutralises the acidity, still, that result is a consequence, not the cause, of the application, and is highly injurious. Lime is one of the greatest known solvents of vegetable matter, it dissolves albumen, gluten, gum, and lignin, or woody fibre, forming soapy compounds with wax, resin, and chlorophyle; ordinary cane-juice contains about three parts of resin to every 100 of sugar, and the projection of a small piece of soap into a tache full of granulating syrup will soon convince any one of the effect likely to result from the presence of that material; although, by tempering hot, we get rid of a very great quantity of the substances on which lime acts injuriously, a considerable portion of them remain in suspension, the quantity of albumen contained in the cane-juice not being sufficient to carry them all off by coagulation; on the addition of the lime, however, they are entirely dissolved, and as the impurities left behind consist chiefly of gluten, the liability of the liquor to ferment is greatly increased by its retention, that being the fermenting principle contained in wheat and other vegetable productions prone to that process.

100 parts consist of	Carbon	Oxygen.	Hydrogen.	Nitrogen.			
Albumen	52.88	23.88	7.54	15.70			
Gluten	Nearly	same as	Albumen.				
	Carbon	Oxygen.	Hydrogen.	Carbon.	Water.	Excess of Oxygen.	Excess of Hydrogen.
Lignin, or Woody Fibre	51.45	42.73	5.82	or 51.45	48.55
Starch	43.55	49.68	6.77	43.55	56.45
Sugar	42.47	50.63	6.90	42.47	57.53
Gum	42.23	50.84	6.93	42.23	57.77
Alcohol	51.98	34.32	13.70	51.98	38.99	..	9.03
Acetic Acid	50.22	44.15	5.63	50.22	46.91	2.87	..
Resin	75.94	13.34	10.72	75.94	15.16	..	8.90
Wax	81.79	5.54	12.76	81.79	6.30	..	11.91

For the information of such of your readers as may be acquainted with chemistry, we add the analysis of the different substances contained in cane-juice, by which they will perceive that they all consist of the same ingredients, only in different proportions, viz., carbon and the two elements of water, oxygen and hydrogen, and in albumen and gluten, nitrogen, on which, in all probability, depends their fermenting qualities.

By a reference to the foregoing table it will be easily understood how slight a change in the proportion of the ingredients of any one of the substances contained therein will convert it into an entirely different one. In chemistry we are able, to a certain extent, to imitate the operations of nature; but we must follow in the same course laid down by her: thus, we can convert woody fibre, or saw-dust and starch, into sugar, gum, alcohol, and acetic acid; but we cannot convert alcohol, acetic acid, or gum into sugar, starch, or woody fibre; and of such importance is a slight alteration of the proportions of these elements—carbon, oxygen, and hydrogen—that the abstraction of carbon from sugar, and the addition of a portion of the prime support of life, vegetation and combustion, oxygen, changes the harmless sugar into the most violent of poisons, oxalic acid, which consists of 26·57 carbon, 70·69 oxygen, and 2·74 hydrogen.

Let us now examine the action of lime on sugar, and we will find it equally, if not more, injurious than on the other substances. Sugar is capable of dissolving half its weight of lime, by which its sweet taste is destroyed, and it becomes converted into gum, the lime abstracting carbonic acid from it to form a carbonate of lime or chalk. It will be seen by the above table that—

100 parts of sugar contain 41·47 carbon.

100 parts of gum contain 41·23 ditto.

Difference . . . 24

So that, if we extract 24-100ths of a grain of carbon from 100 grains of sugar, we convert them into gum. Let us suppose that about two ounces of lime, or say 1,000 grains remain in solution in a pan, say 200 gallons of liquor, those 1,000 grains of lime will require 761 of carbonic acid to convert them into carbonate of lime or chalk, 100 grains of which consist of

56·2 lime.

43·8 carbonic acid.

100·0

So that 1·761 grains of chalk consist of . . . 1,000 lime.

761 carbonic acid.

1,761

Now 100 grains of carbonic acid consist of . . . 27·53 carbon.

72·47 oxygen.

100·00

Therefore 761 grains will consist of . . . 209.50 carbon.
 551.50 oxygen.

 761.00

Consequently, 1,000 grains of lime will require 209.50 grains of carbon to convert them into carbonate of lime; and as we have seen that the abstraction of .24 from 100 grains of sugar convert them into gum, it follows, that the abstraction of 209.50 grains would have a similar effect on 87,000 grains, or about 15 lbs, of sugar, which, being converted into gum, would prevent the crystallisation of several times its weight of sugar, and this is the cause of the formation of molasses. The loss of sugar is not the only bad consequence of the use of lime, as the greater the quantity of gum in the liquor, the more it must be boiled—the more it is boiled the darker it gets—and the higher the temperature at which the skip is struck, the smaller the grain. The following is a good proof that lime dissolves albumen, and becomes converted into chalk:—Take a spoonful of syrup out of the tache of any estate on which the liquor is tempered cold; it will be found filled with small flakes; these are albumen set free from its solution in the lime by the conversion of the latter into carbonate of lime, and coagulated by heat. It is perfectly possible to temper liquor, so that scarcely any uncrystallisable sugar will remain; but planters do not like this; they must have molasses for the still-house; they could, however, boil low, by which the grain and colour would be improved, and plenty of uncrystallised, although not uncrystallisable, syrup would be left to take the place of molasses.

We think we have now fully proved the following facts, viz.:—That the use of lime in sugar-making is not to neutralise an acid; that if acidity be present, the application of lime is injurious; that its action on gluten, albumen, wax, resin, and chlorophyle is equally so; that by decomposing the sugar and forming gum, the quantity of molasses or uncrystallisable sugar is much increased, whereby high boiling is rendered necessary, with its consequent heightening of colour and injury to the grain of the produce, and that therefore it is perfectly unfit for the purpose of tempering cane-juice. As regards its dirtiness, we beg to refer our readers to a highly-tempered curing-house and the bottom of their coffee cups; in the former, their olfactory nerves will be somewhat astonished, and in the latter they will find what chalk and coagulated albumen they have not already imbibed.

Having now shown the planters the difficulties under which they labour, we will conclude; but in case any of our friends should inquire what improvements we would suggest, we think it best to state, as Sir Robert Peel did at Tamworth, "they must call us in, in a regular way;" we, however, have not demonstrated all these evils without having a remedy at hand for them; but as that will form the subject of a future communication, we beg in the mean time to subscribe ourselves,

Your obedient Servant,

CALX CALORQUE.

P.S.—As regards the real action of lime on cane-juice, we are not prepared to disclose it just now; but in order to secure to us the originality of the discovery, we have left with our excellent friend, the Secretary of the Jamaica Royal Agricultural Society, a sealed letter, containing our views on the subject, which, at some future period, we will empower him to open.

TRANSPORTATION AND OUR CONVICT DISCIPLINE IN
VAN DIEMEN'S LAND CONSIDERED, IN A LETTER TO
LORD GREY.

(Concluded from our last.)

WITH regard to those passholders, who are eligible for service, the regulations are such as to entail serious inconvenience and expense upon the settlers, without any protection or benefit to the convict, and calculated to give rise to notions of independence entirely destructive to all discipline, and quite negating the consideration of transportation as a punishment. 1st. It is necessary to obtain the convict's consent to the amount of wages, if below £9. 2nd. It is necessary to obtain his consent to the term for which the contract is to be signed, if above one month. 3rd. It is necessary to take the convict's own statement as to his or her capability to perform the service required. When hired they are by law entitled to demand leave to go out every Sunday, under pretence of attending Divine service, and, in addition, once a month to purchase clothes. If they fall sick during the term for which they are hired, the hirer is compelled to provide them with a medical attendant, or to maintain them in the hospital at an exorbitant charge of 2s. a-day. While in service they are permitted to dress as they please, and when found in the public-houses on Sunday or any other day, if an attempt is made to fine the publican, his defence is, there being no distinctive dress, he cannot at all times know whether the person applying for liquor is free or bond, so that they may well exclaim, in the language of convict eloquence—"What do we care? We have the wide world before us, the same as before we were transported; a place to go to when out of service, where the Government must keep us, and some one to make our beds for us."

The evils resulting to the convicts from this unbounded licence are—1st. The consequent spirit of independence which renders them careless as to the manner in which they perform their duty to their employers, and indifferent alike to praise and blame. 2nd. The opportunity afforded to indulge in a life of idleness and uselessness in the prisoner's barracks or the Brickfields, either by refusing to engage in service, or availing themselves of the many easy methods of escaping from servitude, when they become tired of employment and the restraint which binds them to a course of order and regularity at variance with

their previous habits and inclinations. 3rd. The temptation which the possession of money and liberty create to indulge in company, drinking, &c., which few have the will, and fewer still the power to resist, especially as they can gratify their inclinations with impunity, the law having ceased to interfere, as heretofore, and recognising their right to leave of absence from their place of employ.

The evils arising to the employer, and reflected back upon the convict, are—1st. It being impossible to gain any certain knowledge of the capabilities and conduct of the passholders, and quite as impossible to compel them to perform the duties for which they are hired and kept at great expense; from the natural extravagance of their habits, and the cost, annoyance, and loss of time arising from the frequent necessity of returning them to the Government and procuring others, their labour is valueless. Wages are proportionately low, and the convicts, who look upon this as an attempt on the part of the hirer to depreciate their worth, are dissatisfied with their places, and feel no interest in obtaining the good will of their employers. 2nd. No one can afford to teach those who are ignorant of the means of gaining an honest livelihood, or to attempt to reclaim them from their vicious habits, because they cannot secure their services for a term long enough to recompense them for the loss of time and the expense of keeping an unprofitable servant. The convict, therefore, never learns anything perfectly. 3rd. Punishment for lesser crimes and misdemeanours is a source of inconvenience and annoyance to the employer, without any benefit to the convict, who, though retarded in the progress to further indulgence, is not deprived of any privilege already possessed, and having undergone a nominal sentence, becomes again eligible to the same privileges for the abuse of which he or she has been punished; and this punishment not only fails to deter from the commission of crimes and offences, but is often courted as a means of escaping from servitude and respectability. 4th. The continued change from one service to another, and from private to Government employ, unsettles the minds of the convicts, and gives rise to feelings of careless indifference destructive to any steady habits of industry, thus rendering them useless to the hirer, helpless in themselves, and a burden upon the Government. In furtherance of the above observations, I shall relate some examples and other facts.

I have several times been told by the better disposed of the women, that they could do very well if it were not for the temptations by which they were surrounded whenever they went out; that they were continually meeting with acquaintances, all having obtained leave of absence to spend their wages, and that one induced the other to drink, without intending to get intoxicated. One woman, in particular, told me that there were many women in the Brickfields who preferred an idle life to service, and would not hire themselves at all; or, perhaps, for the sake of variety, would enter into service for a month, with the intention of returning to the Brickfields to spend the money earned, or of absconding and spending it in the town; after which they would give themselves up to the Government, and, having undergone a mitigated

sentence, return assignable to the Brickfields, where laxity of discipline has been allowed to such an extent, that the inmates are permitted to purchase tea, sugar, &c., from a shop at the gate, kept by one of the officers, and a cowkeeper is known to send eleven quarts of milk every morning, for those who can afford to buy it; and yet a more discreditable practice than either of these prevails through the medium of friends of the women, who are allowed to visit them, and are known to carry their clothes into the town and sell them for spirits and tobacco, with which they return to the Brickfields.

I will suppose what has often happened in my own house, that a passholder, hired as cook and laundress, is detected in acts of waste and extravagance, and that disapprobation is expressed and restrictions laid with a view to prevent further encroachment. From that moment open rebellion would ensue, and the duties of her situation would be performed in a manner impossible to endure—she would break and destroy more property in one week than her year's wages, if they could be demanded to repair the injury, would pay for. There is no means of recalling this woman to a sense of her duty. If she is punished for neglecting it, she is returned to the Brickfields to prejudice the minds of others against her master and mistress, who are thereby injured without any benefit to the woman; and the only available means to stop the work of destruction is to pay to the comptroller ten days' wages in lieu of giving ten days' notice, in addition to the loss already sustained, and return the woman to the Government. The natural consequence of this has been that employers become accessory to the bad conduct of their servants, who are required to forfeit the wages due to them on condition that their misconduct goes unpunished. I have even had servants in my employ who, after absconding for two or three days have returned, and offered to forfeit the money due to them and pay out of their own pockets the ten days' wages, on condition that I would not report them absent.

Upon one occasion I tried an experiment with a young woman in my service (Ann Starsmore), who after the first month began to get tired of employment, to neglect her duty, and to break and destroy the property under her charge. The character I received with her gave me to understand that she was one of the best behaved women on board the "Anson," and had been acting as servant to one of the warders. I have invariably found that those women, who, under the restraint and confinement of the ship, conduct themselves well, and perform little acts of servitude for the officers for the sake of the tea, sugar, white bread, and other indulgencies, are the most unmanageable, when beyond the control of the ship. I have heard this remarked by others, and the women themselves have told me that the matron knew nothing of their real characters, and that the worst women on board were those who ingratiate themselves into the favour of the officers for the sake of these advantages. The one above alluded to was no exception to the rule, and soon obliged me to have recourse to some expedient either to improve her manner or get rid of her. I told her that if she did not conduct herself better, I would take her before Mr. Price, the then magistrate for Hobart-town, and procure her seven days'

solitary confinement, and afterwards to return to my service. This produced the desired effect, and for a time she behaved well. In about a month I had occasion to repeat my threat; I told her she was quite capable of doing her duty well, and that I should not indulge her idleness by allowing her to leave my service, but that I would have her confined on bread and water for seven days, and if that was not sufficient punishment, I would state the case to Mr. Price and procure her another fourteen days; that I would continue adding to the punishment, taking her back each time, until she returned to her former good behaviour. Under the influence of this threat I kept her five months and two weeks, and could have kept her until she was due for her ticket of leave, had she not discovered that my threats were mere words, and that the contract having been signed only for three months, she could demand her release. She never went into service again, but remained in the Brickfields for twelve months, at the end of which time, notwithstanding she had a husband and children at home, she was permitted to marry, and I was not even applied to to sign her memorial for good conduct.

In order to show the different effect which a system of assignment has upon the minds of the individuals, to that induced by the principle of hiring upon wages, I will mention a case of a young girl from the Orphan School, who had been apprenticed to a Custom-house agent, in accordance with the regulation of that establishment, until she was eighteen years of age. The girl was naturally of an idle disposition, and complained to a probation woman that she was bound to her mistress for twenty-two months, and did not like her place; the woman advised her to run away, telling her that, by the new law, she could serve the whole of her time in the factory. The girl did so, and was sent to the Cascade Factory for punishment, and, after learning there more iniquity than she ever knew before, was, to her surprise, returned to her place. She absconded a second and third time, the last time hiring herself to another place, for concealment. Upon being questioned by the magistrate, she confessed that she did not like service, and that she had absconded, expecting to be allowed to serve the time in the factory (meaning the Brickfields); but, on being told that she was *apprenticed* for twenty-two months, and that, in accordance with the regulations of her school, she must serve that time in the employment of her mistress, she returned to her place, from which she would never have absconded but for the false notion that the law was as indulgent in her case as in the case of her probation friend.

To show the extravagant extent to which the convicts carry their ideas of their position, and the utter inability of the existing arrangements to counteract or control the natural bent of their propensities, I will relate the conduct of one of the better sort of women, who was hired by a neighbour of mine. The woman praised the clean and comfortable appearance of the house, and, for the first two weeks, kept it so, proving, beyond a doubt, that it was not the power, but the will that was wanting after that period. She soon became tired of good living, kind treatment, and respectability, and when her mistress complained of her altered conduct, she told her she was too particular, and

that the house was quite clean enough. Her mistress complained that the doors and windows were left open in the evening, and the flies and insects allowed to get into the pantry and spoil the meat, and requested her to drive them out and shut the windows; the woman refused, with an oath, telling her to do it herself, as she was not hired to drive flies out of the house. All expostulation was lost upon her, and when told that she ought to be thankful for the indulgence the Government allowed her, and that she had a comfortable place, wages, and a home to go to when out of service, her reply was, "Ay, indeed, have we, and some one to make our beds for us; and plenty of women who live in the Brickfields are never hired out at all; for my part, I would rather be in service, if I can get a place that I like." This is not a solitary instance, but an example of the most respectable class under the present system.

A woman, a third-class passholder, applied to me to hire her, stating that she lived with a Mr. Watchorn, that her contract, unknown to her, had been signed for twelve months, that she did not like the place and should not re-engage. I was afterwards informed by the gentleman himself, that her mistress had offered her £12 a-year for twelve months, but that she had refused it, and on account of having conducted herself tolerably well, obtained permission to go in search of another situation. She had never been in the habit of going out, and had, therefore, been out of the way of temptation; but she had not been out three times before she met with some companions, got intoxicated, and was taken by a constable in the street before a magistrate, and sentenced for three months to the factory. I mention this case not because I suppose it to be possible to frame laws that will prevent occasional occurrences such as this; but simply to show the injury done to the convict by too much lenity and indulgence. This woman had no intention of committing a fault, and, under a system of assignment or apprenticeship, would not have done so. She was led to it, in fact, by the indulgence of laws which place her in a position to take the first step to evil with impunity.

In proof of the mischief arising from this extreme laxity of discipline I may here mention, that one of the first women that left the "Anson" under the new regulation came to my house. She had been, by her own account, a very abandoned character; but, nevertheless, under restraint, conducted herself well. The lenity of the law was not then thoroughly understood by the convicts. They did not know their own power, and were, comparatively speaking, easily kept under control. The woman above alluded to never had the command of her money, it having been laid out for her in the purchase of clothes by her mistress, or one day's leave of absence for the first three months, and during this time she was happy, contented, and willing. But when she discovered that the law allowed her money, and one day in each month to spend it, she became dissatisfied at not being allowed to go out, and requested leave for half a-day. She, of course, obtained it, and came home an altered woman. The next month she again went out and came home intoxicated; and before the expiration of that

month her conduct became so unbearable that we were obliged to part with her. By degrees, as the principles of indulgence began to be better understood, the women became more unmanageable. They all demanded their money and a day to spend it, and in eighteen months from the commencement of the probation system, women have entered my house from the "Anson," absconded within ten days, and been found in houses of ill-fame in the town.

4. *Best Means of Correcting Errors.*—It will be seen from the foregoing observations that many of the evils arising from the present system are referable to local regulations, and dependent upon a degree of indulgence carried far beyond the limits prescribed. There are, nevertheless, some of considerable importance attaching to the principles of the system; such as the possession of money, as wages, the right of absence from the place of employ, and the right of hiring vested in the convict.

Upon the system of retributive justice the convict certainly ought to be deprived of all these; but as the ultimate end of punishment is the protection of society and reformation of the criminal, it requires to be shown that these two ends are favoured by the restrictions advocated, before a right principle can be established, and this, I think, has been already done to a great extent. It has been shown, that the indulgence granted to the convicts under the present system, is both an injury to themselves, and to society at large, and the evils resulting have been traced to these three heads, money, liberty, and the privilege of hiring themselves or not, as imparted under the regulations.

From the number of public buildings available, the difficulty of clandestine escape, and other circumstances peculiarly adapting Van Diemen's Land for a penal Colony, I shall presume the system to continue in operation there, though equally applicable to any other Australian Colony.

A great portion of the evil arising from the congregation of such numbers together might, I think, be avoided by pursuing a more extended system of classification among those whose crimes have subjected them to transportation; the class to which they are to belong to be determined by the length of sentence the law has given them. Thus, the first class to consist of young offenders whose crimes are small, whose previous characters have been good, and whose sentence is for a shorter period than ten years. These should be exiled to some Colony where, upon condition that they did not return to the place from whence they were exiled under ten years, they should become free as soon as they had repaid to the Government the cost of their passage, either by a servitude of one year to the Government, during which time they shall be employed in making roads and otherwise improving the value of the land for sale, or in the service of private individuals, to whom they should be apprenticed, for any term not exceeding twelve months, at a yearly amount of wages not less than £6. This, or some such reasonable amount, the hirer should pay to the Government by monthly instalments in advance. The exile to be free when his labour had earned the amount of his passage, and the term of apprenticeship to cease from that period.

The second class might consist of those whose sentence was also under ten years, and whose previous character seemed to warrant the belief that they required a greater degree of restraint to afford a prospect of weaning them from their bad habits. These might perform the term of their sentence at the various dockyards, or other Government works at home, where they should be taught some useful trade. I think this, on account of the strict discipline, and the loss of liberty, would be looked upon as a more decided punishment.

The third class might consist of those whose crimes and previous police history demanded a sentence above ten years; but who had yet abstained from the more serious injuries to society. These might be sent to Van Diemen's Land, or any other penal Colony under regulations hereafter to be prescribed.

The fourth class should consist of those whose previous police history proclaims them hardened offenders, habituated to a life of vicious crimes, whose sentence of death has been commuted for transportation for life. These should be sent to some separate settlement, I will suppose Port Arthur for males, and Norfolk Island for females, where the discipline, for a time, should be as severe as justice and humanity could allow. After which, though the actual punishment might be relaxed, the amount of personal restraint over each individual should, in no case, be lessened until a total change of disposition had taken place. And I adhere more strongly to this opinion, that all hardened and reckless men and women should be shut out from society, for two reasons; first, on account of the injury they do to others by their example and conversation; second, because in the case of a murderer, or accessory to a murder under sentence of death, which has been commuted for transportation for life, being sent from one society to another, however remote from the scene of former transgression; and in the event of the criminal taking the life of a second victim, it becomes a serious consideration in my mind at whose hands the life of that individual will be required, in the face of a command from the Almighty, that "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;" and although the reform of the criminal is one ultimate object of all human punishment, the protection of the lives of the innocent is of more consequence than the supposed rights of liberty of the guilty, and it is, therefore, in cases of this kind, that I do not consider it would be passing the bounds of humanity, or duty, to a fallen fellow creature, to make the loss of liberty attendant upon his crime of such a nature and duration, as would prevent the possibility of a repetition of it; to frame the laws, in fact, so that he could not be restored to society until he had suffered the punishment of deprivation of freedom long enough to warrant the belief that the fear of a return to punishment and confinement would deter from a like offence, and not then, unless there was evidence of a change of character. It must sometimes happen, from the imperfect nature of legal evidence, or other extenuating circumstances, that, for the protection of the innocent, falsely accused, the guilty must escape the just reward of his crimes; but although he may not receive the full amount of punishment earned by the blackest crime, it does not follow

that he should be permitted to repeat that crime, or that he should be allowed to possess such extent of liberty as would leave it to his own inclination and discretion whether he would or would not do so.

Those convicts who were sent to a penal settlement under the third class, should be divided into two principal classes; first, those whose sentence was for a term of years less than that of their natural lives, who should be eligible to be hired by the settlers immediately on their arrival in the Colony, under a form of apprenticeship; second, those who were transported for life, who should be retained in the service of the Government for half that time, to be computed at a fixed average, during which they should be subject to a course of strict discipline, and be required to earn their bread by some kind of laborious employment, of which there can be no scarcity in any new settlement. And after having served one half of their sentence in this employment, exclusive of any secondary sentence, they should be eligible, if their character had been good enough during this period, to be hired into private service, subject to the same regulations as those before mentioned.

The work these men should be required to perform, should be cutting down timber, clearing and breaking up land, and making roads, which would be attended with benefits both to the Colony and the Mother-country; and under a well regulated system of emigration, the land would thus be rendered valuable. And if the labour were properly directed, there is profitable employment enough in Van Diemen's land alone, for all the convicts now under sentence; and yet, notwithstanding this fact, notwithstanding there are nearly 10,000 male convicts actually doing nothing, they are not to be employed on works of utility and profit because the Colonial Government cannot find the money to pay them for their labour. There is scarcely a road in Van Diemen's Land, not excepting Hobart-town and Launceston, that is passable even in fine weather; but the men must not be employed upon them without wages, and, as a matter of course, they go unrepaired. If a road is surveyed, and a few trees cut down, it is called made; and the man who gets such a road as this to his estate may think himself fortunate. The Van Diemen's Land Company have offered to maintain almost any number of men, and employ them in making a road from Circular Head to Launceston; but, it is not enough that they confer this benefit upon the Government and the Colony, they must pay wages, and, in consequence, the scheme is abandoned, and those who would pass from Circular Head to Launceston, or *vice versa*, must either wait for a fair wind and go by sea, or swim some four or five rivers at the risk of being drowned, as many a man and horse has been. The Colony is charged with an additional police and gaol expenditure, amounting to £30,000 a-year, which it pays on account of these men; surely, then, it ought to be entitled to something from them in return. This sum, compared with the value which might be returned in labour, is nothing; but, without the labour, is ruinous. If the labour of the convicts had constructed a railroad, or even a wooden tramroad, for which there is abundance of fine timber from Hobart-town to Launceston, and from

Launceston to Circular Head, and the Colonists were required to refund the money for this, or to pay for the use of it, the demand would be reasonable, the undertaking creditable, useful, and profitable, and one which might have been begun and completed with no more expense, either to the Home or Colonial Government, than is now incurred without even an attempt to get any return for it, and with benefit to the convict, the Colony, and the Mother-country. Under such regulations as these, the fine line of distinction between the man who, to-day, is a convict, and the same individual who, to-morrow, has obtained a conditional pardon, would vanish from the sight of the adjacent Colonies, and a voice would be heard, from the bush in Port Philip and the mines in Adelaide, petitioning for convicts and roads.

The natives of New Zealand are gradually becoming useful as labourers, and, in a few more years, that Colony will begin to rise rapidly, and without convict labour. New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Adelaide, although established before her, must be contented to follow in her wake.

The land might be portioned off, and divided into farms, with a small homestead, fenced round, and even sheds and temporary houses might be erected where required. Thus, with good roads and frontage ground, what no one can now afford to accept as a gift, many would be glad to purchase, especially if Parliament at home would direct its attention to those measures which would facilitate the sale of her Colonial productions and so insure a market for the encouragement of those who wished to settle in them. An increased number of settlers would require an increased number of servants. New South Wales has already admitted her mistake, and petitions for the resumption of transportation; and Van Diemen's Land would be but too glad to have it continued under anything like a beneficial system.

The women should be under similar regulations to those of the men, more strictly confined, if possible, and in separate establishments, appropriated to various descriptions of work, such as washing, spinning, and making cloth, blankets, clothing, &c., for the men and for themselves, remembering that the principles of the system with both men and women should be separation not only of the two sexes but of individuals. Their punishment should consist of solitary confinement and absence of employment, and where extreme severity was thought necessary the hair should be cut close to the head, as it is a well-known fact that women dread this last-named punishment more than any other.

Every establishment and station, whether for men or women, should be kept within its own limits, and should be a distinct settlement of itself, with its places of reward and punishment. There should be no changing about from one station to another, no herding together from all parts for reward or punishment, and no escape from these several establishments but through good conduct; and it would soon be found that both males and females would be anxious to avail themselves of the comparative degree of freedom enjoyed in private service.

In order to facilitate the convicts getting into suitable employment and insure the greatest amount of benefit to those requiring their ser-

vices, they should be classified before leaving the port from which they were transported according to their respective callings, as labourers, servants, or mechanics, including every description of trade, which should be specified in a general registry to be kept, opposite which should be placed on one side the convict's name and age, and on the other a blank for an account of his behaviour and capabilities as received from each situation to which he was subsequently hired.

Masters requiring servants should make application to the Comptroller's office, where they should be shown this book of registry, and having fixed upon one or more names should have them brought before them and be allowed to put any question they might think proper to them; and in all cases of servants being hired it should be by a form of apprenticeship, extending to the time when the convict becomes eligible for a ticket-of-leave—the contract to be voidable by payment of a reasonable fine by the employer. The hirer should pay to the Government a certain sum, quarterly or monthly, in advance, for which in return the convict should be supplied with a sufficient quantity of suitable clothes according to the sum paid, either stipulating for two or three suits in a-year. The dress to be of one marked kind, and no other description to be allowed to be worn, except in cases of families wishing their servants to appear in livery, when the hirer should be required to give a description of the dress to be worn to the Comptroller General's office, to be registered there and at the Police-office; and should pay a reasonable charge to the Government for the privilege. Persons requiring the service of mechanics or tradesmen should pay something more than those hiring servants or labourers.

When the law imposed any punishment upon convicts in service, a substitute should be found by the Government for the time being, if required, without any additional expense to the employer, and the original apprentice should be returned after the completion of his sentence, unless the offence was deemed of sufficient magnitude to annul the apprenticeship, when another should be bound in his place, without any additional expense to the master. Convicts, on obtaining their tickets of leave, if out of employ, should be provided with food and lodging by the Government until they could obtain a situation, or for a reasonable time, and no other remuneration should be given them for their labour during the term of apprenticeship, or after a situation had been once obtained. All complaints on the part of the convicts for ill treatment should be heard before a magistrate, and if substantiated, should be punished by a fine, and, in default of payment, the apprentice should be removed and another supplied, unless a fresh application were made and the fine paid.

Masters should be required to give their servants a pass, signed by themselves, as often as they wished to send them out upon business; upon which should be stated the place to which they were sent, and the day of the month on which it was delivered to them; and this pass should in no case extend beyond the hour of sunset, unless it were so particularly stated, and for what cause. All servants found in the streets or houses without this sanction, should be liable to a punish-

ment, the occupiers of the houses to a fine, and masters should also be liable to a fine for neglecting this or any other regulation. In case of a female being sent out by her employer, it should be stated on the pass, the day of the month, and hour of her departure, with the place to which she was sent, and the hour at which she should return; and no female should be allowed to be sent out or to remain out after dusk except in cases of emergency, as sickness or the like, to be stated on the pass. Obstinate neglect of this or any other regulation should be followed by the removal of the apprentices. Publicans and others should be heavily fined, and the former should lose their licences for giving, or selling, any kind of beer or spirits to a convict without it being so ordered on the pass, and the pass should be a printed document with the Government stamp upon it.

Women should not be allowed to possess a ticket-of-leave, but might be allowed the privilege of hiring themselves upon wages when eligible, a certain portion of their earnings being paid into the Government for the purpose of providing them with a place of shelter when out of employment, upon the same principle as the probation women of the present day; but kept under stricter discipline than that exercised over those in the Brickfields. Conditional pardons might be granted sparingly, especially to women.

The nature of the labour required in the Colonies is so very different from that performed at home that few are able to make themselves really useful until they become inured to the change, and this is a forcible reason why a system of apprenticeship will succeed better than any other, because it secures to those who are willing to learn an opportunity to do so, and obliges those who are idle and careless to devote a certain period to the acquirement of useful knowledge.

A man may have been a labourer or servant to an English farmer, where he has learned to reap, mow, plough, and drive a team of horses, &c.; but it does not follow that he is capable of guiding a plough, with a team of bullocks, round stumps of trees and stones, that he can ride a horse after a herd of wild cattle over an uncultivated and thickly-wooded country, or even tend a flock of sheep in the bush or forest without losing one-half of them. Again, he may have been a butler, footman, groom, &c. in the establishment of an English gentleman, but this will not qualify him for the house of a settler without further experience, where, in all probability, he will be required to act in all these capacities at once, adding, perhaps, those of cook, housemaid and gardener. They not only *cannot*, but if they can help it they *will not* submit to these novel regulations, and the only prospect of being able to teach them is through the medium of some system which binds them to servitude for a certain period.

I believe that much good would result from the appointment of an Inspector-General, whose duty it should be to visit, in person, every convict establishment and station, not at stated periods, but a certain number of times in each year, and to report to the Colonial Secretary at home, through the Lieutenant-Governor, the state of those places, the effect of the discipline pursued, of the kind of punishment adopted to repress crime, and to suggest alterations where these did not appear

effectual. He should also be required to make himself personally acquainted with the behaviour of servants generally, and the effect of regulations to which they were subjected.

It is a mistaken notion which teaches that human nature is to be entrusted with the reform of itself; or that individuals, nurtured in the midst of vice and sensuality, will leave a life of idle and vicious indulgence with which they are acquainted for one of virtue and honesty, which they neither know nor believe in the existence of, because the law advises and enjoins it. They must be made to feel that continuance in a course of evil habits is continuance in a life of deprivation and discomfort, and be taught the influence which honest industry and rectitude of conduct must have in the improvement of their condition before they will desire the change. To do this it is not sufficient that the reward of such good conduct is offered, without placing before them the necessary alternative of punishment.

This may appear to be irreconcilable with the expressed opinions of some clever men who have written upon the subject of penal discipline, and have recommended a course of mild persuasion, accompanied with what, in point of fact might be called, bribery for good behaviour. It does differ in one essential principle, *i. e.*, in presupposing that every convict has committed an injury upon society, for which he himself is responsible to that society, and that he must by his own personal efforts make some reparation for his misconduct, upon the principle of retributive justice, with a view to establish in his own mind, a right estimate of the value of those privileges he has abused and forfeited, and a proper consideration for the rights and immunities of others. This is only an imitation, imperfect though it be, of the law of Providence, which subjects every individual to bear the weight of his own transgression both here and hereafter. The waste and abuse of money is punished by subsequent poverty. The abuse of constitution by vicious indulgence, is punished by sickness and loss of health; and the abuse of liberty should be punished by the deprivation of it. There is nothing, however, in the foregoing observations, to prevent the establishment of a principle of meritorious reward in cases deserving of it, extending even to the shortening of the original sentence.

At Port Arthur and Norfolk Island many a poor fellow is found dead, and it is never known by whom he was killed, and scarcely beyond the precincts of his place of duty that he is dead. Others are appointed to fill the situations, and sooner or later share the same fate; every year fresh numbers of, comparatively speaking, innocent victims, are added to those which have already fallen a sacrifice to the indomitable ferocity of these unfortunate and mistaken beings, and yet every law which imposes sufficient restraint for the protection of life and property is designated as harsh and tyrannical, whereas the reverse is the truth, the extreme of discipline being, in fact, less unkind to the convict, than the opposite extreme of indulgence.

5. *State Efficiency and Expense of each Department.*—Enough has been said of the state and efficiency of the several stations, collectively and individually, without going into a lengthened detail under this head. It may be due, however, to the exertions of the

officers connected with them, to state that the "Prisoners' Barracks," under the superintendence of Mr. Gunn; the "Anson," under the superintendence of Dr. and Mrs. Bowden; and the "Cascade Factory," under that of Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson, as far as regards their internal arrangement, present a very satisfactory appearance, though the degree of success attendant upon the assiduity of these officers is greatly impaired by the circumstances before adverted to. One very sufficient reason why no system has ever yet succeeded, has been the constant change of officers administering it. Every new Comptroller introduces a fresh set of regulations, and these are scarcely understood before some other novice is appointed, and all is again confusion. In proof of the mischief arising from these constant changes, I may mention a recent case. The present Comptroller-General, Dr. Hampton, has lately removed Mr. Gunn, one of the oldest and most efficient officers under the Government, from his charge of the Prisoners' Barracks at Hobart-town to an inferior situation at Launceston. To say nothing of the injustice thus inflicted on an officer who has served the Government so long and so faithfully as Mr. Gunn has done, his loss will be severely felt by the public, when the inexperience of some newly appointed superintendent has proved his unfitness for so responsible a charge. The actual expense of each department I am not prepared to estimate; but of this I am convinced, that a more economical plan might be introduced, which would be productive of more benefit to the convict population, and to the whole Australian Colonies; and it only remains to introduce principles which would secure to the Colonies the advantage of convict labour to command their ready co-operation.

6. *Most Effectual Method of Promoting Economy and Efficiency in this Branch of the Service.*—These two desirable ends can alone be promoted to any extent, by those measures which render convict labour available to the settlers and to the Government, by recognising, as far as is practicable, the principle that every individual should be engaged in some useful employment, whereby he should contribute to the expense of his own maintenance, whether in public or private employ. The best means of promoting efficiency is by enforcing discipline. Another and more remote prospect of promoting economy, is to be looked for in these measures which will increase the demand for labourers, and relieve the Government from the expense of keeping them; and this will bring me to the consideration of another question, namely, "Emigration." But I have already extended this letter far beyond the limits at first prescribed: I shall, therefore, postpone any remarks I may have to make upon this subject to another opportunity; nor would I again trespass upon your Lordship's attention, did I not feel the importance of the subject, and that a possibility existed of making transportation subservient to the cause of Emigration, and Emigration a source of prosperity to the individual, to the Colonies, and to the Mother-country, as well as a means of assisting in the reformation of criminals.

I have the honour to remain, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

Z. P. ПОВОСК.

148, Albany-street, Regent's Park, London,
16th, September, 1847.

REMINISCENCES OF THE ISLAND OF CUBA; OR,
THE SMITHS AT THE HAVANA.

BY CHARLES P. ELLERMAN, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF "THE AMNESTY; OR, THE DUKE OF ALBA IN FLANDERS," &c., &c.

(Continued from p. 37.)

CHAPTER XXXVI.

FRAY O'DONNELL GIVES THE SMITHS AN INSIGHT INTO THE DOINGS OF SOME OF THE CAPTAINS-GENERAL; ALSO A BIOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE CELEBRATED GENERAL DON MANUEL TACON.

Mrs. SMITH was as good as her word. On the following day, whilst we were assembled in her apartments, Father O'Donnell paid her a visit; barely giving this excellent man breathing time, she begged him to give her an account of the mode of government of Cuba, which she was desirous of adding to the notes and memoranda, which already occupied a prodigious space in her wonderful *dairy*, which she kept under lock and key. It would have been a glorious treat for us to have got a peep at this extraordinary journal, which was dedicated to her cousin, Mrs. Margery Stubbs, who no doubt got possession of this edifying work on Mrs. Smith's return to London. Let us hope that Mrs. Stubbs will preserve this valuable manuscript from devouring moths and worms, so that at her death she may bequeath the same to the British Museum.

"You wish, ladies and gentlemen," said Fray O'Donnell, "to have some account of the administration of this lovely island? I shall be happy to comply with your request, but crave your patience and indulgence, as historical narrations may be compared to that species of pudding which schoolboys vulgarly call *stick-jaw*, though the technical name is "bolster"—in other words, they are generally somewhat dry. I shall endeavour, to the best of my ability, to intersperse my tale with a modicum of salt, pepper, and butter; so that, by adding zest, give the wherewithal to make it palatable."

The monk's observations made us all smile, for it put us in mind of those days, when we were glad enough to satiate our craving appetites with *bolsters*, *dumplings*, and *Yorkshire puddings*, so hard and so dry that our troops might have battered down the Bogue Forts with them, had their cannons been charged with this indigestible schoolboys' fare!

"Before I commence my historical relations, I must beg the favour of your keeping my communication entirely to yourselves. We do not live under a constitutional nor a republican form of government, where men

may freely and openly express their opinions, criticise the doings of ministers, point out abuses, and petition for reform. A *lapsus lingue* is frequently attended with danger, where the people are subjected to despotism; and as Spain trembles lest the Cubanos should take it into their heads to leave her, in imitation of South America, so she endeavours by all the means in her power to strengthen the fetters which binds Cuba to the Mother-country, without in any degree lightening the bonds. Italians complain, and not without reason, of the austerity of Austria; Poles vent their indignation against the Autocrat of the north; but there is no functionary whose power is so arbitrary as that of the Captain-General of Cuba. His *will* is *LAW*. Nought save an appeal to Madrid can revoke his decisions; and as these appeals are generally treated with contempt, the insane petitioner is exposed to the hatred of the Military Dictator. Yes, Spain fears to lose Cuba, the priceless gem that adorns her crown! Meanwhile the Colony is subjected to a dictatorship, the remnant of feudal barbarity, which fetters her resources, and displeases its inhabitants, who, without being desirous of shaking off the yoke of the Mother-country, would nevertheless wish to enjoy that liberty which all men have a right to claim to a certain extent. Spain forgets the lessons she has received; she will not open her eyes to the truth, for she dreads to acknowledge that the policy she pursues paralyses the efforts of a virtuous and energetic Colony. It is her egotism that has deprived her of almost all her Colonies."

"Bravo!" exclaimed McGuinness, interrupting the monk.

"Wisdom, 'tis said, doth govern all mankind;
It may be so—and yet I ever find
That vanity and folly sway the mind!"

"Is that your'n?" inquired Peabody.

"A little impromptu of mine," replied the poet.

"Ah! it's frightfully true, I guess. Go on, Fray O'Donnell; your remarks is considerable to the point, I reckon."

"Mr. McGuinness never made a truer observation," continued the monk; "as you will perceive in the sequel."

"I am very much surprised," observed Mr. Smith, "that governments will persist in appointing naval or military men chief magistrates in the Colonies. In my humble opinion they are the last persons who should fill situations which require commercial, but not military skill. Let the military governor attend to his duties, and let government appoint a civil governor, one fully acquainted with the wants of trade, to look after commerce. Military and naval men, generally speaking, turn up their noses at commercial men; but I should like to know how they would get their pay if it were not for the wealth which commerce brings to the shores of England? Do you know what the celebrated Monsieur Ouvrard once remarked to Napoleon?"

"I guess I don't," replied Peabody.

"He said, laying great stress on the words. 'Sire! commerce can make shift without kings, but sovereigns cannot dispense with commerce!'"

" Ah !" said Peabody, " that Mr. Ouvrard was a plain-spoken bis'ness man. I wonder if he ever visited the States, for that man had the science of one of our enlightened free citizens, who cares nothin' about royalty. How the Emperor Bony must have been onfakalised on hearing those words. *Sacre blue!*"

" Some of these military dictators," continued the monk, " have been the curse of Cuba. Only fancy unlimited power concentrated in one man, who has the right to do what he pleases ; who may imprison persons suspected of liberalism, banish those whose influence over the masses may prove dangerous, and place the towns in a state of siege. As for the press, its liberty is a misnomer, it slumbers under the yoke of censorship. Cuba has a right to complain of its rulers and the laws which regulate its political and commercial interests. Almost all important and lucrative situations are filled by Christina's favourites, heedless of the claims of the creoles who have sprung from the same blood, and who in most cases are warmly attached to the Mother-country. The Cubanos never refused to help Spain when she was distressed ; their reward has been oppression and taxation. The Cubano grins and bears all this tyranny, well aware that it were vain to petition for *reform*. As to *revolt*—though many would wish for a separation from the Mother-country, could it be effected without a general rising of the coloured population—*revolt* is out of the question, for they would have to contend against the Captain-General's well-appointed troops, and, as I have just observed, 800,000 slaves, who would not hesitate to cut our throats. Consequently, you see that the poor creoles have the sword of Damocles suspended over their heads. If it were not for the dread of causing a *casus belli* I think the creoles would throw themselves into the arms of the United States of America."

" Fray O'Donnell!" exclaimed Peabody, springing up and seizing the monk by the hands, " Fray O'Donnell, you are one of the keen-eyedest priests I ever came across. I'm a nigger if you wasn't born for the counter ; why you onderstand business as well as our great guns. Give Cuba to America and she'll prosper, or else I snore! Do you know, Smith, and it's fact as true as gospel, that out of 379 vessels which loaded to Matanzas last year, between the 1st of January to the 1st of November, that 241 was Americans! You seem onfakalised : no wonder. Perhaps you will take it to be all bam when I tell you that there was only eight Britishers, and only eight Spaniards and eight French!"

" Goodness me!" exclaimed Mr. Smith.

" Ah! goodness and bless yoursel' as much as you like. It's no speki-lation—it only shows what *we* could do with Cuba, in spite of Spaniards or Britishers, and tarnation knows what. It quite 'mazes you, Smith, don't it? Fire and tow! what a lot we should do in the coffee and sugar line, to say nothin' of segars. We'd onfakalise Mincing-lane—fact I assure you!"

" Well, I never!" said Mr. Smith, staring at Peabody.

" Pray proceed, Fray O'Donnell, or we shall never hear the end of Mr. Peabody's observations," said McGinness, laughingly.

The Yankee gave the poet a contemptuous look, opened his lips as if

to reply to a remark which he, no doubt, considered very impertinent, but, evidently altering his mind, he seated himself, and allowed the monk to proceed, which he did in the following terms :—

“The Captain-General is our Sovereign, and you will be surprised to learn that he is his own counsellor—in short, the law, the police, and the departments of war and marine are concentrated in one man, so that the government of this island is quite a despotic administration. A great deal has been said about the slavery of the blacks, but nothing is ever mooted about the slavery of the white population; in point of fact, the true policy pursued by the Mother-country is to hold the white population *in terrorem*. You will the better be enabled to judge of the power of the Captain-General, when I relate the instructions given by Ferdinand VII. to the newly-appointed Captain in 1825. They ran as follows :— ‘His Majesty invests your Excellency with that power which is granted to the governors of cities placed under a state of siege; consequently, his Majesty confers on your Excellency the most unlimited power, and authorises you to banish from the island any person or persons, whether holding office under Government or not, whatever be their professions, rank, or birth, in the event of your Excellency deeming the private or public character of the said persons dangerous to the tranquillity of the island. In short, your Excellency will act, under all circumstances, to the best of our royal interests.’ ”

“But this antiquated edict has no doubt been revoked?” inquired Mr. Smith.

“No, Mr. Smith, this order is still in force.”

“Then we live here in a species of a state of siege?”

“Undoubtedly. But what is to be done? Young Cuba ill brooks such tyranny, but young Cuba is no match for well disciplined troops on the one hand, and thousands of slaves on the other.”

“We have troops to America, I guess, ready to help ‘em,” said Peabody.

“But these creoles are very aristocratic,” remarked Miss Hardy.

“Hav’n’t we democratic Americans also been aristocrats? It’s all very fine for young gals, like you, Miss Hardy, to talk about aristocratic creoles, but you take no note that the young men as is educated to the States, to Paris, and to other liberal places, changes their notions mixing with free and enlightened citizens. Heaven and airth, they’d sooner see their island annexed to the States, and have representatives of their own to Washington, than go on as they do. Tow and fire! I say we’d help ‘em to disannex ‘emselves from Spain, and larf till we actilly turned blue!”

“England would never permit the stripes to be unfurled on the Morro,” said Mr. Smith.

“We won’t ask her leave, anyhow,” replied Peabody.

“Did the creoles ever send representatives to Madrid?” asked the poet, to turn the conversation.

“They did, Mr. McGuinness, but Ferdinand VII. deprived them of this right. Nevertheless, the year 1820 proved a new era for Cuba. The constitution was proclaimed, and the ancient privileges were restored to the island. This joyful news was received on the 15th of April, 1820,

by a vessel which arrived from Spain with the official *Gazette* of the 7th of March, containing the account of the King's sanction to the constitution of 1812. The people seemed mad with joy; they assembled in vast multitudes in the public places, forcing the Captain-General, *against* his inclination, to take the oath of allegiance to the constitution. A pillar, called the *Lapida della Constitucion*, was erected; and such was the frenzy of the creoles, that they proceeded to change the names of all their squares and streets. Royalty was certainly at a discount in April, 1820, and all what had been called *real* became *constitucional*.

"This Saturnalia—if I may venture to use such an expression, for, verily speaking, the people became half beside themselves—was not of a very long duration. The constitution was revoked in 1823, and Cuba's right to send representatives to Madrid was cancelled. Ferdinand VII., however, died, and by virtue of an *estatuto real*, Cuba was once more authorised to send deputies to the capital. But, as if to prove the uncertainty of all things under the sun, the *wierd sisters*, in 1836, when the revolution of *La Granja* took place, overthrew the constitution of 1812, and Cuba again lost her privileges. Early in 1837 the Cortes resolved that the Colonies should no longer send members to Madrid, and proposed that they should be subject to laws of their own. You may judge of the disappointment of the Cubanos; picture to yourselves the vexation of the deputies who had arrived in the capital in time to be present at the opening of the Chambers, and to learn, to their dismay, that their services were no longer wanted, and that they might return to their plantations and grow coffee and sugar!

"The creoles have not forgotten this insulting act of injustice. As might be expected, they protested against such tyrannical resolutions, for they perceived, and not without reason, that henceforward they would be located, and considered, not as men forming a part and parcel of a large empire, but as a conquered people. The insult was galling in the extreme: it was a conspiracy got up to keep them under military subjection, and now they must passively submit to the whims and caprices of their martinets without having the means or a vehicle at command for publishing their grievances. The inhabitants of Cuba ought either to enjoy the right of sending deputies to Madrid, or else, like the Canadians, have a legislation of their own, presided by a *civil* but not by a *military* governor.

"All sensible and well-thinking men dread revolutions. The evils which accompany rebellion are too fearful to be contemplated in cold blood: they awaken the worst passions of the people, demoralise the masses, and, generally speaking, are retrogressive. Progressive reform, on the contrary, acting as rebellion's antidote, satisfies the exigencies of the people. It gradually wipes away old abuses—it meets the wants of a new generation, without shaking the feelings of those who still adhere to the maxims of their ancestors; and *that* nation whose rulers concede in the proper season, may well consider itself blessed. In this respect England, to a certain extent, is a favoured nation. Let us hope that our country will ever be governed by rulers who will not postpone the remedy to the eleventh hour, for the danger may then be at its height, and all

the skill and expertness of the helmsmen will not avail to extricate the State vessel from the surrounding shoals.

“ I have already spoken favourably of Las Casas, one of the best of the Captains-General. He took a deep interest in the welfare of the Colony, and, like his ancestor, the celebrated Don Bartolomew Las Casas, spent his time in laying the foundation of Cuba's prosperity. His memory is still revered by the Havanese: they are grateful for the services rendered to their ancestors. This man was a philanthropist, an agriculturist, a botanist, a scholar, and a diplomatist. He founded a school for the orphans of the destitute; he established a public library, and the first periodical. In short, his whole life was spent in doing good, and he died universally regretted.

“ General Vivis, his successor, was a kind-hearted but indolent man; he humoured the creoles during the ten years that he governed the island, without rendering them any essential services. His successor, Ricaforte, trod in his footsteps. He flattered the nobility—pandered to the wealthy in their gambling propensities, whereby dens of sin and iniquity sprung up like mushrooms in every part of the city. Assassinations increased to a frightful extent; it was no uncommon sight to see five or six persons lying murdered in the streets. That which must surprise Europeans, and Englishmen in particular, is the fact, that whenever an assassination takes place, every one rushes from the spot; none dare render assistance, fearful lest accusation fall upon the good Samaritan. The doors of the neighbouring houses are instantly closed, the inmates cast furtive glances through the solidly-grated windows, and if a stray passer-by approach the spot, a dozen voices warn him to retrace his steps. Meanwhile the victim of revenge is left to welter in his blood; and when the police arrive to inquire into the cause, the assassin has escaped, and the wounded man is dead or dying.

“ The social position of the island was critical in the extreme, owing to the want of judgment and energy of Generals Vivis and Ricaforte. The inhabitants were beoming daily more demoralised: the law was no longer respected; there was no security for persons, nor the property of individuals—even the tranquillity of the island was threatened by a formidable party anxious to throw off the yoke of Spain, and declare themselves independent. Bands of bravos, such as walked about the square of St. Marc, at Venice, in her palmy days, might be seen prowling about the streets of the Havana, ready to sell their services to revenge and hatred. Upwards of fifty gambling-houses invited the thoughtless, the profligate, and the wealthy to ruin their health and their fortunes within their accursed walls. These hells were not unfrequently the scenes of bitter strife and bloodshed. So great was the demoralisation that a number of degraded wretches could be hired at a moment's notice to appear before the tribunals as false witnesses, and in order that those who required their services might recognise them, they had fixed upon certain signs, whereby they made themselves known. The jurisdiction of the island, on the other hand, was confided to individuals who thought more of their own interest than that of the public; the judges, for the most part, were ignorant men, and the lawyers, as a matter of course,

spoliators and intriguers, who so confounded the law, or so misinterpreted its meanings, that the innocent suffered whilst the guilty escaped. As to redress it was impossible to obtain it, for the victim of bribery and false witnesses very well knew that ruin stared him in the face if he attempted to expose the expounders of the LAW !

“ To remedy the danger that threatened the tranquillity of the island and reform the abuses which became intolerable from the reiterated complaints of the respectable portion of the inhabitants, it became necessary to appoint a dictator. Spain, under such difficult circumstances, could not have had recourse to other measures. She must either have made up her mind to lose so valuable a Colony, or else adopt the course she resorted to by appointing a man capable of reforming so much evil. It was necessary that that man be well acquainted with the interests of the Colony, it was imperative to invest that man with unlimited power, that under such difficult circumstances and so much danger, he might fearlessly reform such signal abuses.

“ The Spanish Government unhesitatingly appointed Don Miguel Tacon to fill so difficult a post, well aware that no man was more capable of carrying out their views than this celebrated general.

“ Tacon was born in Carthagea in the year 1777. His father, Don Miguel Tacon y Foxa, a brigadier in the navy, gave him an excellent education. Don Miguel served in the navy up to 1806 ; was present at the siege of Oran, when attacked by the Moors in 1791, and assisted at several engagements. He commanded the *Vigilante*, and was severely wounded when that vessel was run foul of by the *San Carlos*. In 1806 he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel and Military Governor of the Province of Popayan, in South America, where he distinguished himself during nine years by numerous acts of valour. For a long time he kept the rebels under subjection, but lacking money and men, he was forced to return to Guayaquil. I will, however, not tire your patience with an account of his doings in Lima, Buenos Ayres, and other places ; suffice it to say that he distinguished himself on every occasion by his firmness, justice, and benevolence.

“ I shall endeavour to be as impartial as possible in narrating the doings of this Captain-General. Who is the public man that has not his admirers or his enemies ? Tacon, like other rulers, had defamers and supporters. Those whom he visited with the utmost severity of the law, proclaimed him a tyrant ; those whom he freed from bands of assassins, who admired his energy, his perseverance and courage, proclaimed him a hero, a benefactor. You shall judge for yourselves when I have brought his history to a close.

“ When General Tacon arrived here he was shocked to find that rumour had not exaggerated the real state of affairs. Having gained every information as to the political, financial, and commercial state of the island, he sent a faithful account to Madrid, proposing remedies which he deemed indispensable. He organised a body of police. He advised Government not to extend those reforms tolerated in the Peninsula to Cuba, on the plea that the majority of the population being slaves, it was imperative to exercise more stringent authority in the Colony than

in the Mother-country; and as certain symptoms of liberalism had been manifested by the creoles on more than one occasion, his policy was to crush all ideas of independence in the bud. Brought up as a soldier from his infancy, he was just the man to make himself obeyed, without troubling himself about the opinions of individuals or their private interests. One day, shortly after his arrival, a deputation waited upon him to complain of the severity of his proceedings. In reply to their observations he said:—

“ ‘ It appears to me, *Senores*, that this fair city of yours has become a den of thieves. Why, there is no more security in this fortified capital against assassinations and robberies than in the humblest village in the island. *Valgame Dios!* not one of you dare walk the streets without being armed *cap-a-pie*, or followed by a band of armed slaves. Assassins walk about with impunity—even the churches are not exempt from scenes which disgrace civilisation and Christianity. Look out of this window and you will see banker’s clerks escorted by my soldiers. You, who are afraid to walk the streets in daylight, who barricade your houses at night, you have the courage to talk to me of severity. I tell you, gentlemen, before six months have elapsed, you shall hear no more of robberies nor assassinations !’

“ And he kept his word. The name of Tacon soon spread terror amongst delinquents. He arrested, judged, and executed, the malefactors. He showed no sympathy, no compassion for the guilty, whether they belonged to the aristocracy or to the plebeians. He remodelled society. He abolished the lottery societies which had proved the ruin of so many—he closed all the gambling houses (which circumstance greatly offended the aristocracy, who used to spend their time and their money in these hells); and finding that the public servants kept the revenue which was destined for the support of public offices, the prisons, and the repairing of the streets, he summoned the municipality into his so-much-dreaded presence.

“ ‘ You continue to oppose my measures, gentlemen,’ said he; ‘ you have even gone to the length of saying that my arm weighs heavily upon this island. I forgive this; it is the nature of spoiled children to complain. Your resistance is waste of time; and as I find that you are incapable of administering the funds which are placed under your charge, I shall withdraw them from your hands. The taxes levied for paving the streets, and lighting them at night, are not employed by you for these purposes. I shall see what *I* can do.’

“ That same day the funds were transferred to his hands. The aspect of the city then soon underwent a great change; the streets were macadamised, and ornamented with elegant lamps; dilapidated houses were pulled down to make room for market-places; he built a prison, which soon became the terror of malefactors; patrols and watchmen guarded the streets by night, and any person who could not give a satisfactory account of himself was arrested.

“ People clamoured against these arbitrary measures; but the more they complained, the greater became the General’s severity. What was he to do under such critical circumstances? Relax, when the results he

aimed at began to be realised—yield to entreaties, when gamblers fled, and assassinations were few and far between? No; Tacon was not the man to yield to tears nor to entreaties. He was a soldier of the old school—a dictator who feared neither saints nor devil, and who cared not one jot, provided he did his duty, whether he was held in good or in bad repute by those over whom he was sent to govern.

“ ‘I was not sent here,’ said he one day, when greatly excited by the animosity displayed by certain influential parties, ‘I was not sent here to make these creoles happy. My instructions are—to establish order, put down abuses, gambling, murder, and serve Spain. These orders I shall fulfil to the honour and credit of my country!’

“ When these words were reported to the aristocracy their anger knew no bounds, and they vowed eternal hatred towards the tyrant. Tacon, on the other hand, gave them the *quid pro quo*, and from that moment an implacable enmity sprang up between the Captain-General and the upper classes.

“ The historian must be just and impartial. He must not sympathise with the oppressed, nor join in the hue and cry against the oppressor, without detailing the causes which called forth the severity of the one party and the complaints of the other. On the other hand, it behoves him to be equally on his guard when he takes up the defence of one who has been called a tyrant by malcontents. The nobility hated him because he curtailed their authority—because he wished to make them honest men, and re-establish that equilibrium, without which society and civilisation is sheer mockery. Their love for gambling and thirst for revenge had completely disqualified them; they had compromised their position, and lost all self-respect. Bribery and corruption swayed where honesty alone should have reigned, and it was high time to change such a disgraceful state of affairs. Tacon knew that inertitude and indifference would have no influence over men who had been too long accustomed to indulge their worst passions with impunity. He adopted a different course—in short, the only one under such melancholy circumstances that he could adopt—and he was proclaimed a tyrant.

“ The nobility complained that he was actuated by brutality and revenge—that he was an oppressive and a tyrannical reformer—that he surrounded himself by a pack of Spanish satellites, who, poor as rats, proud as Lucifer, and void of conscience or remorse, executed his atrocious mandates with alacrity. They even accused him of having established an inquisition and a secret police, in order that he might discover the machinations of his enemies, and rid himself of formidable opponents by banishment or imprisonment. Nay, they went so far as to accuse him of violating the sacredness of letters, by breaking open the seals with his own hands.

“ It is well known and acknowledged by all that men in power have bitter enemies. A minister, or a governor, is either idolised by one party or hated by the other; whatever his faults, he is often unjustly blamed or shamefully calumniated. No man ever pleased two parties. It is difficult—nay, almost impossible—to please one faction: were he a saint or a demi-god, I doubt whether he could satisfy the whims of

royalist or republican. And so it was with General Tacon. Many of the accusations raised against him could not be substantiated. I have heard many persons execrate the memory of Napoleon, exclaiming—'How can you admire a man who has done so much harm, who shed so much blood?' These ignorant folk forget that he who would reform abuses and serve mankind, by establishing great national works, must cause injury to some individuals. The exile of St. Helena was an instrument in the hands of Providence, and though he now slumbers peacefully under the dome of the Invalides, where is the country of continental Europe where monuments, roads, canals, docks, or other useful works, do not recal him to mind, and render his name imperishable?

"Tacon was a reformer on a small scale. He contrived, however, to rally round his standard the merchants and the middling classes, who had long been disgusted with the licentiousness of the aristocracy and the insolence of the rabble. They rejoiced to find that they needed no more soldiers to guard their clerks whenever they had to send specie from one part of the town to the other—that they could walk the streets at night with as much safety as at mid-day—and that they could dispense with the precaution of barricading their houses. Their vanity was flattered, because the Captain-General courted their society in preference to that of the nobility. If he made this distinction between the two parties, it was, perhaps, because he found that the one was industrious, honest, and useful members of society, ready to support all his coercive measures; that the other was incorrigible gamblers, licentious, haughty, and adverse to his government. Commerce confided in the military dictator, who fearlessly exclaimed when accused of tyranny—

" 'I shall not alter my system to please any one; if the Government is dissatisfied, let them recal me. He who makes himself obeyed is never in the wrong, and my policy, if disobeyed, is—*Load! present!! fire!!!*'

"That General Tacon was severe, and not unfrequently unjust, I admit. He no doubt often allowed his temper to lead him to acts of cruelty which might have been mitigated. He might have pardoned many whom he banished, and freed many whom he imprisoned. But his task was a most delicate and difficult one. His instructions were positive—his duty was to obey. The reader may imagine the dread he inspired, when there was no lawyer bold enough to sue him or oppose his decrees, by citing him before the tribunals.

"In stature Tacon was below the middling size. Though upwards of sixty years of age when sent to the Havana, he was of an active turn of mind, and his organic developments bespoke a man capable of doing great actions. Firmness and determination were his chief characteristics. He was constitutionally weak, yet enjoyed sufficient health to enable him to carry out his plans for ameliorating and beautifying the capital of Cuba. Two years after his arrival the revenue was doubled; this circumstance enabled him to reduce some of the taxes. Finding that the city was ill-supplied with water, he built a splendid aqueduct, which exceeded six miles in length. The Count of Villamiera, Intendent-General of the Financial Department, suggested the propriety of establishing a

railway which would unite the capital with the rich district of Guines. General Tacon was delighted to have another opportunity to testify his anxiety for promoting the welfare of trade, and a railway, about one hundred and twelve miles long, was planned and executed. It is conducted by English engineers, with as much speed, regularity, and comfort, as any established in Great Britain. The Captain-General in the meantime built barracks, quays, and a custom-house. He laid out a botanical garden with great taste, and caused spacious and splendid avenues to be planted where fashion resorts in the cool of the evening; it is called *El Pasco Tacon*. A number of fountains, placed at regular distances, refresh the air and embellish the promenades. In short, Tacon renovated and beautified the Havana—rendering it far more salubrious by watering and ventilating the streets.

“In 1836, when the news of the revolution of La Granja reached Cuba, General Lorenzo, then Governor of St. Jago de Cuba, proclaimed the constitution. He was supported by many of the inhabitants of that town and of the southern districts. Tacon lost no time in sending troops to put down the revolutionary movement. He adopted every precaution to prevent the revolutionary mania from spreading: the merchants at the Havana organised a body of militia, chosen from amongst themselves, amounting to upwards of 1,500 strong, to guard the capital, thereby proving to the rebels, if I may so term them, that they felt no sympathy in the movement. General Lorenzo was forced to surrender on the 22nd December, and on the following day he set sail for Spain. Tacon arrested many who had supported the movement, banished them from the island, and re-established order and tranquillity without shedding a drop of blood. His prudence unfortunately was not appreciated, and a great uproar was created because of his numerous arrests.

“Disgusted, and probably sick of holding the reins of power, he requested Government to recal him and appoint a successor. When the news that his resignation had been accepted arrived at the Havana, his admirers were overcome with sorrow, but his enemies indulged in unfeigned joy. On the day fixed for his departure he was accompanied on board of his vessel by numerous friends, grieved to lose a man who had conferred such benefits on the island. The commercial community, grateful for all the privileges and benefits he had conferred upon them, loudly demanded that a statue be erected in honour of his memory, whilst those who had been deprived of a father or a brother by banishment, imperatively clamoured for his impeachment. The authorities, the foreign consuls, his friends, and many deputations, accompanied him for several miles out to sea, in four steamers freighted for the occasion, and Tacon sailed for Spain, blessed by many, cursed by others.”

“And where is General Tacon now?” inquired Mrs. Smith.

“He resides at Majorca, in the enjoyment of all worldly honours, consoling himself that he has benefited his country by preserving one of her most precious jewels—the island in which we have now the felicity of seeing such worthy persons as those who have done me the honour to listen to my lengthy narrative.”

CHAPTER XXXVII.

MR. SMITH ON THE INTERCOURSE BETWIXT THE MOTHER-COUNTRY AND HER COLONIES, AND THE EVILS WHICH ATTEND MAL-ADMINISTRATION.*

Havana, February, 184—.

MY DEAR NED—A vast deal has lately been written on the subject of Colonisation, and the intercourse which ought to exist betwixt the Mother-country and her dependencies, but I fear that an immense deal more must be written before so important a subject obtains the attention it merits from our Government. It must be admitted that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has too much to attend to, his attention is too much diverted by, and divided betwixt, the conflicting interests of Canada, the Cape, the East and West Indies, Australia, and the other vast possessions of Great Britain. It is utterly impossible for one man, were he a Solon, to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the exigencies of our various settlements, even were a whole life devoted to that particular study. The one clamours for the emigration of healthy materials into the Colony, the other petitions for the introduction of coolies, the other prays for the non-admission of convicts, another for the equalisation of the tariff, and so on, until the Colonial Secretary is really put to his wits' end. What Colonial Secretary has been more abused than Lord Stanley? Where, if I may judge from rumour, is the Colonial Minister to be found, who has done less for the Colonies than Lord Stanley? But enough of this—my object is to treat on the intercourse betwixt Spain and her Colonies, not that of England and her possessions; and you must judge for yourself whether Cuba is worse treated by Spain than our Colonies are by England and her Colonial Secretaries.

How came Spain to lose her vast possessions on the continent of America? This simple, but momentous question, is easily solved—she lost them from mal-administration! How came we to lose our North American possessions? I again reply to this question by that significant word, mal-administration! Experience, we are told, makes fools wise; if this proverb be applicable in its fullest extent, how comes it that Colonial Secretaries will not profit by experience and become wise? How comes it that they continue to treat Colonists in a measure as aliens; and why should our relatives, because they have emigrated, not be entitled to the same advantages and privileges as ourselves? Why make this distinction with countries who acknowledge the supremacy of the British flag? Are we to be burthened with Colonies, and maintain large forces of troops, priests, and missionaries, at an enormous outlay wrung from England's hard-working children, merely that the sovereign, or those who glory in vast dependencies, may exclaim, "Behold, the sun never sets on England's flag!" Or, are our Colonies to feel the Mother-country to be a mill-stone about their necks, merely because it is an honour to be part and parcel of a vast empire?

* We presume that Fray O'Donnell's narrative induced the worthy citizen to indite this letter to his friend.

No! unless the advantages be mutual, unless there be a free interchange betwixt the mother and her children, the link is an unnatural one. The children are aliens, the mother is a despot; such a tie cannot be binding.

Spain still continues to pursue an erroneous course with respect to her Colonies; experience of the past has not opened her eyes to the present, nor to the future. She withholds the reform sanctioned by the Cortes from her Colonies, which are oppressed and heavily taxed; in short, such is her fear of losing the few possessions which she still retains, that she adopts the most tyrannical measures to keep the poor creoles subservient. Is this just, is it reasonable? Perhaps the Spaniards imagine that the creoles are no longer Spaniards; that they are aliens, that they have lost the rights of Spaniards; and yet, whenever the Cubanos petitioned for the reform of antiquated abuses, it was done with the view, not only to benefit themselves but the Mother-country also.

Owing, it is said, to the influence exercised by the advocates of anti-slavery here, there have been numerous risings of the black population in various parts of the island. Many of these outbreaks were attended with serious loss of life and the destruction of valuable property to a fearful extent. To protect themselves, it was natural that the inhabitants of the rural districts should come to the determination of arming themselves, so as to defend their persons and property in case of rebellion. They petitioned the Government to allow them to form a sort of militia or rural national guard, but the Government, ever suspicious, strenuously opposed the idea, preferring, no doubt, to allow the Colonists to be butchered than to form battalions which, they imagined, might some day oppose their tyrannical decrees and oppressive taxation.

Were it not for the dread of a rising of the slaves, I am convinced that the Cubanos would long, ere this, have shaken off the yoke, and declared themselves independent. They are subjected to all sorts of abuses—prerogatives of their municipalities were destroyed—their *junta de fomento* lost all its attributions—justice is administered in the most iniquitous and deplorable manner by a parcel of rapacious judges, who are suffered to enrich themselves with impunity—the safety of the rural districts is intrusted to a set of Spanish adventurers, principally officers without fortune, who, having no stake in the country, and no fixed salaries, care only how they can enrich themselves at the cost of the inhabitants, whom they oppress in every possible manner, whilst their subordinates derive an existence from the fines they inflict, or the bribery they pocket.

As an example of the honourable way by which these honourable men gain a livelihood, I shall explain to you in what manner they proceed whenever a crime has been committed in their neighbourhood: these arbitrary hidalgos commence proceedings by intimidating those whose purses are well lined with golden ounces. Whether the presumed delinquent be innocent or guilty, his first step is to purchase *silence*, and gold buries the accusation in oblivion. If the guilty party be wealthy, you may be certain that he will escape the fangs of justice; but if he be a poor man, woe betide him, for he is imprisoned or banished.

Would this state of things exist if the law and the dispensation of justice were intrusted to the keeping of the creole? Certainly not.

I do not pretend to say that there are no honest men amongst those charged with the jurisdiction of the island; far from it: there are deserving men amongst the mass of lawyers and law-dispensers who prey upon the people; but what are a few honest men amongst so many sharks? mere small-fry in the ocean!

What can be expected from such a chaotic state of affairs, but that the interests of the Colony are neglected. I have already stated that the Colonists are frightfully taxed, and while the Spanish Government drains the island and cripples its resources, trade, agriculture, the immigration of free white labourers, so important to the Colony, the education of the people, sanitary reform, religion and morality are shamefully abandoned to the care and mismanagement of sordid magistrates, ignorant priests, and grasping lawyers; as if these considerations, which in some countries occupy the attention of patriotic citizens and eminent legislators in the highest degree, were merely secondary in the eyes of the Spanish Government.

The following is the Revenue of Cuba—it may not be uninteresting to you. I procured the particulars from a statement published in 1840:—

	Dollars.
The Post-office yields about	937,000
Lotteries	2,400,000
Tithes	416,000
Obencionales and stamps.	500,000
Customs.	11,500,000
Legal dues, property and other taxes, salaries of justices of the peace, &c., &c.	2,000,000
Duty on the Census	4,000,000
Justices of the peace of the six districts	250,000
Total dollars	22,063,000

That same year (1840) the value of the goods exported from the island amounted to about 25,950,000 dollars. By this it will be seen that the value of the exports barely exceeds the taxation by four millions of dollars, and if I estimate the free population at that period at 50,000 men, I find that each free citizen is taxed at the rate of 36 dollars, or £7 12s. ! The taxation in Spain is estimated at about eight shillings per individual. Which is the mill-stone, Spain or her Colony?

With such resources at command, what could not the Cubanos accomplish if they were freed from the Mother-country, which absorbs all her resources. Whenever Spain requires the sinews of war, she pounces upon the wealth of the Cubanos. One of the greatest evils which weighs upon the islanders is the mal-administration system and the short duration of the governorship of the Captains-General; these personages, whatever their merits or good intentions, have barely the time to look around them, and become acquainted with the wants of the island, ere they are recalled or sent to administer some other Colony. Let a governor be ever so well disposed, it is next to an impossibility for

him to gain a thorough insight into the benefits he might confer, the evils he might mitigate, and the abuses he might reform. He knows that he is sent to Cuba to make hay, and make it he must while the sun shines. He is surrounded by a legion of satellites, who, in order to bask in the smiles of the representative of royalty, flatter his vanity, conceal truth, and urge him to acts which are a disgrace to the era in which we live, so that, in lieu of being the father of the people, he proves the curse of the island.

No Colony stands so much in need of reform as Cuba—no Colony stands so little chance of obtaining reformation. So long as the home government permits so many influential men to live in the enjoyment of illegal privileges, and appropriate to themselves the surplus of taxation, so long will these abuses continue to exist; but the day must dawn, when the people, driven to desperation, will turn upon their tyrants, heedless of the awful danger that awaits them in the event of a general rising of the blacks on the one hand, and the struggle of the Spanish troops, on the other, to keep them in subjection. Where there is a will there is a way, and unless Spain intends to drive the Cubanos to desperation, the sooner she reforms the abuses the creoles so justly complain of, the better, unless she wishes to see Cuba the scene of bloodshed, or become dependent on a more paternal and liberal government.

Jonathan has an eye to Cuba. Can't you throw out a hint in some of the journals, so that it may catch Lord Palmerston's eye. We'll talk of this on my return, which will be shortly, as Mrs. S. is frightened out of her wits at the idea of yellow fever, which usually comes in May. May we be safe in London by that time.

Yours faithfully,

PETER SMITH.

P.S.—I forgot to mention that freights are up, though coffee is down; sugar much inquired after, and molasses eagerly sought for by the Americans. Exchange same as last mail.

(To be continued.)

A FEW WORDS ABOUT SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

It has been the lot of this Colony to receive a large amount of opprobrium. The principle on which it was founded was deemed bad, and, consequently, nothing but failure was predicted by the operation of the Wakefield system of Colonisation. Such, however, has been the progress made by South Australia, that the most sanguine expectations of its promoters have been realised, and the fears of its detractors effectually silenced.

The exports have increased so as nearly to equal the imports, the revenue has far exceeded the expenditure (including the payment of various debentures granted during the crisis of 1840-41), the population has rapidly augmented, so that the most incredulous must now

admit that their apprehensions were groundless. In fact, when we compare it with the neighbouring settlements, we find that not one of them has, in the same space of time, become a self-supporting Colony. All but South Australia receive grants of money from the English exchequer, to enable them to defray their necessary expenditure; and, although thus assisted, their commerce is not more flourishing, their various local establishments are not more complete, than those in South Australia.

We shall briefly notice the present state of the Colony with reference to its agricultural, pastoral, and mining resources. The agricultural interest deserves especial mention, inasmuch as the soil and climate of South Australia were thought totally unsuited to the growth of grain. Van Diemen's Land was predicted to be the granary of the southern hemisphere; yet, not only has that island grown and exported large quantities of wheat, but the sister Colony has followed in her track, and the markets of the Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, and England, receive the redundant supplies of South Australian corn.

Previously to the year 1840 little grain had been sown; when, however, the imprudent speculation, so prevalent at that time, had been checked, and the enormously high prices for food reduced, the Colonists came to the conclusion that an important source of wealth consisted in the cultivation of the soil, and, consequently, agriculture received an effective impulse.

The following return exhibits the progress made in that respect very distinctly. The land under cultivation, comprised, in December,

1840,	2,503 acres,	while the population numbered 14,610 souls.
1841,	6,722 "	" " No returns.
1842,	19,790 "	" " No returns.
1843,	28,690 "	" " 17,366 "
1844,	26,918 "	" " 18,999 "
1845,	26,218 "	" " 21,880 "
1846,	33,292 "	" " 27,006 "

The land fenced in December, 1846, was 89,565 acres, showing an increase of 27,347 acres, as compared with the number of acres fenced in 1845; so that, notwithstanding the extensive mineral operations during those two years, considerable attention had been devoted to agriculture.

The quality of South Australian wheat is generally very fine, and realises in the London market from five to ten shillings per quarter more than the average price of English wheat. This statement is fully confirmed by the fact that a parcel of wheat from Adelaide was sold last September for sixty-four shillings per quarter, while the average price of English wheat at the time was only fifty-one shillings and fourpence.

The pastoral interest in South Australia is of large extent. In December, 1843, the numbers of stock were—sheep, 402,187; cattle, 30,018; horses, 1,693; pigs and goats, 9,034. No return has lately been compiled, but at the end of the year 1846 the numbers were estimated as follow:—sheep, 600,000; cattle, 32,000; horses, 2,000; pigs and goats, 12,000.

The exports of wool to England in 1843, were valued at	£15,568	9	8
„	1844, „	42,769	15 9
„	1845, „	72,235	0 0
„	1846, „	105,911	9 6

The apparent decrease in the amount in 1844, as compared with 1843, is accounted for in this way, that the shipments take place in the first and last quarters of the year, and therefore the proportion of wool shipped each year varies according as the season is late or early.

The mineral discoveries and subsequent working have conducted very materially to improve the Colony. Since the opening of the Burra Burra mine, in September, 1845, to March, 1847, the company had sold at, and shipped to, Swansea 6,034 tons of copper ore, and had on hand at the latter date 3,807 tons, making the total quantity of ore raised during eighteen months 9,841 tons. The working expenses of the mine for the same period amounted to £32,943, in addition to which the cartage of the ore from the mine to the port (a distance of about ninety miles) cost £21,466, so that it is very obvious the operations connected with this mine alone have not only benefited the shareholders but afforded employment to a large number of labourers, mechanics, miners, and others.

The average cost of raising the ore, including every item previously to shipment, is about six pounds per ton, the freight and charges at Swansea about five pounds fifteen shillings per ton, so that the profit on the Burra Burra mine ore, sold to 31st March, 1847, had been about four pounds per ton; the average price being then sixteen pounds per ton. This average will be considerably increased by the sale of the cargoes of ore within the last six months, so that the profits of the mine are in reality understated.

The Kapunda mine has not been worked so energetically or extensively as the Burra Burra, but the assay of the ore is more uniform and averages fully as high as the latter. From the 8th July, 1846, to the 9th September, 1847, 1,929 tons had been sold at Swansea, realising a gross sum of £37,024 17s.

The other mines in South Australia have not yet exported much ore, owing to the high wages demanded by miners, the absence of large lodes of ore, and the heavy outlay necessary to render the ore raised from small lodes fit for market. The adoption of smelting would make all the mines much more valuable than they now are; and the inferior ore being reduced to a regulus the profits would be greatly enhanced.

The public revenue and expenditure of the Colony are now equalised, in fact, the former has exceeded the latter so much as to enable the Government to pay off various debentures and other debts. We subjoin a return compiled from authentic documents, showing the receipts and disbursements for the last six years:—

1841,	Revenue	£26,720,	Expenditure	£104,471.
1842,	„	22,074,	„	54,444.
1843,	„	24,142,	„	29,842.
1844,	„	27,878,	„	29,453.
1845,	„	37,180,	„	31,752.
1846,	„	48,015,	„	36,971.

The circumstance of a Colony's revenue exceeding the expenditure by £11,000 per annum, after having been founded only ten years, is unprecedented in the annals of Colonial history.

The quantity of land sold, and the purchase-price during the same years were as follows :—

1841,	7,651 acres	cost	£7,651.
1842,	17,081	„	17,081.
1843,	598	„	613.
1844,	3,428	„	5,666.
1845,	69,658	„	72,902.
1846,	31,000	„	75,000.

A considerable proportion of the land bought in the last two years was known to contain minerals, and therefore realised higher prices; but no insignificant quantity was purchased solely for agricultural purposes—a very gratifying fact, as proving that the mining operations have not been carried on to the neglect of the cultivation of the soil. In April last, 4,327 acres of land were sold at Adelaide for £4,652 8s., the buyers of which were nearly all engaged in agricultural and pastoral pursuits.

A moiety of the funds arising from land sales is applied to the conveyance of labouring emigrants thither, and the remaining half to local improvements, such as making roads, bridges, &c., so that on the continuance of these sales depends, in some measure, the progress of the Colony.

The exports and imports, as declared by the Custom-house returns, demonstrate the commerce of South Australia to be in a healthy state. The very large shipments of copper ore, together with the increasing exports of wool, wheat, and other commodities, have effected this very desirable result.

From the subjoined table, it appears that both the imports and exports have largely augmented since 1841, and that at 31st December, 1846, the latter nearly equalled the former.

	Imports.	Exports.
1841 . . .	£229,925 . . .	£40,561
1842 . . .	169,533 . . .	29,079
1843 . . .	93,148 . . .	66,160
1844 . . .	106,660 . . .	82,268
1845 . . .	168,161 . . .	131,800
1846 . . .	304,321 . . .	287,059

Provided the activity at present prevailing in the commercial and productive interests of the Colony continue, we think it not improbable that the return of exports for the current year will exceed the imports.

This was the Colony, in regard to which, when Lord Stanley, on the 5th July, 1842, proposed a resolution for liquidating various debts connected with the establishment of the province, Mr. Williams (then M.P. for Coventry) said, he “really thought it would be better to give up the Colony altogether, than thus incur any further expense.”

J. H. K.

SIERRA LEONE, THE PRINCIPAL BRITISH COLONY ON
THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

BY WILLIAM WHITAKER SHREEVE,

SIX YEARS RESIDENT, AND LATE ACTING FIRST WRITER IN HER MAJESTY'S
MIXED COMMISSION COURTS, SECRETARY'S AND CROWN OFFICES,
IN THE COLONY.

(Concluded from p. 170.)

TRULY, we may indeed attribute much of our failure to sickness of the climate; over this no Government has control. I admit this from my own severe experience during my sojourn on its shores; but that this excuse has also been used to cover a multitude of sins of mis-government, and the exercise of corrupt and venal patronage, and a profligate expenditure, to its injury, I fearlessly avow to be a fact. If a Colony is not governed for its own good, and especially one constituted as Sierra Leone is, but the interest of individuals is to be made the paramount consideration, what can we expect otherwise than that failure after failure should be the result of our labour, even going no further back in its history than my own term of residence of six years. What more glaring and convincing proofs of mal-administration need I give than those of William Fergusson, a son of the late Governor Fergusson, holding *five*,* if not more, appointments, and of Mr. Oldfield, holding equally as many, all through affection or favouritism of the Executive; whilst those who are really deserving are left to pine in neglect and treated with contumely. This is no new source of grievance, it was complained of before my arrival there, and if the question is asked why such a state of things exists, the answer is, "Oh! the climate is so sickly, and death is continually thinning the ranks of our official brethren, that we can scarcely find any one to accept of office with talent or capabilities sufficient for the fulfilment of the duties attached to appointments;" a statement, the injustice of which is only equalled by its untruth, when it is well known that there are numbers of coloured young men in the Colony, of sufficient

* The appointments were:—Second Writer, Secretary's-office, salary, £300 per annum; Private Secretary to his father, and Clerk of the Council, £100; Postmaster, £40; Registrar, Court of Ordinary, depending upon letters of administration, &c. Those of Mr. Oldfield's were:—Clerk of the Crown, Clerk of Court of Record, Coroner for Free-town, Marshal in the Mixed Courts, Marshal in the Vice Admiralty Courts, Second Commissioner of Appraisalment and Sale to the Courts. These were Government appointments; whilst on his own account he was merchant, auctioneer, Providore to the Navy, consignee, &c., *ad infinitum*. Here are two individuals alone holding *ten* Government appointments! Comment upon such gross and venal patronage is surely unnecessary.—AUTHOR.

attainments, as well as Europeans perfectly eligible, but who have not the fortune to bask in the sunshine of official favour, and who perhaps have not servility enough to fawn, cringe, and flatter, preferring the welfare of the Colony and a proud conscientiousness of the English character, to the plunder of the Colonial chest, for situations in which they would alone serve the Colony (were they permitted) for the Colony's good. Nay, to such an extent had a system of unfair patronage been carried during the period of the Executive of Governor Fergusson, that even the American citizen found more favour than the Englishman and subject of the Government, as in the case of one Jones, who was appointed Queen's Advocate's Clerk, to the disappointment of an European who had claims for past services, till forbearance became unendurable, and complaints of venality were forwarded to the Home Colonial Minister, Lord Stanley, in 1844 (upon which his Excellency had to report, by the commands of his Lordship; the result of which was, however, kept a State secret). Though to the frequent changes in the Executive of the Colony many failures of good and useful measures may be fairly attributed, there are other causes equally as destructive; the African's welfare, and the purposes for which the settlements were formed appears to be with many not the primary object, whilst others have really its welfare at heart; indeed, it would appear from such unreasonable and unjust appropriation of the emoluments of so many offices, no matter how gained, that the chief object was (using a familiar phrase) "to make hay while the sun shined," and if fortunate enough to escape the penalty of the climate, to seek relief in frequent "leaves of absence;" whilst the Colony is left to its fate and the chapter of accidents, and the African's condition to thrive as best it may, nurtured by nature and chance alone.

On my arrival in the Colony, Colonel Doherty possessed the reins of government; he was in 1841 superseded by the arrival of Sir John Jeremie. The measures of this excellent Governor were of an enlightened and comprehensive character, and had he been spared, would have been of incalculable benefit to the Colony. Justice was his motto; favouritism and venal patronage had but little hopes at his hands. Amongst many measures which he had in contemplation, were the due division of civil appointments amongst the native applicants in the Colony; the extension of the British influence within the territories of the surrounding kings and chiefs, in the sending of British Commissioners amongst them; the suppression of the local transit of slaves amongst the rivers and creeks of the neighbourhood by the Mahomedans for foreign shipment; the cultivation of farms in the villages, &c. These were a few of the many leading measures he had in view, whilst the moral and social condition of the inhabitants was not neglected; the formation of book societies, reading-rooms, poor societies, and other charitable institutions, were in progression, whilst every facility was afforded for the produce of the Mahomedan countries reaching the settlement; in the midst of all these good and beneficial measures, death closed his active career, and the African mourned the loss of a friend and benefactor. On this event the government, according to

Colonial Charter, fell into the hands of the Queen's Advocate, Mr. John Carr, a coloured gentleman and a native of Trinidad; he acted a few months, and was superseded by Staff Surgeon Fergusson in the acting capacity; then came the arrival of Colonel George Macdonald (one of those few remaining heroes of the famed Waterloo). This excellent Governor administered the functions of office with the high-mindedness and unswerving justice becoming a gallant officer and a gentleman, and has just restored the Colony from a chaos of difficulties and to a healthy progression towards improvement. The Executive had once more become respected, when, after two years' residence, he returned to England and accepted the government of Dominica, one of the West India islands. Staff Surgeon Fergusson now became Lieutenant-Governor, and soon after was confirmed to the full appointment by the then Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley. Here, then, was during the writer's residence the departure of two Governors to England, the death of one, the change and acting of two, making a total of five Executives in six years; and lastly, the return and death of Governor Fergusson on his passage to England off the island of Madeira, 19th February, 1846. On the departure of Governor Fergusson, the reins of office devolved upon the Colonial Secretary, Norman William Macdonald, who held a commission as Lieutenant on the confirmation of Fergusson (a wise promotion in such an uncertain Colony like Sierra Leone); but as the author had left a short time previous to his assumption, he cannot pretend to speak of his administration, more than judging, from his long acquaintance with the minutiae of affairs and his business habits as Colonial Secretary, that the Colony would not lack an efficient Governor, or one who would not neglect its welfare and interest.

Of the administration of the late Governor Fergusson, I would fain omit to speak, or, at most, speak in sparing terms, did I not think I should be wanting in duty in exposing acts of mal-administration in his public capacity, and that my silence would have an adverse effect upon the interests of the Colony; yet more, injuries were inflicted upon myself, by him as governor, when I had a claim for justice at least. In speaking here of this, I cannot be accused of taking an unfeeling advantage now that he is no more, because I reported them through *himself*, whilst in office, to the Home Colonial Secretary, in the years 1844 and 1845, and copies of the correspondence are no doubt now to be found in the archives of the Home Office, and the report thereon by His Excellency, at the command of the noble Minister. I will not assume the province of dealing with his private character; his public acts as Governor, and a professional man, alone being the right that I assume. Dr. Fergusson was, I believe, sent out in early life by the African Colonisation Society, in the medical profession, originally a coloured native of one of the West India Islands—I think Jamaica—a young man, possessing, by education in England, no mean qualification for the profession; he harboured a just and laudable ambition to rise in rank, and through a long and active course of years, succeeded, through the various grades of appointments, till he became a first class surgeon on the Colonial Staff, in which situation he displayed the most eminent success and skill in the

treatment of diseases incidental to the climate of Africa. Dr. Fergusson was not, as the other medical officers on the Staff, removed with the respective regiments to the West Indies and other depots, to which the African corps are periodically sent, but became a continued resident through all the changes, no doubt from the consideration of his great and long experience and usefulness to the Colony generally. Though a military surgeon, he by no means confined himself to that profession, but attended the civil officers, merchants, and the gentlemen, who chose to require his services; readily giving his advice to the Africans, generally, without fee or reward, at all hours and seasons, and he thereby became a deserved and esteemed favourite amongst them. Had he thus rested content, and not soared to possess the ambition and cares of office, or allowed himself to be goaded on to the attainment of civil rank and elevation in the Government for which nature never destined him, he might have descended to the tomb an honoured and an unsullied man, and a lustre to his profession; but from the moment he solicited or accepted office, from that moment his star became on the wane, his usefulness vanished, and the Colonial saying become verified, "We have indeed lost a good doctor, and got a bad and inefficient Governor." The most prominent of his public acts which merited the severest censure, was the seizure of Mr. Wm. Gabbidon, a coloured British subject, at the Island of Matacong,* in the Soosoo territory, by an armed force, under Lieutenant Mowbray, third West India Regiment, at the dead hour of night, on a charge of piracy; who was dragged to town, and after being imprisoned in Free-town gaol six weeks, was instantly acquitted on the sitting of the

* This beautiful island I have already described. The nature of this unfortunate proceeding was as follows, the particulars I learned from the accused person when on a two months' visit to his house there; and having been one of the grand jurors before whom the charge was preferred, and hearing the evidence for the prosecution, gave me a more clear insight into the case than many others:—The accusing person was one Macaulay, a liberated African of the Aker nation, who, in his own canoe, had been on a trading voyage to the Bagge and Soosoo countries, north-west of the island of Matacong, and on his return to the Colony, called there, it being a sort of a halfway-place, to replenish and recruit. It appeared that, according to native custom, this trader waited upon the proprietors of the island, as a mark of respect, at his house, and on displaying some gold rings, he stated that one or more was lost or taken from him, and, by some means or other, part of the canoe's cargo was placed in the stores of the proprietor, under lock and key. Macaulay, on his arrival at Free-town, went to the police office, and, along with his canoeman, swore that his goods were plundered by the order of William Gabbidon, and obtained a warrant for the apprehension of this young man. The evidence of his witnesses before the grand jury was of so contradictory a nature, and there being a total absence of any cause or incentive to impel him to commit a robbery, the bill was at once ignored, almost unanimously, and the individual liberated. It has, however, frequently occurred to me that it must be somewhat strange, or the accused was wanting in duty to himself in not demanding some reparation for the atrocious attempt to brand his name with infamy by so odious a charge. Had it been my case I should not have been so passive and silent, but probably this course was pursued from a consciousness of the hopelessness of obtaining justice in Sierra Leone during the executive of Governor Fergusson, and especially for an act in which his Excellency was so conspicuous.

Grand Jury : and of another coloured man, one William Ward,* at the factory, called Ki Koukih, in the Mandingo territory, on a charge of murder, who was, after six months' incarceration in gaol, liberated without even the formality of a trial, or a bill being at all preferred against him at the Quarter Sessions. Now, had such unjust acts as these been confined within the jurisdiction of the Colony, indefensible as they might be, they would not have so deeply degraded the British authority in the sight of the native African kings, who look upon us as a superior people and possessed of a good Government. To the individuals they were irreparable injuries, and the Mahomedans, with whom we were at peace, would naturally say, (for they are quite as sensible, if less refined in their notions, of the respect due to them, as are more civilised and enlightened potentates of other spheres,)—Are we not at peace with you? We know your power and your greatness; we have respected your laws, because hitherto we have been led to believe they are founded upon equity and justice; your predecessors have sought

* William Ward was an agent for the house of Messrs. Charles Heddle and Co., merchants, at Free-town, stationed at the factory of Ki Koukih. On his return, on one occasion, to the factory from a trading voyage up the River Mallicouri, he found that the stores had been broken open and robbed of some printed goods. Summoning his Kroomen labourers, he stated the loss; all denied any knowledge of it. The head Krooman, then, according to the custom of his nation, procured a wood from the forests, called *sassie wood*, of which was made a decoction, then causing all of them to drink copiously. *Sassie-wood* water possesses poisonous properties similar to the distillation of laurel leaves. The effects were these:—Those who vomited the liquid were declared to be innocent, and he who did not was the thief. The consequence was, most of them discharged the poisonous extract, and one died without doing so. The report of the affair reached the Colony. The Kroomen proved that Ward had compelled them to undergo this proof, and was imprisoned on the charge of wilful murder, as detailed. This strange and superstitious kind of proof of innocence or guilt is generally practised amongst the nations in the interior, without the jurisdiction of the Colony, and even within it is secretly practised, and by the liberated, the settlers, and Maroons, of whom better things might be expected. A case occurred to the writer's own knowledge, in the British Commissioner's office, when he was acting first writer. One of the supernumerary clerks, a Maroon, lost his umbrella from the piazza in the office. The messengers, who were Kroomen, were all assembled below; the professional thief-catcher was sent for; chewing a quantity of pod pepper, he inserted it into a quill tube; then, applying it to his mouth, blew the contents into the eye of each man. If the eye smarted or inflamed, the sentence was, "*Pepper catch him, he tief umbrella.*" Need I comment further upon this folly more than that the pepper did certainly make some, if not all their eyes smart. The umbrella was, however, never forthcoming. Where all were guilty, little hopes were there of restitution; the Maroon paying the professional one dollar. The matter was kept secret from the heads of the office, as they knew there existed a Colonial law punishing such practises; and it was a favour that I was allowed to gratify my curiosity at the sight, and in doing this I made myself liable to the charge of being an accomplice. At one of my lodgings with a settler's family, also, on my first arrival, I had the misfortune to lose half a doubloon and the contents of my purse one night, which I certainly did not steal from myself; the daughter was suspected of this unsanctioned loan or appropriation. Some time after I learned from a private source that the "*Pepperman*" had been in requisition, and that the evidence was so clear that they considered silence the best course to pursue in the affair.

to obtain their ends by the power of reason and justice alone, not as you have done, exercise a despotic power because you are strong, and we are weak and defenceless; you invade our territories as a bandit or a marauder would at the dead hour of the night, without first having recourse to the established rules of diplomatic negotiation; and with an armed force you seize a suspected man; we have treaties with you, yet how, then, do you convince us of their nullity? You place before us your Colony on our father's shores, as a model of freedom for the African; and the elevation of our caste, of justice, of protection from violence, yet you inflict upon us these unendurable wounds, these unjustifiable acts of aggression.

The cutting of a road through the Maroon lands at a place called King Toms, to his own farm, without permission or sanction of the possessors of those lands, thus violating the rights of private property in his official character, without remuneration or recompense for the damage sustained in the act, was another unjustifiable offence.

As for my own grievances I now freely forgive him; but how I so effectually succeeded in making him at last my enemy, I never could learn—because when he held the respectable but humbler station of staff surgeon, we were upon the the most familiar and friendly terms, and I was frequently the recipient of his successful attendance and advice—unless that his being a proud and accidentally advanced man, he expected a homage, which a recollection of my superior origin did not permit; true I gave him cause to maintain his displeasure by exposing a corrupt and shameful abuse of his delegated authority, but not until his untiring persecution had inflicted deep and incurable wounds; however, when I was about departing he appeared to relent, and proffered services, fearing that my destination was ultimately England: but as he is now no more I shall be silent as to the cause of his fears.

I left for New Orleans 13th December, 1845, without any report at that time being abroad of his intention of quitting the Colony, yet, such are the vicissitudes of life, ere I reached the Gulf of Florida, on my way to England, he was immortal, and “the living dog is now better than the dead lion.” That the injuries of the living should be sacrificed by silence to the guilt of the dead, I must again repeat is a moral fallacy—“the evils which men do justly live after them,” if the life protect the living from its effects: but once it has been exposed, let it change place with the poet's version, “be interred with their bones.” So farewell, Fergusson, fare thee well! thou hast the ocean for thy grave, Atlantic's depths conceal thy bones; but should the waters roll them to my foot (in time to come) upon some distant shore, I'll give them burial, and, kneeling on the turf, pray for thy spirit's peace.

If Sierra Leone is to be retained, surely it deserves the guarded and watchful vigilance of the home minister in the reformation of so many abuses which have crept into its government, and some measures devised to improve its condition in a political as well as a moral and a commercial point of view. The due and impartial distribution of public appointments, without respect to colour or caste, amongst the natives would have a tendency to raise them from that low, depressed, and degraded posi-

tion which they inwardly seem to labour under, simply because they are black and not white. The entire remodelling of the judicial system would lead to the conviction of the security of life, right, and property; a general and systematic plan of Government education, the establishment of book societies and reading-rooms under proper management, with a due supply of the cheap and useful publications of the day. The establishment of a public journal,* in which politics and controversial subjects might be wisely avoided, would be of incalculable benefit not only to the Colonists but to the mercantile interests there and at home. A library exists in the Colony, but it is of so exclusive a character that the African cannot partake of the advantages, being confined to the favoured few of the Europeans. The encouragement of agriculture is also well worthy of the attention of Government—establishments for the manufacture of sugar, cotton, indigo would give encouragement to native industry, and open new sources of wealth and benefit to the revenue and exports of the Colony. All these articles are found to abound and flourish in the Colony, as well as coffee, Indian corn, &c.; the indigo plant infests the very streets and by-roads of the neighbourhood, yet none of these are turned to any useful account whatever; † whilst the foreign and commercial relations might be improved and extended by the placing of resident British commissioners within the territories of the neighbouring kings and chiefs, thereby widening the sphere of our influence politically, and extending our com-

* In the year 1845, a newspaper, edited by Captain J. Benet, and supported by a confined circle of the gentlemen in town, was set on foot called the M. S., with the motto "*Nemo me impune lacessit.*" The origin of the rise of the journal was in consequence of a letter, signed "Colonist," from the pen of Mr. Benet, appearing in the columns of the missionary register, the *Watchman*, complaining of the neglect on the part of Governor Fergusson in permitting some French agents to make contracts with the chiefs in the River Mallicouri for produce, to the injury of the British merchants of the Colony. When the article appeared it was found so altered and mutilated that the author could scarcely recognise it; some time afterwards it transpired that the editor of the *Watchman* had, previous to its insertion, sent it to the Governor, from whom it received revision and correction. Captain Benet was so justly displeased at this proceeding on the part of the missionary editor that the M. S. appeared; it, however, had a short existence, as there was no press, and it had to be written by a copyist, appearing once a fortnight. Several native copyists were first employed when the writer's services were solicited; but the most unpleasant part of the affair, the remuneration, small as it was, never was wholly given to him, and what was given was at the order of the Commissioner of the Court of Request.

† In the Mandingo territory, a little distant inland, on the opposite side of Sierra Leone river, there is *one mile square* of ground belonging to the Colonial Government, for which is annually paid out of the Colonial chest a certain amount of money to the King Bey Sherbro as rent or tribute. As far as I could learn it was formerly a location for liberated Africans from the Colony, and from some cause or other abandoned. What is to prevent this portion of ground being employed for some useful purpose as model farms for the cultivation of produce; if not, why retain it at an unnecessary and an expensive draft upon the public chest, which it has been for so many years? And, with the exception of the late Governor, Colonel Macdonald, who despatched two commissioners in 1843 to report upon it, no notice whatever appears to have been taken of its existence.

merce generally, for the benefit of the Colony itself. A commercial mission, undertaken under the auspices of Government or mercantile enterprise, through the Timmannee, Mandingo, and Soosoo countries, Fanta, Iallou, the great marts of trade, Sego, Sansanding, and Timbuctoo, would unfold new sources of wealth which would more than repay the expense of the undertaking, whilst a clearer geographical knowledge of the interior of this imperfectly known continent would make an addition to British science, adventure, and research.

Having already spoken on this subject so freely, it is unnecessary to dwell further now upon it. The Government cannot be accused of having neglected, at least attempting these or similar measures of improvement. The measure of Cooper Thomson, whilst partaking largely of a missionary nature, was one step in advance, though on a too narrow and limited scale; and if it did not succeed to the sanguine expectations formed of it, instead of languor in our future endeavours, it ought to excite us to a fresh and more vigorous prosecution of them. There was at one time a premium for encouraging the natives in the production of cotton, by the placing £10 with each of the managers of the respective districts to purchase what was cultivated and raised, and there was found no want of application or success of the object hoped for. The great want is, encouragement and direction of native talent and industry to elevate the condition of the African on his own soil. If we have not had that encouragement afforded in the prosecution of the enterprise of civilising and infusing the elements of the British constitution so as to make Sierra Leone the grand key to the regeneration of the Africans and the more distant Mahomedan nations in the interior, we must not now despair. Difficulties have existed, over which the hardest battle has been fought; the climate, the greatest obstacle, is yearly becoming less deadly by the prosecution of a wholesome system of drainage and the erection of bridges to carry off the heavy rains, which before became stagnant pools with decayed vegetable matter—the never-failing source of malaria, fever, and death. Let the sanitary condition of the Colony be duly attended to by the authorities, and Sierra Leone will, in due time, become a place of comparative health to the European, and lose that dread with which the newly-arrived too often is impressed on his arrival on its shores. The local Government first demands reformation and attention from the Home Colonial Minister; and, surely, if the infantine Colony of New Zealand, which as it were but yesterday emerged from barbarism to a state of civilisation, has the watchful and guardian care of the Noble Earl,* surely Sierra Leone, the theatre of England's benefaction and humanity, appeals a thousand times louder, that its interests and welfare should not be neglected at the present epoch in her history. It is the scene of the philanthropist's exertions; for to hold the Colony solely on political grounds is an expensive and futile object: if no other object than this were in view, it would be better to leave it to its fate, and sigh with regret for our past sacrifices.

* Grey.

The sacred cause of humanity is here involved, and where the ministers of peace have an endless field of labour in holding the cross and the olive-branch of peace before a pagan and benighted people, we must proceed onward in our career for the welfare of Africa, trusting to the guardian care of the Great Governor of all things, the onerous duties of a Christian legislature will have been fulfilled. Our nation will be handed down to posterity with an undying fame, and in future ages the sable sons of Africa may yet erect an imperishable monument to England's greatness and her glory.

It may not perhaps be entirely uninteresting, or be deemed egotistical, to state the end of my voyage from Africa, although, in doing so, my reader must, with me, wing his way across the broad Atlantic to the New World. While the writer is not disposed to quarrel with the Americans as individuals, the hospitality and kindness of whom he has more than once experienced during a sojourn amongst them in the years 1835 and 1836, he cannot but express feelings of honest reprobation and indignation at that foul blot of slavery which is so strange an anomaly in the institution of a State professedly called the land of liberty or freedom.

The reader is already informed of my departure from Sierra Leone, in the last stage of ill health; it was in the good ship "Frankfield," William Mitchell, commander, than whom a more brave or more kind seaman never led an ocean life. Under his kindness, and the attention of the medical officer, Mr. W. Nicholson, my health progressed for the better. We ran through the windward West India Islands, sighting most of them, and made New Orleans on the 25th of January, 1846, after a pleasant passage of forty-three days. Here I had intended to remain through the southern and mild winter, in comparison to that of England; but finding myself in a yet weakly condition, and having become disgusted at beholding the difference between this southern pandemonium and Sierra Leone—where, with all its faults, 'tis sacred to the cause of humanity and freedom—here, where the poor slave is exhibited for sale, and driven through the streets in coffles, brought up with sanguinary Cuban bloodhounds, and the merciless American master—where law and justice is evaded, the assassin's use of the poniard and bowie knife frequent, the Sabbath desecrated by unholy and unhallowed amusements, theatres, balls, gambling, the hired prostitution of the creole slave by her master, lust, licentiousness, villany, and vice, parade the streets at noon-day—when I beheld the mighty Mississippi's waters, bearing on her expansive bosom immense cargoes of produce (and, must I confess it?—to England) wrung from the very sweat of the slave by the infliction of the torturing lash and galling chain, I could not but think that the awful visitation of mortality with which this city is annually scourged is a just and divine retribution from heaven upon her for her malefactions and misdeeds—where the pestilential blast of inhuman bondage mars the fair and noble works of God, the rights of man are set at nought, and real liberty becomes a mockery, a mere phantom. My

stay here continued but eleven days, when, having received every kindness and assistance from Her Britannic Majesty's Consul, Mr. W. Mure, I took passage in the ship "Victoria," W. McMahon, commander, on the 1st of February, 1846, courting the breeze to waft me from the shores of this leviathan monster of a mock republic to my native land, the refuge of the oppressed, the home of the exile, and the land of the free, arriving on the 12th of March, 1846, where, through the aid of a merciful Providence, I have at last recovered from the effects of a long residence in an African climate; and, seasoned as an African oak, I am ready once more to dare the climate, either in the service of my country, or to use my humble but determined effort to widen and extend our commerce through her fruitful valleys, and explore her mines of unembowelled treasures of the precious ores; and, with past experience, I trust, a wiser, a better, and a more useful man.

A SKETCH OF THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD.

BY L. A. A. DE VERTEUIL, M.D.

AN accurate knowledge of the country which we inhabit can never be an uninteresting subject, even should such knowledge have no other end than the gratification of our curiosity; but it becomes of great importance, if considered as conducive to general improvements and industry. I therefore beg to offer to your readers the following topographical sketch of my native land, as yet so imperfectly known to its inhabitants, together with some remarks on its soil, natural productions, and capabilities, solely with a view to agricultural purposes.

The Island of Trinidad is evidently a geographical dependence of the neighbouring Main, but has been classed among the Antilles or West India Islands. As a British Colony it is next in extent and importance to Jamaica, and lies between $10^{\circ} 6'$ and $10^{\circ} 51'$ N. latitude and between 61° and 62° longitude W. of Greenwich; it bears the form of a parallelogram, and its western shore bounds the Gulf of Paria, to the formation of which it greatly contributes by enclosing the same on the north and the south within two projections towards Point la Pena and the Delta of Orinoco. A series of small islets establishes a natural connection between the N. W. projection and la Pena, four channels or *bocas* permitting a communication with the gulf, and known as the Dragon's Mouth. The S. W. projection is likewise connected with the Delta of the Orinoco by a succession of low-sunk reefs, known as the Wolves, and a rock in the centre of the channel called the Soldier; this passage has obtained the designation of the Serpent's Mouth; the N. W. projection is thirteen miles from la Pena, and the S. W. seven miles from the Delta.

The N. W. projection is mountainous and precipitous, the S. W. flat and sandy, as known at Point Hicacos. On the eastern coast, and cor-

responding to these, are to be found Cape Galera and Cape Galeota, the former bold and high, the latter hilly; between these two capes and from north to south are Points Salibea, Manzanilla, and Mayaro, nearly equally distant from each other, and from Capes Galera and Galeota respectively, so that the eastern coast is divided, as already observed by Mr. John Carter, into four distinct sections; the Cumana section, the Oropuche section, the Cocoa-nut Walk, and the quarter of Mayaro. Opposite to Manzanilla and Mayaro Points, and within the gulf, are to be found Barrancon or Gravelly Point, and Point à Pierre or Stony Point.

The general length of the island from north to south is 52 miles—its breadth, exclusive of the projections, is 38 miles, whilst from Cape Galeota to Point Hicacos it is nearly 69 miles; its area is estimated by the best authorities as above 1,200,000 acres; its population may be averaged at from 65,000 to 70,000 souls, which gives the exceedingly low population of one inhabitant to five acres, or 36·50 to one square mile, whilst the population of the small island of St. Bartholomew, in the same archipelago, is 365 inhabitants, and that of Barbados 800 to one square mile.

On the northern, eastern, and southern shores there are very few bays or havens which can be termed safe or easily accessible. However, I may notice the bay of Guayaguayare on the S. E., immediately to the leeward of Point Galeota, it is only available for small vessels under 50 tons, in consequence of a pebbly bar running across the entrance of the bay. On the northern coast may be mentioned the bay of Las Cuevas and Maraccas bays or coves, exposed to the northerly winds; on the eastern coast, the Cumana Bay and the Balandra and Salibea Coves; a rather dangerous anchorage at Point Manzanilla and the open bay of Mayaro; on the S. there are Moruga and Erin Bays. On the other hand, the whole Gulf of Paria may be considered as a vast harbour, perfectly safe in all seasons, but rather shallow off the coast of Trinidad, except at Cedros, La Brea, Point à Pierre, Carenage, and Chaguaramas. This latter port is a sort of natural dock, deep and safe in all weathers and from all winds; it is formed by the extremity of the N.W. projection and some small islets, the largest of which is Gaspari Grande. Were Trinidad ever to rise to that state of prosperity for which it seems evidently destined by nature and its advantageous situation, the port of Chaguaramas may become of the highest importance.

Three distinct chains of mountains divide Trinidad into two river basins, their direction being parallel from east to west, the central middle chain, however, is inclined to the southward. From its regular elevation, the northern chain may be considered as the most important; some of its summits being from 2,500 to even 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. The southern range is supposed to be the least considerable, and gradually decreases towards Cape Galeota and Point Hicacos; the middle range runs from Point Manzanilla to Point à Pierre: almost in the centre of this range Mount Tamana rears its lofty form, and from the gulf appears like an insulated peak in an extensive plain; but when observed from an elevated position it is perceived to be evidently in connection with the middle chain.

From this particular position and direction of the treble range, the Island of Trinidad is divided into two parallel valleys, which are in like manner subdivided into two smaller sections. The northern basin is distinctly subdivided into two smaller ones, a tableland extending between the Cuaré and Aripo rivers. The eastern section may be called the Oropuche section, from the river Oropuche, which rises in the northern range, and has its mouth north of Point Manzanilla; the Cuaré, la Seiba and Tururé rivers flow from the northern range, incline to the east, and embranch into the right bank of the Oropuche, as also from the middle range, the Guayea, Cunapé, Savana Grande, and Sangre Chiquito, which themselves receive a number of smaller tributaries. The western subdivision may be called the Caroni basin, the river of the same name is formed by the junction of the Guanapé and Aripo, which latter river may be considered as the source of the Caroni; it receives from the north the St. Joseph, Tacarigua, and Arouca rivers, the Arima, being an affluent to the Guanapé, and is supplied from the middle range by the Cumieta, Cumpuno, Arena, and some smaller streams; its course is more extensive than those of the Oropuche.

The second tract is likewise subdivided into two minor basins which may be called the Guataro or Ortoire and Great Lagoon basins. The Ortoire is the largest watercourse in the island; that part of the island which it traverses being but imperfectly known, it is rather difficult to trace its exact origin. However, I will avail myself of the information contained in the very able report addressed to Sir Ralph Woodford, by Mr. John Carter, for a description of this river. The Ortoire may be supposed to have its sources in the Monserrat hills, being formed by the junction of the Guanapure and the Caranache, flowing from north to east, then it receives, a few miles below, the Anapo, which runs from west-south-west, and must originate in the southern range; it is much more considerable than either the Guanapure or the Caranache; the Lagoon Mahault falls into the Ortoire on the left bank, and appears to proceed from the direction of Mount Cumana. From the beach to the confluence of the Anapo, the river is very irregular, its course being 18 miles, whilst it is only seven miles in a straight direction; the Ortoire might be rendered navigable for boats and barges as far as the Anapo; it discharges its waters into the ocean, immediately to the northward of Point Mayaro. It may be conjectured from what has been just said, that but a small proportion of water will find its way to the westward; and this is the fact, as but insignificant streams disembogue into the gulf, such as the Siperá, Oropuche, and some others.

The water-courses running to the north and the south are mere rivulets, and I will only notice the Rio Grande on the north and the Moruga on the south. There remain two rivers which I consider worthy of particular mention, these are the Lebranche and the Guaracara; both rise in the middle chain, and flow seaward between two ridges; the Lebranche to the east, immediately south of Point Manzanilla, and the Guaracara to the west, between Point à Pierre and San Fernando. I must also notice the river Mitán, or middle river, so called because it has its outlet in the centre of the Cocoa-nut Walk; the Mitán is a sort of

natural drain or out-fall for a succession of lagoons spreading at the base of the eastern portion of the middle range. The mass of water it receives is considerable, but its total length is little more than three miles; it runs closely parallel to the beach. Mr. F. Carter observes that the Mitau and Nariva are two distinct rivers, the Nariva, according to his opinion, running parallel to the Nitau, but in a northerly direction; rivers traversing spongy swamps and mangroves, it might be conjectured that a connection exists between them by means of some subterranean communication or otherwise filtration; this opinion may find a confirmation in the fact that the waters of the Mitau and Nariva are stagnant, and also from a similarity of result at the Grand Savannah. Between the mouths of the Le Branche and Nariva is now to be found a considerable stream called Carter's River, it having been formed by the waters rushing from the lagoons through a small drain cut by that gentleman some years since.

As to the particular nature of the island waters, they are either clear, yellow, or dark; clear and limpid near the mountains, yellow and turbid in the plains, and brown or dark near the sea and in the low lands. I may here observe that the streams from the centre are turbid, which circumstance leads me to the conclusion that the middle chain is mainly formed of argillaceous schistus; those from the northern range are clear and limpid, as also the waters of the Mitau, though otherwise. The dark rivers which disembogue into the ocean, invariably present at their mouth a bar thrown up by surf; but such as discharge into the gulf, are obstructed by a cape or shallow, which sometimes extends seawards further than a mile, as is the case with the Caroni; these obstructions are formed and yearly augmented by the accumulation of logs, trees, and other alluvia, carried on by successive floods of the rains; the bars and shallows on the mouth of our navigable streams may be considered as almost insurmountable obstacles to the internal navigation.

NARRATIVE OF A JOURNEY OVERLAND FROM THE PLAINS OF MONAROO, NEW SOUTH WALES, TO MEL- BOURNE, PORT PHILLIP, AUSTRALIA FELIX.

At the close of the year 1840 I made preparations to leave my station at Monaroo, with all my live stock, for Adelaide, South Australia, a distance of 1,600 travelling miles, *vid* Yass. These consisted of 7,000 sheep, 600 head of wild cattle, and 20 horses. I laid in a store of flour, sugar, tobacco, clothing, and every other requisite for five months' consumption for 22 men, which was to be transported by five drays, drawn by eight bullocks each. I calculated the journey would take me only three-and-a-half months to accomplish, but I prudently provided for a longer period, as there was no knowing what casualties would happen

to the party driving so large a number of animals before them in an unexplored country.

In my party were two young gentlemen who joined it as assistants. On Monday, the 26th October, 1840, all engaged in the expedition were on their feet by daybreak, the men preparing their breakfast, and we superintending for the day's journey, which was rarely to exceed 15 miles. Everything being in readiness, I gave the order to advance. The two gentlemen had charge of the cattle and horses, and I undertook the management of the sheep and drays. The cattle, in one mob, preceded the sheep, which were classed in ten flocks. As the latter covered a very large space of ground, I soon found it was no sinecure office to superintend their travelling. The heat was excessive during the middle of the day, which made it impossible for the panting sheep to travel between the hours of 12 and 2 p.m. During this time they would cluster round the trees in small parties, and no exertion on the part of the shepherds, nor of their dogs, could induce them to move on so long as the almost insupportable heat continued. As by general consent, the expedition would come to a dead stand-still. I usually ordered the working bullocks to be unyoked, and allowed them to feed upon what they could pick up in the neighbourhood. So soon as the atmosphere was a little cool the sheep were set in motion, and I proceeded in advance of the whole party for the purpose of selecting the night's camping ground, where there might be an abundance of water and plenty of fire-wood, as well as feed for the cattle and horses. The drays would now leave the sheep and push forward to the spot I had chosen to encamp for the night. The tent would then be pitched, and all made as comfortable as our means would allow. A deal box, containing a change of clothes, formed our table, and a few large stones usually served for chairs. A fire near the tent was soon made, and those of the men who were not in attendance upon the stock, proceeded to collect fire-wood and arrange their own sleeping apartments, which were under the drays, being protected from the weather by means of a tarpauling thrown over the vehicle. Some, also, were occupied in preparing for the night's repast of the whole camp. Towards dusk the cattle would be brought to within a few hundred feet of the tent, and in a very short space of time would be seen to lie down. Fires were lighted at a short distance all around their bedding ground (to scare away the troublesome native dog), and two men would set up all night to watch them. The sheep, in flocks, would take up a position so as to encircle the cattle, and they again were surrounded by fires and watched in like manner. The working bullocks and horses would be sent to graze at a short distance from the camp, and, to prevent their straying home, were also attended by a man, whose duty it was to keep them in view, lest they might wander back to their old run. The watch being thus set, the men were enjoined to repeat the superintendent's call of "All's well" every half hour. The call, being made from the tent, was, or should have been, answered by all the men on duty. Sleep, after the fatigues of the day, would, however, send some of the watchmen into the arms of Morpheus, and then, of course, no reply would be made to the call; it was the province of

the superintendent of the watch, on those occasions, to find out who was asleep, and proceed to the spot to awaken him. The watches were from eight to twelve o'clock at night, when the men were relieved by a fresh set, who kept it until four o'clock in the morning. The camp at night was a novel and very interesting sight. Our first night proved a most disastrous one, and the men in consequence were disheartened; for no sooner had the night's watch been set than it came on to rain in torrents, and continued so long that it completely washed us out of our tent. All our beds and bedding, clothes, provisions, &c., were completely saturated; the fires went out; and, as the wind was violent and cold, we passed the remainder of the night in great discomfort.

At daybreak we perceived our camp to be in complete confusion, and we all looked wretched in the extreme. During the storm upwards of twenty aged sheep had perished—the shepherds could not possibly keep them in flocks in consequence of the fires having been quenched by the rain, so that they got mixed, and the weak being trampled upon by the stronger ones caused their destruction. As early as possible the party moved on breakfastless, and halted during the day upon high and dry ground where we cooked a meal and dried our bedding and clothes. Nothing particular occurred during the two following days and nights, but on the third we had a second edition of the first, being again completely drenched to the skin by the pitiless storm which raged from sunset until twelve o'clock on the following day. We were all out of sorts—wet through and through, without the means of procuring a change of linen—and covered with mud and dirt; and thus we travelled over a broken country and dense scrub, unknown to any of our party: but we were guided through it by a pocket compass, without which little instrument we should not have found our way to Yass. At this village I was doomed to encounter fresh difficulties and vexations, for the men, in spite of all my vigilance, abandoned their flocks at night—found their way to the public-houses and drank to excess. The sheep became again mixed and some were lost. I preferred a charge of intoxication against seven of the men, and they were consequently locked up in the watch-house. Their cases were heard before the police magistrates on the following morning, and each of them were fined 10s., or in default committed to prison for as many days. As they were ill-disposed men I did not choose to pay the fines for them, but allowed them to suffer for their dereliction of an important duty. Other men, with much difficulty and delay, were hired in their places, and the expedition was once more on the forward move. After this affair all behaved tolerably well for some time. At our third day's journey from Yass we encamped, from necessity, where there was but indifferent feed for the working cattle, and the man who had charge of them for that night did not return with them at the appointed hour in the morning, which prevented our quitting the camping ground at the usual time. I sent men in all directions in search of the missing man and cattle. The horses were fortunately within reach, and saddling one of them I also scoured the bush far and near, but up to two o'clock in the afternoon I could gain no tidings of them. I became very uneasy and extremely anxious, as

the loss of the bullocks would not only have involved a serious sum* to replace them; but the detention on my journey was a matter, if possible, to be avoided. Independent of which, it was feared the blacks had driven away the bullocks and speared the unfortunate man. The sheep, in the meantime, were faring ill, as there was but little for them to eat in this neighbourhood.

At about five o'clock, however, to our great joy, we heard from the camp the approach of some few heads of cattle, which proved to be our missing bullocks attended by the man who had had charge of them. The poor fellow was half famished when he reached the tent; he kept the beast, he said, in view from the hour he left until that at which he returned, but it was with difficulty he could do so, as they roved about in search of food the whole of the night and took him an immense distance away, and that in a country, too, to which he was a perfect stranger. It surprised us greatly how he found his way back to us so soon as he did. He explained that having taken particular notice of the various land-marks, he was thus enabled to retrace his steps, thereby proving himself a good bushmen. To prevent further disappointment and consequent delay, I caused the errant bullocks to be yoked up for the night. Here my favourite horse, Bachelor, † disengaged himself from his halter and escaped into the bush. I was, in him, deprived of the services of a most valuable animal which I had purchased in Sydney expressly for the long journey before me. Just as we had broken up the camp, previous to our departure from this spot for that day's travel, a messenger on horseback rode up and delivered me letters from my partner, who had received discouraging advices of the sheep market from his Adelaide correspondent, and recommending me to change my route to that of Melbourne, Port Phillip, where the stock would, in all probability, be disposed of at better prices. Thither, then, I made up my mind to proceed with all convenient speed. The distance to Melbourne was now only 540 miles, which I calculated upon reaching in about six weeks. A few days' journey brought us to the Murrumbidgee river, which we were to cross. The cattle were, without much difficulty, made to swim to the opposite side. A boat was procured from the landlord of a public-house close by, whose man rowed it, whilst one of my own, jumping in, held a long rope in his hand which was fastened round the neck of one of the horses, and being driven into the river, swam alongside of the boat until he gained his footing on the opposite banks—in this manner all the horses were taken across. The sheep were next tried but they early showed a disposition not to trust *their* fleecy bodies in the running stream, and it was not until after each flock, separately, had been vainly urged to take to the river that we abandoned the further attempt for that day.

The drays were now unloaded, and the goods, or rather our supplies,

* A pair of working bullocks were then selling at Melbourne for £50, my twenty pairs were consequently worth £1,000.

† Bachelor was subsequently brought to me, after I had reached Port Phillip, by a friend from Yass.

conveyed across by means of the boat, and the former were subsequently floated over by lashing several empty water-casks to the axletree. The cattle, horses, drays, and provisions were thus on the opposite banks of the river, whilst all the sheep remained on this side.

At sunrise we again endeavoured to get the sheep across, but in vain; they would not face the water, and after a fatiguing day's work, we gave up the task a second time, hoping that by persevering on the morrow we should be more successful. The day came, and the attempt was made; but yet the sheep could not be induced to swim. A fourth and a fifth day came and went and the sheep were still on this side of the river. We then tried them by moonlight, and afterwards caught several rams, tied cords round their horns, and dragged them into the river (having previously placed a flock of sheep at the water's edge) under the impression that on all occasions, and under any circumstances, those gregarious animals would "follow my leader." No such thing! Not a step towards going out of their depth would they move, although men and dogs were shouting and barking at their heels. Another scheme was suggested. A number of lambs were caught and taken in the boat to the opposite bank, and their mothers brought to the bed of the river, thinking that the bleating of the young would entice the parents to join them; but that failed too. During the sixth and seventh days of our being encamped at the river, I would not allow the sheep to have any water, and but little food, as I hoped their being half-starved would remove the difficulty we had experienced in driving them into the water; the experiment, however, was as unsuccessful as those previously resorted to; and, as a last resource, it was agreed that on the eighth day we would endeavour to *force them all across by bodily strength*. Having selected a spot favourable for the attempt, I placed a number of men in the river (the water rising to their chins) and driving from 200 to 300 sheep at a time to the river's edge, all the men who could be spared, joined hands, and, encircling about 50 or 60 at a time, fairly swept them into the stream, the men already stationed in the water guiding them when they were afloat to the opposite side; and thus, after four days more of indefatigable industry and perseverance, were the 7,000 stubborn sheep (with the exception of about 25 which were drowned) made to cross the formidable Murrumbidgee. Most of our party were up to their necks in water from four o'clock in the morning until late in the evening. We rested the whole of the following day, as we required some repose after our great exertions.

Several days after this occurrence we came to a river called the Hume, or Murray, where we had precisely the same difficulties with the sheep as those we encountered at the Murrumbidgee, being obliged to force them across, which delayed the expedition upwards of five days, notwithstanding we were here assisted in our labours by a tribe of blacks, numbering about 200, including women and children, all of whom aided us in getting the sheep into the water; their services were of great avail, and I rewarded them with some tobacco and a few eatables. At the river Goulburn, however, where we fully expected to meet with the same delays and obstacles, no sooner had the sheep *smelt* the water at a

distance than they rushed onwards, and, flock after flock, bounded into it, and all reached the opposite side in safety, and that, too, in the short space of *ten minutes!* This was the last river we had to cross. We had now reached a district where the blacks were waging war against the white people, slaying their cattle, killing their sheep, burning their huts, and even spearing the settlers. My men took the alarm, and refused to proceed unless I armed them with a musket each (of which weapon I had about 20 stand). I yielded to their entreaties, but begged they would not make use of them unless I was present, as I should be made answerable to the authorities for their deeds in the event of their meeting with a hostile tribe of blacks, and blood were shed. As I headed the party, which I frequently left in search of water and a camping-ground, I armed myself with a double-barrelled rifle and a brace of pistols, but which I never discharged, except at a native dog or two; nor had the men occasion to use their arms, not having fallen in with any of the dreaded blacks. I deemed it prudent, however, to set a double watch during the early part of the night, to prevent the possibility of being surprised by them. We had, it will be seen, no opportunity of displaying our valour, but we travelled on tranquilly, and ultimately reached our destination on the afternoon of the 10th of March, 1841.

G. C. S.

CEYLON AND ITS CHIEF TOWN.

COLOMBO, the capital and seat of the British Government in Ceylon, is situated on the north-west coast in $6^{\circ} 57'$ north latitude, and 80° east longitude, and 368 miles south-west of Madras. It is a commonly received opinion that the name was derived from a mango tree (of that species which the Singhalese call Colamba), which stood conspicuous at this place in olden times. Knox adds, that the Portuguese in compliment to Columbus, the celebrated navigator, changed it to Columbo, or Colombo. This etymology is, however, inadmissible; for in the Singhalese grammar, "*Sidahartha Sangraha*," the word Colamba is explained as signifying "a seaport," and also "a fort;" and in the former sense it seems to have been applied to the metropolis of the island, from its maritime situation. The fort of Colombo is situated on a small projection of land washed by the sea, about two-thirds of its extent. Though not very extensive, it is strong, both by art and nature, and embraces a circuit of nearly a mile and a quarter. The ramparts are very strong, having eight principal bastions, and a number of lesser ones with curtains, banquets, and parapets communicating one with the other all round. At the foot of the ramparts, on the inside, is a broad way, which extends round the whole fort, and communicates with the bastions and soldiers' barracks, and also affords, at the different

angles, open spaces for their private parades. The whole of the fort is surrounded (except that side which is next the sea) by a deep ditch or fosse, and adjoining the covert way, and at the foot of the glacis, is a lake having communication with the Mutwal river. In the interior of the fort are several straight and regular streets, with smaller ones crossing at right angles; the former being ornamented with double rows of sooria trees, which afford a delightful shade. The residence of the Governor, the King's House, is in King-street, and behind it is the Lighthouse, a beautiful edifice of late erection—the light of which is ninety-seven feet above the level of the sea, and in clear weather may be seen as far as the light is visible above the horizon. All the military offices, as well as those of the Colonial Secretary, the Commissioner of Revenue, the High Court of Appeal, the Vice Admiralty Court, with the General Post-office, are within the fort; there are besides an English church styled St. Peter's, a library, a medical museum, a hospital, two hotels, and numerous shops.

The lake at the back of the fort, before alluded to, almost insulates the town, connected as it is with the Mutwal river by canals; and a lock having been formed at St. Sebastian's, the inland navigation is carried through the fort to the sea beach. In the centre of the lake is a tongue of land, denominated Slave Island, from the use to which it was applied by the Dutch. It is numerously covered with cocoa-nut and other trees, which afford an excellent shade. That part nearest to the fort is very cool, being only separated from the sea by an isthmus, usually called the Galle Face. Communication from this place with either the town or the fort is very easy by land, passing over a very pretty little stone bridge, which opens to the south end of the Galle Face, near the village of Colbetty, or by boats which cross the lake in all seasons. Slave Island is the head quarters of the Ceylon Rifle Regiment, and there are some tolerably good houses, usually occupied by the officers of this regiment.

Colombo has a small harbour in the form of a semicircle, but it is not capable of admitting vessels exceeding 200 tons; ships therefore of larger burdens are anchored in the roads. During the prevalence of the south-west monsoon (from April to October) the best anchorage is found in from seven to eight fathoms, with the Lighthouse bearing south by east half-east, and the Dutch church east by south; and in the north-east monsoon (from November to April) it is more convenient to anchor in six-and-a-half fathoms, the Lighthouse bearing south, or south half-east, and the Dutch church east south-east.

The town, or pettah of Colombo, is regularly built, and divided into fifteen streets, of which eight run east and west, and the others cross them at right angles. Each street has its particular name, which is generally notified in a conspicuous manner at the corner. The houses are built of cabook, and neatly whitewashed with chunam; some of them have two stories, and all are lofty, and present rather a good appearance. In 1814 the number of tiled houses within the gravets, was estimated at 2,654. By virtue of a regulation, No. 5, of 1820, an assessment was imposed for lighting and repairing the streets; the

amount collected from 1820 to 1829 was £6,542, of which £2,140 was laid out at interest, with the view to accumulate a fund; and by the regulation No. 8, of 1830, it is arranged that four-fifths of the amount collected shall be applied to the lighting and repairs, and one-fifth to be added annually to the accumulation fund, to be lent out at interest under the direction of a committee. When the interest amounts to £1,200 per annum the tax is to cease.

Among the public buildings may be named the Supreme Court-house, the offices of the provincial judge, magistrate, and fiscal, a gaol, and a cutcherry, where the collector of the district transacts business; but none of them merit particular notice. There is also a library belonging to the Burghers, a smallpox hospital, a masonic hall, two theatres, and a number of religious edifices. The Wolfendahl Church (usually called the Dutch Church) erected by the Dutch Governor Gollesse, in the year 1746, is a lofty building in the form of a cross, and stands on a hill in the centre of the town. It belongs to the Presbyterians, who are chiefly descendants of the Dutch, and has an excellent organ; but there is so powerful an echo in the building, that the words of the preacher are almost unintelligible. By order of Sir Robert Brownrigg, the remains of several Dutch Governors, who had been interred in the fort, were removed, with every mark of respect, and deposited in this church. The Malabar Episcopalian Church, called St. Thomas's, stands likewise on a hill, near the Chitty's quarter, the front facing the sea. It is a neat building, erected by Sir Robert Brownrigg; and to this was added, principally at the expense of his pious lady, a commodious school-room for the use of the children belonging to that class of inhabitants. The church was first opened for divine service on the 28th of July, 1816. St. Paul's Church, which belongs to the Portuguese Protestants, is a neat structure, near Kayman's-gate, and was opened on the 1st of September, 1816, having been built by subscription, chiefly through the zeal of the late Archdeacon, Dr. Twisleton. In the quarter occupied by the Washermen stands their church, and, besides this, there are several other places of worship, in the suburbs of the town, belonging to the established religion. There are numerous chapels belonging to the Roman Catholics, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Baptists. The principal chapel for the Roman Catholics is situated in the suburbs, and is called St. Lucia. The Vicar-general resides here, and the annual conference is held on the 15th of August, when the missionaries (who belong to the congregation of the Order of St. Philip Neri of Goa) are changed from one station to another. The Wesleyan Chapel is about a mile from the fort, and in form an amphitheatre (after the model of the Brunswick chapel at Liverpool), with three rows of elevated seats nearly all round. It is finished in that style of neatness and simplicity, suitable to a Missionary place of worship, and is capable of accommodating from five to six hundred auditors; it was opened on the 22nd of December, 1816. The Hindoos have two temples, one in the Silversmith's quarter, and another in Sea-street, but they are neither splendid nor richly endowed, as on the continent of India. The Mahomedan mosque at

Marandhan presents an appearance of grandeur, but the one in the Moor's quarter greatly exceeds it in splendour, having a beautiful minaret in front.

There are several bazaars, or market places, for fish, flesh, fruits, garden herbs, &c. There are also two steam-engines, and several native presses used for manufacturing cocoa-nut oil.

The population of Colombo is composed of Europeans, Burghers, Malabars, Singhalese and Moors, besides some Malays, Chinese, Parsees, Caffrees, and Pattanys. The numbers have been exaggerated by different authors—Percival and Cordiner reckoned it in 1804 at 50,000, and M'Culloch, adopting this estimate, supposes it now to amount to 60,000; but by a table published in the *Colombo Journal* in 1832, the actual number is fixed at 31,519 only.

The commerce of Colombo, both external and internal, is very extensive, and daily increasing. The exports to Europe are cinnamon, pepper, coffee, cocoa-nut oil, plumbago, cordage, arrack, cardamums, elephant tusks, deer horns, tortoise shells, ebony, satinwood, &c.; and the imports are cotton piece goods, flannel, hosiery, hats, wine, beer, brandy, hams, salt provisions, confectionary, perfumery, chocolate, preserves, snuff, earthenware, cutlery, glassware, ironmongery, stationery, paint, oilman's stores, medicines, and, in short, everything of European manufacture. The exports to the British Colonies consist of arrack, coffee, arekanuts, copperas, cocoa-nuts, hookah shells, coir, niper laths, bêche-de-mer, shark fins, fish oil, &c.; in return for which are imported rice, paddy, wheat, cloth, silk, sugar, spices, drugs, &c., &c. A trade is carried on with the interior, both by land and water, the Kalani Ganga being navigable for a considerable distance from its mouth. By this source great quantities of goods are at first received, and afterwards dispersed through the country. Some intercourse is carried on with the Maldive Islands, but the cargo of the prows which arrive from thence chiefly consist of cumblemas (fish).

The district dependent on Colombo embraces an area of 1,472 square miles, with 203,242 inhabitants, of whom 65,193 are employed in agriculture, 6,060 in manufactures, and 10,388 in commerce. There were formerly many slaves, the greater part of them, however, have been manumitted by their masters, and the number of those who have not yet shared this benefit amounts only to 267.

The climate of Colombo is considered very salubrious: the air is at all times pure and healthy, and the mean daily variation of the temperature is from 76° to 86½° Fahr. Rain often falls in torrents, and is generally accompanied with dreadful storms of thunder and lightning.

Colombo is mentioned in Singhalese history as early as the year 495 of the Christian era. Moogallaana, who afterwards reigned at Anoor-aadhapoor, is said to have landed here with an army from the continent, and erected a fort. About the year 1374 it was frequented by trading vessels; and a Colony of Malabars, under Aarya Chakrawarti, took possession of the place and threw up fortifications; but they were soon expelled from it by the minister Alakaiswara, who founded the city of Cotta in the neighbourhood. The Portuguese did

not visit Colombo until 1518, in which year their General (Lopez Suaar Alvarenga) arrived with a fleet of nineteen ships, and, after some ineffectual opposition from the Singhalese, erected a fort, and forced King Dharma Prakrama Bahoo IX., then reigning at Cotta, to submit, and also bind himself to pay an annual tribute of 120,000, or, as some will have it, 250,000lbs. of cinnamon to King Emanuel. Soon after, the Singhalese, roused to resentment by the tyranny of the Portuguese, assembled an army of 20,000 men, invested the fort, and kept it in a state of siege for the space of five months; but the Portuguese receiving succours from Goa, proved victorious, dispersed the enemy, and compelled the King to sue for peace. The first fort which the Portuguese erected at Colombo was composed of clay and stone; but in 1520 they constructed fortifications of a more regular and solid kind, which, however demolished in 1524, according to orders which had been received from Portugal; and instead of a military station, formed only a factory, in which they left a factor, a secretary, and fifteen men to carry on their mercantile concerns. A Moorish chieftain, informed of this reduction in the establishment of the Portuguese at Colombo, made an attempt to take the place by stratagem, and carry off those who had been left in charge of the factory; but meeting with an unfavourable reception from the King, he abandoned the undertaking and returned to the Malabar coast, from whence he had come. On the representation of these circumstances to the court of Portugal, reinforcements were sent to Colombo, and a new fort being erected in lieu of that which had been demolished, the Portuguese established themselves firmly at the place, and by taking part in the contests between the King Bhuwenera Bahoo VII. and his brother, Maaya Dunnei, obtained quiet possession of the place, and extended their influence gradually over the whole island. In 1656 the Dutch wrested it from the Portuguese after a siege of seven months, and expelled them from the coast, and it remained in their hands until 1799, when they surrendered it to the English under Col. Stewart and Capt. Hyde Gardner, R.N.

The above account of Colombo was compiled by Mr. Casie Chitty in 1832, since which time vast and varied changes have occurred. Even while Mr. Casie Chitty's book was passing through the press, much of its contents was rendered obsolete by the new Charter of Justice, copies of which he appended to his work. Amongst other institutions subverted by the Charter was the High Court of Appeal, of which mention is made as sitting in the Fort. It was swept away, and we have now a Supreme Court with three judges. The Court-house is situated on an eminence in the heart of the town, called Hulisdorp. New buildings are now in course of erection at an estimated cost of £10,000. The Judges, now unlike those of the High Court of Appeal, only *administer* the laws, which are framed by the Executive, with the aid of the Queen's Advocate and his deputies, and passed by the Legislative Council. The Judges are aided by a highly respectable bar, and the Chief Justice is also Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court. The Charter alluded to has itself been modified to a very great extent within the last few years; district courts in many places being abolished in favour of

police courts and courts of request, over whose proceedings the control of the Supreme Court is extremely limited. The District Court of Colombo, the Court of Requests, the Fiscal's Office, and the Debtor's Jail adjoin the Supreme Court-house. The Police-office is situated in Small Pass, nearer the Fort. A splendid new prison is in the course of erection at Wellicadde, on the plan of the Pentonville Prison, where about 200 criminals, even at present, *labour and learn*. A new lunatic asylum has been built close to it, to which the unfortunate beings, heretofore herding with the lepers at Hendelle Hospital, have been recently removed.

Recent observations place Colombo flag-staff in latitude 6°56'6" north, longitude 79°49'48" east. For the following Memoranda respecting the temperature and weather, we are indebted to the Ceylon Calendar for 1847:—

GENERAL NOTES OF THE WEATHER AT COLOMBO MEAN TEMPERATURE ABOUT 80° FAHR., MONTHLY VARIATION NEVER EXCEEDING 3° FAHR.

January.—This month may be conveniently taken as the commencement of the meteorological as well as of the civil year. The rains which accompany the setting-in of the N.E. monsoon are usually just over, the soil is moist, the sky is clear and the nights cold, with an along-shore or land wind blowing, which must be guarded against.

February.—The along-shore wind (a strong parching wind from the N.E.) often continues to blow the greater part of this month night and day. It carries off the moisture of the ground and the skin rapidly, and gives rheumatism, &c., to those who expose themselves incautiously to it. The difference between the wet bulb and the dry thermometer sometimes amounts to 12°.

March.—The dry earth now receives far more heat from the sun than it parts with by evaporation or terrestrial radiation. The weather is becoming very warm. The calmness of the ocean, however, and the alternate sea breezes by day and land winds by night give a pleasing variety. But the heat is oppressive compared with that of the rest of the year.

April.—Indications of the approach of the S.W. monsoon are to be observed in a ground swell in the sea and S.W. breeze more steady than the sea breeze of last month; the temperature, however, continues to rise, and all who can afford it obtain leave or escape, and are among the mountains some time ago.

May.—By the middle of this month genial showers usually begin to fall. The wind is steadily in the S.W., and towards the close of the month there are usually thunder and lightning every afternoon in the S.W. with heavy showers, each preceded by a squall.

June.—It now rains heavily with squalls from the S.W. The sky is often clouded for a fortnight, but it seldom rains twenty-four hours without intermission.

July.—The rains are now over, and a steady S.W. wind blows day and night, perfectly balmy and innocent, the difference between the wet and dry thermometer seldom exceeding six degrees.

August.—Weather, the same as July, but somewhat warmer, in consequence of the smaller amount of evaporation.

September.—Weather, the same as July and August, but still warmer, in consequence of the still smaller amount of evaporation. These months are usually cool, however, compared with March, April, and May; and towards the end of this month, heavy showers usually fall, which are thankfully accepted.

October.—The first half of this month is usually marked by rains which are very heavy, though of short duration. By these the air is cooled and the soil refreshed, though extensive inundations often result.

November.—The pleasant weather of the latter part of October is usually continued to the middle of this month, when thunder clouds gather every afternoon in the N.E., and night rains fall, followed by land winds. It is the N.E. monsoon.

December.—The rains from the N.E. of the preceding month, often continue during this, usually with much thunder and lightning, and with alternate sea breezes and land winds, so that the new year usually sets in with the soil saturated with moisture, and colder than at any other time, from the enjoyment of which, however, the along-shore winds now set in, and blowing fresh detracts not a little.

The principal diseases are dysentery, affections of the liver, and intermitent fever, whose proportionate frequency is indicated by the order in which we have placed them. Cholera, and small-pox, generally make their appearance epidemically, once or twice a-year, but the former does not assume the virulence by which it is marked in other parts of India, and even of Ceylon. Colombo, on the whole, may safely be pronounced one of the healthiest, if not the most healthy station in the island. The space comprehended within what are called the gravets, is about eight square miles, the limits being the Fort, Tankesalgade, Mutwal (mouth of the Kalany river), Pass Betal, Oerogodewatte, Maligawatte, Demettegode, Marandhan, Cinnamon plantation, Colpetty, and Galle Face. The term *gravets*, is a corruption of a Singhalese word, *caddewette*, meaning the boundaries of a city. Strictly, we are given to understand, it meant at the ancient Kandian capital, the limits within which certain low castes, such as Rhodiyas, Gahaleyas, Kinnerayas, &c., without the special consent of the Prime Minister, or unless the occasion of certain religious ceremonies called for their presence and services, could not approach. The Portuguese corrupted the word into *garvette*; the Dutch, in their harsh language, called it *gravetten*, and the British modified this into *gravets*.

We have failed in all our efforts to procure a correct account of the population, but we are satisfied it may now be safely estimated at from 40,000 to 45,000. Of these about 500, perhaps, are Europeans, and 2,500 are European descendants, excluding the military. The latter, with their wives and families, number about 1,000 more, giving a total of about 4,000 whites. Of the coloured population fully two-thirds are Singhalese; the larger proportion of the remaining third are Tamils, or as they are called at Colombo, Chetties; the rest are Moormen, Parsees, &c. Perhaps a fourth of the population profess Christianity; the vast

majority of the fisherman being Romanists of the old Goa School. Within the last few years a division has taken place, and a new and more liberal-minded sect has arisen, numbering amongst its adherents some wealthy and influential individuals. Colombo is studded by large and handsome Romish edifices erected chiefly with funds contributed by the fishermen. By the Protestants, aided by Government, Trinity Church for Episcopalians, and St. Andrew's Church for Presbyterians have been built since Casie Chitty wrote. The religionists rank numerically somewhat as follows :—Buddhists, Gentoos, Romanists, Mahomedans, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Baptists, Fire-worshippers, &c. Strange to say, the first class have no temple within the gravets of Colombo, although there is a celebrated one at Kalany, seven miles from the fort, on the spot whence Buddho arose when he performed his celebrated feat of leaving the imprint of one foot on Adam's Peak and the other on a mountain in Siam.

The fort of Colombo mounts 126 guns and 6 mortars, and is at this time garrisoned by a European force consisting of 40 officers, 42 serjeants, 16 buglers, and 780 rank and file—Europeans. The Gun Lascars and the Ceylon Rifles are stationed on Slave Island. The latter regiment, consisting of Malays, Seapoys, and Caffres has been recently augmented and part of it removed to China. The head quarters in Colombo at present include 25 officers, 36 serjeants, 13 buglers, and 600 rank and file. A recruiting party has proceeded to Mozambique to enlist 500 Caffres who are to receive the pay of Europeans. Colombo in a state of siege would require 6,000 troops to defend it, (if defended it could be); and could, in case of emergency, accommodate 10,000 persons. When the Governor is not a military man the forces are commanded by a Major General, who usually resides at Kew-house, a pleasant dwelling on the verge of the beautiful artificial lake which adds so greatly to the appearance and health of Colombo.

Kew-house, ever since the British took possession of the island, was the residence of the officer commanding the troops. It was formerly called "Blanker's Garden," having belonged to a Dutch major of that name. In 1810 it was occupied by the commanding officer of the 3rd Ceylon regiment, and afterwards by that of the 4th Ceylon regiment. In 1812 or 1813 the ground was converted into a botanical garden, under the care of Mr. Moon, and the botanist occupied the house. On this establishment being broken up and transferred to Peradenia, the house and ground reverted to the military, and have ever since been considered as appropriated to the commander of the forces. Sir Hudson Lowe, Sir John Wilson, and Sir Robert Arbuthnot successively occupied the house as a military quarter.

The "United Service Library" contains a good selection of books and maps, but within the last two years the institution has lost a large body of supporters. The merchants and others not connected with "the Services" could only be admitted by ballot, and as "honorary members" were deprived of a voice in the management of the institution and the disposal of the funds, the humiliation was too much to be borne. The merchants and other independent inhabitants seceded,

and a new Hall of Commerce is now nearly completed in connection with which a library is to be established; sufficiently liberal, we hope, in its constitution to admit all persons of respectability and intelligence. "Assemblies" are occasionally held in the rooms of the Library. The museum attached to the Medical Library is situated in Hospital-street and is well deserving of a visit. There is a large and varied collection of specimens of natural history. The Department of Minerals is especially rich, but in "most admired disorder." The institution should be better known and have more attention paid to it. The Pettah Library is a very respectable institution, with a large collection of books—the subscription is only 1s. per month, but parties pay higher according to their means and inclination. It is to be regretted that as yet natives are not admitted, and that they have not formed a library of their own. Amongst the institutions formed, and buildings erected, since Mr. Casie Chitty wrote, are the two Banks—the Ceylon and Oriental. The buildings are side by side in Queen's-street, nearly opposite the Queen's-house, which they completely eclipse in appearance. The Savings' Bank is at this moment the subject of Legislative discussion, and in its rooms meet periodically the members of the newly formed Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Instead of the solitary mail coach running thrice a week, when the Gazetteer was compiled, there are now two coaches every day to and from Kandy, and a mail coach between Colombo and Galle. In addition to all this a railway is about to be formed to connect, in time, the maritime and mountain capitals.

The Council-room faces the fort esplanade, and is, externally and internally, a handsome building. It is, however, to be regretted that the decoration of the interior has resulted in producing an echo that renders speakers in the Council-room as inaudible as those in the new House of Lords are said to be. The Colonial Secretary's Office is beneath the Council-room, and almost all the other Government offices adjoin it. The cutchery or office of the Government agent, is about a mile from the fort, pleasantly situated and looking out upon the lake. New and excellent barracks, capable of lodging 200 men, were built in the time of Governor Stewart Mackenzie, and of late years a great deal of attention has been paid to the health and comfort of the troops. There are three or four hotels within the fort—the Royal Hotel (formerly the Government Rest-house) a really splendid one. The Lighthouse and the Lock at St. Sebastian's were constructed by Sir Edward Barnes, whose statue, recently erected, stands facing that chief monument of his energies, the noble road to Kandy. A number of beautiful private residences have of late years been erected along the sea shore at Colpetty and in the Marandhan cinnamon garden, on which has been mapped out the plan of a future city. The Rifle Mess-house on Slave Island, at the entrance to the Cinnamon-gardens, is a very handsome building.

The poor are cared for. There is a pauper hospital in the Pettah, a dispensary recently established, and a Friend-in-Need Society. A school commission is energetically at work training schoolmasters,

founding schools, and preparing educational works. It is intrusted with the expenditure of from £8,000 to £10,000 annually. The head quarters of the Church Mission is at Cotta, a beautiful spot about seven miles out of Colombo. There is an association connected with it in Colombo, as are also auxiliaries to the Societies for Propagating the Gospel, and for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge. Colombo has recently been created a bishop's see. We have already spoken of the Romanists as being a large body—or rather bodies. The old lights glory, as they have long rejoiced, in a bishop—the new lights content themselves with a vicar general. A gentleman of great intellectual attainments ministers to the Scotch Presbyterians. The Dutch Presbyterians, a large and respectable body, have, as chaplain, a countryman of their own, who combines the advantages of an English and Dutch education. The Wesleyans are a very respectable body. Mr. Gogerly, their senior missionary, is, perhaps, the best Pali scholar, and the most thorough master of the Buddhistical system now in existence. The Baptists, who have laboured in Ceylon since 1812, have one European missionary stationed in Colombo, with a number of chapels and schools. This is the only Christian body that on principle declines assistance from Government, for either religious or educational purposes. At the Orphan Asylum the children of European soldiers and others are boarded and educated, and a portion of £10 is given with each girl on her marriage.

The scene on landing at the Custom-house during business hours is one of great and incessant bustle—boats, bullock bandies and coolies hurrying to and fro—coffee, cinnamon, and cocoa-nut oil being shipped; cotton cloth from Britain and India being valued and passed, and grain from India and Arracan being landed and measured. 1837 was the year in which coffee planting commenced in real earnest, and the increase in the trade of Colombo since that period has been rapid and great.

(To be continued.)

THE AUSTRALIAN WOOL TRADE.*

BY WM. WESTGARTH, ESQ.

THE importance at present assumed by the Australian wool trade in the lists of British commerce demands some degree of attention in the history of an Australian settlement. I shall therefore devote the present chapter to a short account of this branch of commerce, in its capacity both of an export from the Australian Colonies and an import into the British market.

In the year 1836 the quantity of wool exported from Sydney amounted to 3,700,000 lbs. weight. The proportion for the Port Phillip district,

* From a new work in the press on Port Phillip.

included in this amount, could not, at so early a period of her existence, have exceeded 60,000 lbs. weight. Five years afterwards, the annual produce had attained to 1,578,000 lbs.; and the lapse of a similar period, bringing us down to the year 1846, exhibits the astonishing quantity of 7,400,000 lbs.* During this interval of ten years the quantity of wool exported from Sydney, exclusive of any from Australia Felix, had increased from three and a half millions to nearly twelve millions of pounds weight.

The importation of wool into the British market appears, indeed, like the rise of the Australian Colonies, to be but a business of yesterday, and one, among numerous other instances, of the wonderful extension of modern commerce. In 1820, the quantity imported was under ten millions of pounds weight; in 1845, it had risen to seventy-six millions. The proportion from the Australian Colonies in the former year was the one hundredth part; it now forms nearly one-half of the whole importation; † and at the steady and rapid ratio of the present increase of Australian wool, the lapse of a few years will exhibit a quantity far greater than the united total of the wool at present imported into Britain from every quarter of the world. The following table exhibits the respective averages, in round numbers, for each period of five years from 1826 to 1845; the numbers representing millions of pounds weight :

Average of years.	Foreign Wool.	Colonial Wool.	Total.
1826-30	25	2	27
1831-35	34	4	38
1836-40	44	10	54
1841-45	36	22	58
1846	34	30	54

This table illustrates the extraordinary progress of the Colonial production, three-fourths of which are derived from Australia and Van Diemen's Land.

The periodical public sales of Colonial wool, which now occupy so important a position among the commercial occurrences of the British capital, date their origin only so lately as the year 1817. The prices at that time, and for some subsequent period, were only from 2d. to 3d. per pound; and it was not until twelve or fourteen years afterwards, that any important advance took place in the value of this commodity. The

* The wools occasionally sent from Port Phillip by way of Sydney, and appearing in the Customs' returns, as Sydney exports, are here allowed for. The season or year is taken as ending on the 10th October, as the usual date of 31st December falls in the midst of the wool shipments, and cannot fairly represent the quantities and ratio of progress of each year.

† In 1846, the relative quantities imported into Britain were, in round numbers, 34 millions of pounds of foreign wool and 30 millions of Colonial. For the present year the Colonial may be safely assumed at somewhat more than half the importation.

fine quality of the Australian wool began soon after to attract notice, and in 1835 and 1836 to excite the attention even of foreign manufacturers. From very small beginnings the extent of the periodical auction sales gradually increased. An unprecedented number of 750 bales was announced for one series of sales in 1825; and for some years afterwards 400 bales were considered to form a very extensive sale. But in July, 1835, 8,746 bales were brought forward, realising for the better qualities the considerable rates of from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 8d. per pound; and at the sales of the same month in 1844, there were exposed no less than 31,358 bales.*

The celebrated wools of Australia are derived from two principal breeds of sheep, the Merino and the Saxon. The former is the finest in quality, but it may be doubted if an adequate price has been hitherto derived to compensate for the lighter weight of the fleece. In the Sydney district attention was chiefly bestowed on the Merino, in Van Diemen's Land on the Saxon; and the Port Phillip district received a share of both, as the Colonists from either locality transported their flocks to her pastures. This mixture of breeds was still further increased by occasional crosses with the Leicester and South Down. In fact, from the numbers of inexperienced persons who entered on the occupation of sheep-farming in this new settlement, and, without any fixed principles, carried on a mere random system of breeding, the greater portion of the wool consists of every shade of quality that natural accidents could produce. The abundant pasturage of Port Phillip appears also to affect the pure Merino wool of the Sydney district, which, in the former locality acquires a more open appearance, loses somewhat of its fineness, and increases about a quarter or half a pound in the weight of the fleece. The average weight of the good qualities of Port Phillip fleeces, after washing, is from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.; of the Sydney fleeces about $2\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. There has been for several years a desire to introduce a greater uniformity of quality in the fleeces of each particular grower, and on the whole an inclination to adhere to the production of the finer qualities of wool.

The shearing of the sheep usually takes place at an early period of the season, in order both to secure a supply of water, and, if possible, of a running stream for the washing of the fleece, before the summer's drought has set in, and to avoid the grass seeds and burrs that attach themselves to the fleece towards the middle of summer, and are very abundant in many of the sheep pastures. In dry and warm localities a commencement is made so early as the month of September, but, in general, October is the busy month all over the country. Owing, however, to the number of shearers required at this period, and the usual scarcity of labour in these Colonies, the clipping of many of the

* This included a small quantity of foreign wool. The proportion from Australia and Van Diemen's Land on this occasion was 26,134 bales. The early sales were held at Garraway's, and continued there from 1817 to 1843, when the locality was transferred to the Hall of Commerce, where they still continue. The first bale at the first sale, from the novelty of the circumstance, realised 10s. 6d. per pound.—*Mark Lane Express*, 7th, 14th, and 21st October, 1844.

flocks is delayed for one or even two months beyond the appropriate season. The present rate of wages is 12s. 6d. per hundred fleeces, besides an ample ration to each shearer. An expert hand will shear fully 100 sheep in a day. These labourers usually form themselves into bands or gangs, each of which takes some particular locality, and makes the round of the various stations.

The fleece is generally washed before being shorn, and greater efforts are made in Australia Felix, and in the Colony at large, to produce a snowy fleece than the Colonists have hitherto obtained credit for, or the appearance of the greater part of their wool would indicate. But many have no running water on their stations; with others the water-holes are muddy, or are shortly made so in the washing process; and the high price of wages operates variously against all improvements. The plan of spout-washing is now generally adopted where practicable, and consists in pouring down from the elevation of a few feet a jet of water upon the sheep, as they are successively brought under the stream for that purpose. Where the fleece has been moistened for several hours previously, the spout-washing process is usually very effectual.* The sheep are never shorn immediately after washing, but a certain interval, according to the state of the weather, is allowed for the yoke to rise again in the wool; and during this period, which is usually about three days, the sheep are either confined in some house constructed for the purpose, to prevent the soiling of their fleeces, or, as more commonly happens, they are merely placed on some clean portion of the run. The return of the yoke imparts a softness to the wool which shows it to greater advantage, and further benefits the settler by increasing the weight of the fleece. In localities where the washing cannot be conveniently accomplished, or in cases where the sheep are severely affected with the scab, the fleeces are shorn *in the grease*, and afterwards scoured or washed by hand in town.

The wool is now ready to be packed and despatched to the port of shipment. Each fleece is cleared of the locks and clippings or other unseemly portions, and is usually tied with a piece of string, and tightly squeezed into bags containing about one hundred each, or from 250 to 300 pounds weight. The ponderous bullock dray is now yoked to its team of eight or a dozen oxen, and charged with an ample load of the golden fleece, is despatched from the station on its annual and protracted mission to the port of shipment.

The wool on its arrival in town is now generally classed and repacked at an establishment for that purpose, unless this process has already been competently performed at the station. The classification distinguishes only the entire fleece; it is not attempted to proceed to a minuter distinction of qualities by breaking the fleeces. When intended for sale, the wool on its arrival in town is conveniently exhibited in the

* In the Sydney district, what are denominated the "crack lots" of wool are produced by very careful washing. Some are said to make use of tepid water. In the rage for improvement, the use of soda has been tried to correct the hardness of the water; and I have heard of a settler even plunging a cask of that material into the ocean of a water-hole.

various bins of the sorting establishment, and its quality and condition fairly ascertained. At the establishment of the Messrs. Bakewell, in Melbourne, the wool is assorted first into the two leading divisions of clothing and combing, and each of these descriptions is run out into five qualities, the fifth or lowest being the coarse Leicester breeds. Extra fine lots, are classed by themselves, *super-greasy*, or *kempey*, or other defective fleeces, are also classed apart. The charge for sorting is $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per pound. The usual charge for hand-washing is 1d. per pound on the weight returned, and for scouring 1d. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound. The system of repacking is also of use in exposing any wet or damp that the wool may have acquired on the way from the interior, in which condition it is in danger of heating and even of originating fire in the hold of a vessel during a lengthened voyage.

The shipping season for the Australian staple commences towards the end of October; but only a few solitary drays have succeeded in reaching town during that month. Considerable quantities have arrived by the end of November; and during the two succeeding months there is a continuous succession of vehicles pouring with their voluminous loads into the various ports of the district.* These arrivals begin to fall off in February; but during that and the two succeeding months considerable quantities continue to be shipped, including the later shorn fleeces of the young lambs. The shipment of other exports, which are comparatively of unimportant amount, terminates with that of the wool. A solitary vessel may linger till July or August, when the transactions of the season are finally closed.

Thus nearly all the export produce of the district is shipped or is ready for shipment during about four months of the summer, namely, from the middle of November to the middle of March; and there is in consequence a periodical alteration in the rate of the exchange on London. During the shipping season, the numerous drafts of the Colonists are disposed of to the local banks, or to other purchasers, at a rate which of course declines from a par exchange according to the relation between the supply and demand. During the remainder of the year, when few or no drafts appear in the market, the rate of the exchange is reversed. The range between either extreme was wont to be very considerable several years since, amounting occasionally to seven and even ten per cent; at present it is seldom more than four per cent.

Where the country settler is not disposed to sell his produce in the Colonial market, he usually obtains an advance upon it, to nearly the extent of its value, from a merchant, who consigns the produce for sale, on the settler's account, to his friends in Britain. The drafts of the merchants on their principals are generally accompanied by the bill of lading of the produce against which they are made; and the local banks, mindful of the calamitous scenes from which the Colony has so lately emerged, adopt the further precaution of advancing to their customers

* There are five shipping ports in Australia Felix; namely, Melbourne, or its port of Williamstown, Geelong, Portland, Belfast, and Port Albert, or Alberton, in Gipps' Land. The quantity for the present year (1847) may be estimated at about 28,000 bales, of which five-sixths are shipped at Williamstown and Geelong.

only from three-fourths to four-fifths of the market value of each export.

The following, from a late number of the *Sydney Herald*, may be well appended to the above :—

Our two time-honoured competitors in the production of fine wool, Spain and Germany, have been fairly beaten out of the field. The climate and pasturage of these Colonies, and of the congenial settlement at the Cape of Good Hope, backed by the energies of their Anglo-Saxon race of flockmasters, have more than compensated for our greater distance from British markets. We have been enabled to supply a good article—in vast and ever-increasing quantities—and at prices which, notwithstanding the cost of carriage, have, through our facilities of production, left us a remunerating profit, but which our ancient rivals have found to be insufficient to replace prime cost.

But although Spain and Germany have ceased to vie with us as sellers of the raw material in England, they have done so only to renew the contest in another form. They have enlarged their manufacturing operations. Since they can no longer sell the fleece at a profit, they have resolved on working it up in their own looms. To that extent, therefore, they will cease to import wrought woollen fabrics; and in so far as their imports were from Great Britain, there will be a corresponding decrease in the British consumption of our wools. The woollen cloths imported into those two countries from Great Britain in the year 1841, amounted in declared value to £1,026,481 sterling; and if we add the quantities imported in the same year into Holland and Belgium, the amount will have been about a million and a half. We must, therefore be cautious, as prudent men, not to allow our spirits to be too much exhilarated by the apparent victory we have gained over 'our hereditary enemies,' seeing that, though seemingly vanquished, they have but shifted their position and varied their tactics.

A judicious writer says, in 1844—'Of late years, cottons have, from their cheapness, in a great degree superseded the lower qualities of cloths; a circumstance which, joined to the increasing rivalry of France, Germany, and Belgium, renders it improbable, unless new markets shall be opened in China or elsewhere, that much extension will in future be given to our manufacture of woollen cloths.'*

Whilst, however, the Spanish and the German woolgrower have thus ceased (or are expected very shortly to cease) to compete with us as exporters to England, another competitor has sprung up in a new and quite unexpected quarter. In addition to corn, bread stuffs, rice, tobacco, cotton, sugar, and an endless catalogue of 'notions,' in which brother Jonathan has hitherto prided himself as a mighty producer, he has now taken it into his head that he can breed sheep and export wool on a large scale. And it would seem that in England his whim has by no means been thought whimsical. For, say certain Liverpool brokers to him, under date of 3rd September, 1846—'The arrivals of wool from the United States last year, for the first time to any extent, made quite a

* Waterton's "Cyclopædia of Commerce," p. 672.

sensation in this country, as it was generally considered that you required to import these qualities, and there was no knowledge that your growth of wool was of such importance. *We have seen it estimated at sixty-five million pounds*;* and from your vast (and to us almost incredible) means of production, we believe *it will cause a kind of revolution in the wool trade.*'

Jonathan's own opinion of the matter, is thus expressed through the medium of the New Orleans *Commercial Times* :—"Wool can be grown as cheaply, and to as great advantage, in the cotton-growing States as in any part of the world. There is nothing in the climate to prevent it. If it may be found desirable to grow that of the finest grades, it can be done without fear of the animals becoming covered with hair in a few years." He has evidently some misgiving, however, as to the policy of his attempting the finest grades, for he immediately subjoins, "However, we are inclined to think that wool of a coarser quality will be found most profitable, mutton being also an object with us."

If the United States already produce four times the quantity of wool that we do, and if there is a reasonable chance of their producing it of a quality equal to ours, and at no greater cost, then have we indeed much to fear from their formidable rivalry. The vast extent of their territory, the almost illimitable resources of their soil and climate, the indomitable spirit of their citizens, combined with their proximity to the British market, will render their competition, if successful at all, successful in no ordinary degree.

"Wool," says another Liverpool correspondent, addressing an American, "requires in its production *great attention in crossing the breed*, otherwise the quality degenerates very quickly. The maintenance of its fineness depends also very much on the nature of the pasturage on which the sheep graze. And we may remark, that *your own samples are of a particularly good kind.*"

Here is a word of encouragement for the Americans, with a word of caution for the Australians. Of the two requisites for the production and preservation of a superior staple, one, suitable pasturage, is bountifully supplied to the Australian grower by nature, whilst the other depends upon his own industry and skill. In this, it is to be feared, he has scarcely been just to himself. He has possibly presumed too much upon the natural advantages of the fine sheep-sustaining country in which his capital is staked. It will be well if this note of warning from the land of stars and stripes, shall rouse him to a more vigilant attention.

* The quantity of wool exported from New South Wales, including the district of Port Phillip, in the year 1843, was 17,564,734 lbs.

THE STATE OF OUR WEST INDIA COLONIES.

WE have been loth to touch at length upon the state of our dependencies in the West, from a desire to see what they would be disposed to say and do for themselves; but we have not the less espoused their cause, and given publicity from time to time to their grievances; and although we are not among the favoured publications to whom their resolutions are sent, we have their welfare at heart, and are but too happy to promote their interests by any means in our power. The West India papers are now again teeming with complaints, with petitions, memorials, and reports of meetings; and a proposition is before the several Colonies to have a meeting of delegates at the Island of St. Thomas, to consult upon the best means of averting the danger with which they are threatened under the operation of the new Sugar Duty Bill.

This is as it should be. Let there be a combination in their agitation; let them send home a few clever and well-informed men to advocate their interests; let them make common cause, and they will assuredly be heard and listened to. Whereas, all their petitions and memorials are but mere waste paper to fill the lumber shelves of the Colonial office, unless backed by persevering, energetic, and influential advocates.

We have before us the last Report of the Chamber of Commerce of Jamaica, just issued, upon the present condition of that Colony, the causes of its depression, and the remedial measures necessary to restore its prosperity, which we shall give in full. It is as follows:—

Since the publication on the 1st July, 1846, of the last report of the Acting Committee to the Chamber of Commerce, on the Sugar Duties Question, an important change has been effected in the policy of the British nation with respect to her sugar Colonies, which has already superinduced a depression the most alarming over every interest connected with Jamaica. When the Committee last made its report, the perilous change to which it now refers, was merely in anticipation, and the committee could only dwell with anxious forebodings upon the probable results of a policy, the manifest tendency of which, if carried out, would be seriously to endanger the commerce as well as the agriculture of this important Colony.

It seems unnecessary at this time to show, at length, the paramount claims which the West India Colonies possess to the sympathy and consideration of the British nation. Those claims have been set forth in terms so clear and incontrovertible in the able Memorial* from the Assembly of this Island to her Most Gracious Majesty, passed during

* Published in our June Number, vol. xi., p. 200.

the last Session, that the Committee will only refer to that valuable paper as evidencing all that need be maintained under this head.

The Committee, therefore, will confine its attention—

First—To the practical results of a free trade policy as applied to Colonial productions, exhibited in the condition of the commercial and agricultural interests of the Colony during the first year of its modified operation.

Secondly—To a consideration of the means by which that condition has been effected, and of the several causes which have combined to create it; and,

Thirdly—To a suggestion of the means by which that condition may be improved, and the ruin at present impending, be averted.

And first, what have been the results of the first year's operation of the reformed commercial policy adopted with reference to Colonial produce?

When the Committee last made its report, the Colonies enjoyed a protection to the extent of 9s. 4d. a cwt. on their sugars, as against foreign produce, not being the growth of slave countries, upon which latter the old prohibitory duties were still maintained. The admission into competition with Colonial produce of foreign free-labour sugar was a concession to popular demand, against which, although Jamaica might have well protested on the ground of her inability to compete with densely-populated countries, such as Java and China, she, at least, could not demur on the score of principle. The Colonies felt this concession as an inroad upon that protection which was guaranteed to them at the time of that great revolution in their social condition which the British nation thought it right to impose upon them for humanity's sake; but so long as the hallowed principle was maintained that freedom should not be pauperised by slavery, the Colonies had no ground of complaint that those commercial principles which were deemed wise and politic at home should be cautiously applied to the several dependencies of the Crown abroad.

Certainly, if faith could be placed in the declarations and avowed principles of public men, the Colonies had no reason at that time to fear that the broad principle of morality and justice, laid down by the great practical convert to free trade, Sir Robert Peel, upon the sugar question, as distinguished from any other question to which free trade was applicable, could for many years at least be broken through. The Colonists viewed that settlement as a final one, calculated to increase, to a sufficient extent, the supply of sugar in the British market, and, at the same time, by an increasing competition, so to keep down the prices of Colonial sugar, as to render the partial monopoly reserved to the Colonies altogether harmless. But they were deceived. Change was followed up by revolution, and the Colonies now no longer possess any privilege in their natural market, in which the foreigner does not equally participate, with the trifling exception that, during a limited period of five years, a differential duty, commencing at seven shillings and receding to a cipher, is levied upon the sugar of the slave holder. This system, which came into operation on the 5th of August, 1846—too late a period of that year

to have any sensible effect on the sugar market—may be said to have practically commenced on the present year, when the second phase of the measure became operative, and foreign slave sugars were admitted into the British market on payment of a duty only six shillings a cwt. above that levied on British Colonial produce. It has, however, been very clearly shown that, from the difference in value between the sugars of this island and those of foreign countries, the extra duty of six shillings a cwt., at present levied on foreign Muscovado sugar, does not in reality afford a protection to that extent to British plantation sugar, which is practically only protected to the extent of 3s. 6d. per cwt., a difference which will almost vanish with the next annual change in the foreign duties.*

The results of such a system have been startling, but they were anticipated by the report of this Committee to the Chamber, in July of last year. The effects then anticipated have well nigh been realized: "In such a contest," reported the Committee, "the British Colonist, especially under his present unfavourable position, will be the first to give in, and once beaten out of the market, it would be difficult for him to re-enter it." It is impossible not to see that the British West India planter is already almost driven out of the market, and that he has been, to a considerable extent, superseded by the foreign slave holder, whilst even yet enjoying a nominal protection of six shillings per cwt.

A consideration suggests two views of the question as it affects the existence of West India property. First, as regards the consumption, and secondly, as regards the price, of British West India produce.

It is a remarkable circumstance that, although the depression of the money market in Great Britain has been greater during the present year than at any period since 1825, the consumption of sugar has been greater than ever it was known to be. The Committee will not here inquire into the causes of such an increased consumption at a period of such avowed distress. That inquiry will more properly belong to the next branch of this report. It is sufficient for the present purpose that authentic returns exhibit an increased consumption of sugar in England during the first twenty-nine weeks of the present year, as compared with the same period of 1846—that year exhibiting the largest consumption ever previously known—of no less than 582,316 cwts. Now the Colonies have been accustomed to look to increasing consumption in England as synonymous with increasing prosperity to themselves; and with good reason. They were taught to do so by experience. No one, who has read the history of the Colony for the last half a century, can be ignorant of the distress to which the West India interests have at various periods been exposed by their redundancy of supply over consumption. So lately as the year 1833—a year so memorable in the annals of these Colonies—we find no less an individual than the present Lord Stanley, in his place in the House of Commons, as Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, introducing the following remarkable

* See last half-yearly report of the Acting Committee to the Standing Committee of the West India Body.

passage into the powerful speech with which he prefaced the resolutions which doomed slavery to extinction:—

“ One cause of the distress of the West India planters,” said the Right Honourable Gentleman, “ is, that, possessing the monopoly of the English market, they have gone beyond its wants; and they can no longer obtain such a price as will repay them for the cultivation of their estates. The amount of sugar at present imported exceeds the consumption by 1,000,000 cwts. annually. The consequence of this enormous excess of supply over the demand is, that the monopoly, as respects the planters, is a dead letter, and the price of their produce in this country is necessarily regulated by the price of the same article in the European markets. Nothing, therefore, can effectually relieve their distress short of enabling the consumption of England to come up to the produce of the Colonies, or of reducing the amount of production in the Colonies to the amount of consumption in England. Various objections have been raised against the taking any steps for the conversion of the slave population into a population of free men. In the first place it is said that the effect of any such measure will be greatly to diminish the amount of production, and to render the cultivation of sugar impracticable. Now, as far as the amount of the production of sugar is concerned, I am not certain that it will not be for the benefit of the planters and the Colonies, in the end, if that production were in some degree diminished.”

It is unnecessary for the Committee to dwell for a moment on the strong inference which the Colonies were justified in drawing from the remarkable passage here quoted, that if, as predicated, a decreased production were, “ in the end,” the necessary result of “ the conversion of the slave population into a population of free men,” the monopoly to which the Colonial Minister referred should not be wrested from them as the penalty of such a consequence. Neither is it necessary here to declare, that the result of that measure has been a frightful decrease in the production of sugar in these Colonies; or, that this decrease was made the pretext for admitting foreign slave sugars into competition with the produce of the British Colonies. The experience of the last few years may, perhaps, lead Ministers, on a re-consideration of their Colonial Secretary’s observations in 1833, to the more just conclusion, that the inadequate consumption of that period might, with greater advantage to all interests, have been adjusted to the redundant supply, by a decrease of the heavy war-duties then levied on Colonial produce, than the Colonial supply violently brought down to the home consumption, by the abstraction of a very large proportion of the available labour of the Colonies.

But increased consumption, which formerly was justly looked upon as evidence of increasing Colonial prosperity, no longer necessarily bears that character under the new commercial system; for whilst Great Britain, during a period of almost unparalleled difficulty, has increased its consumption of sugar to the extent previously stated, the same returns show that the consumption of British plantation sugar has decreased during the periods instanced, by no less a quantity than 35,924 cwts., although the supply of Colonial sugar is larger than at any period since

emancipation. The secret lies in the fact that the consumption of foreign slave sugar has, during the same period, increased by no less a quantity than 550,991 cwts. ; in other words, 27,500 tons of slave sugar, equal in value to half a million of money, have displaced the same quantity of Colonial produce, which the British Colonies could and would have supplied but for the combined effects of Lord Stanley's method of reducing Colonial production to a level with consumption in 1833, and Lord John Russell's Bill of Pains and Penalties, because of that reduction, in 1846.

The result, therefore, of free trade in sugar, as it affects consumption, has been to diminish that of British free growth, and to increase that produced by slavery. Its effects on prices must necessarily be in proportion to the limit in its demand. This has already been evidenced in the depreciation of West India produce to the alarming extent of 13s. per cwt. between the months of January and July in the present year. Practically, the effect of the first year's experiment in free trade, as applicable to Colonial productions, has been to displace British plantation sugar, and so to reduce its value, as to render its cultivation ruinous.

It is almost unnecessary to report to this Chamber the relative effect of so disastrous a condition of agriculture upon the commerce of the country. Composed as the Chamber is, in a great measure, of gentlemen whose means are all embarked in commerce, the truths of their present condition, in connection with Jamaica, must be painfully impressed upon their minds.

The Committee, therefore, would inquire, secondly, into the means by which that condition has been effected, and the general causes which have combined to create it.

Doubtless there are causes which have been long in operation, and which have combined with the more immediate effects of free trade, to bring about the present alarming condition of this Colony. Without tracing those causes beyond a comparatively modern period, the Committee would observe that the abolition of slavery had the immediate effect, not only of abridging the day's labour, but of withdrawing a considerable number of labourers altogether from plantation employment ; an evil which has ever since been progressive. With this hindrance to their advancement, the planters contended under the new order of things, striving to prove to the world the complete success of the great measure of emancipation ; indulging the hope that the parent government, considerate of their welfare, and interested in the result of their scheme of philanthropy, would appreciate the difficulties of their transition state from a slave to a free community, and have originated and carried out, at the national expense, a comprehensive plan of African immigration, and so have supplied the void created in the labour market.

In this, it is too well known, the planter was doomed to disappointment : indeed, his hopes were converted almost to despair when he witnessed the Colonial-office, instead of aiding, systematically casting obstacles in the way of the Colony, desirous of meeting the emergency at its own cost.

Thus have years rolled by : the Colonist, meanwhile, (unfavourable

seasons adding to his difficulties) exhausting his means, spending all his slave compensation, and much more, in maintaining cultivation, unwilling to abandon all hope that the Mother-country would at last awake to the necessity of coming to his relief. Instead of this, however, the tide of public feeling has flowed in a new channel, and the pervading policy of the Government has been, in the course of (so called) "free trade," to expose these valuable islands to a most hazardous experiment—a competition with foreign slave-cultivated countries, for which this Colony is at present totally unprepared; a policy which, if persisted in without modification, must, in a brief space of time, annihilate us as a sugar-producing country altogether.

It has been thought by some that the depressed state of the sugar market has been in a considerable degree owing to the simultaneous depression of the money market; but the Committee cannot shut its eyes to the fact, that the greatly-increased consumption of sugar during the whole period of the late distress throughout the United Kingdom goes far to negative such a presumption, whilst it is evident, also, that, in proportion as money has become easier, the value of British West India sugar has depreciated.

It may be said that much of the late increase in the consumption of sugar has arisen from its use in the breweries and distilleries, in consequence of the extreme dearness of grain. This fact, however, would only show that the increased consumption is altogether temporary, and not to be relied upon as an index for the future—a circumstance which, with the present increased supply of foreign sugars, would only tend still further to expel the produce of these Colonies from the ordinary consumption.

The Committee conceive it to be quite certain that, so long as the present duties are maintained, it is not to be expected that any large quantity of sugar can, in ordinary grain seasons, be consumed in the breweries. According to the calculations submitted by Lord John Russell to the House of Commons, on the occasion of his introducing the measure conceding the use of sugar in the breweries and distilleries, his lordship stated the price of malt in average seasons to be 62s. the quarter; that it had been found by experiment that 180 lbs. of sugar were equal to a quarter of malt, and that, therefore, to enable sugar to compete with malt, it must be sold at 34s., *duty paid*; so that, taking the duty at 14s., and the charges of carrying it to market at 9s., it would be necessary for the planter to grow his sugar at a cost under 11s. a cwt., in order to enable him to benefit by consumption in the breweries; and that, too, only on the assumption that the repeal of the Corn Laws will not eventually bring down the price of malt considerably below 62s.

Supposing, therefore, the present increased consumption of sugar to arise from its use in the breweries during the late period of deficiency in food, the Committee feel justified in believing that so large an increase can only be temporary and adventitious; but, even if it could be considered as an indication of a permanent and progressive increase in the consumption of sugar in Great Britain, the fact must not be overlooked

that it is altogether an increase in the foreign article, the consumption of our own free-grown produce having alarmingly decreased.

In this melancholy position of West Indian affairs it becomes an anxious subject of inquiry, whether that position may not be improved, and the ruin at present impending be averted, without in any way diminishing the consumption of sugar, or rendering it dearer to the consumer.

The Committee, in proposing to set forth concisely the remedial measures necessary in their opinion to be sought for with the view of restoring some portion of our lost prosperity, purposely avoids instituting any inquiry into the policy pursued by our Legislature, in its financial economy as concerns local taxation, and the oppressive high tariff upon our import commerce—a subject replete with interest, and, in its effects, interfering with the social comforts of every individual inhabitant. The consideration of this branch of the subject may be confided to a separate committee at an early day, and a report obtained in time for the Chamber to petition the Legislature at its approaching Session.

In suggesting remedies for the consideration of our rulers, it is perhaps advisable at the outset to declare, that the commercial principles and views of the Chamber do not on all points coincide with the dogmas of the free-trade party. While they hold that all high prohibitory duties are unwise, and that the object of all customs' duties should be confined to the requirements of revenue, they cannot support the doctrine that *all* distinctive duties on the produce of British industry and that of the foreigner, should be entirely abolished. It has not yet reached that point at home; and the Committee hopes it never may. It is universally confessed that England has grown great through her Colonies, by a system which has been the envy of the world. Her policy has always been, hitherto, to consider them as safe and certain markets for her own produce and manufactures, taking in return their productions in preference to those of foreigners.

The Committee cannot avoid at this place referring to the following passage of a late address from Lord George Bentinck to his constituents, which appears to the Committee to contain a wise and just exposition of the policy which should actuate the parent government in dealing with the Colonial dependencies of the empire:—

“ Having so lately, in my place in Parliament, expressed my general views as regards the true financial policy of the country, more especially as to the clear expediency of getting rid, as much as possible, of excise duties and excise restrictions, and substituting in their stead revenue duties on foreign imports, be they alike the agricultural or the manufactured produce of the industry of foreigners, I shall not reiterate my opinions on this head here.

“ To favour and foster our Colonies, and our East Indian possessions, by admitting, as far as the revenue will permit, the free importation of their produce, whilst we exact the utmost duties from the rival produce of foreign countries, consistent with the raising from these a large revenue, appears to be a natural and parental policy worthy of a mighty

country owning Colonial possessions containing more than 150,000,000 of inhabitants."

The Committee is not unaware of the prevailing desire of the British people to command the necessaries of life (of which sugar is justly considered to be one) at a moderate price. The Committee finds no fault with this; on the contrary, it applauds the call on the part of its fellow countrymen; and all it asks of them is, that in carrying out their purpose by legal enactment, they should proceed with due caution, so as not to peril the fortunes of their absent fellow subjects who, though emigrants from their native land, are not less fellow countrymen, and as fully entitled to have their case considered in the national councils, although unfortunately deprived there of representatives to advocate their cause.

The Committee recommends the Chamber to urge on the consideration of the Government and Parliament, and to submit to the justice of the British nation, the right of the Colonist to have *his* industry protected to the same extent as the British farmer, who enjoys a protection—inadequate perhaps, but still a protection—if not by enactment, indirectly, by the cost of transport of foreign grain to the British market, insurance, agencies, and landing and storage charges: the estimated cost of these items upon our staple, should, therefore, be charged as a distinctive duty on foreign slave sugar, to place the West Indian agriculturist in the same position in the home market as the British farmer. Those charges would, at least, amount to *eight shillings* per cwt.

Contemporaneous with this relief, the Government should be urged to lower the duty generally on sugar, preserving, however, the above difference between foreign and Colonial, so as to give an impetus to its increased consumption amongst the people. The Committee suggest that the relative duties might, with universal advantage, be fixed at 14s. on the foreign (slave) sugar, and 6s. on Colonial.

It will no doubt be said, that such a reduction would peril a considerable amount of revenue: doubtless, a serious consideration with the Government. But if this were to be the necessary result of such a change, it may fairly be asked, whether it ought to have much weight, if, as the Committee believes, its adoption would be compensated by cheapening sugar to the consumer, and, what is of more consequence, saving these Colonies, and thus preventing the decline of sugar production, which would otherwise, at no distant period, raise the prices of *slave* sugar to as high a standard as British sugar had ever attained during the existence of the prohibitory duties.

It may, however, be questioned, upon the authority of late experience, whether the revenue would, after all, be materially affected by the reduction in the duties suggested by the Committee. It is highly probable that duties of 6s. on Colonial, and 14s. on foreign sugar, would enable both to enter into consumption in the breweries and distilleries—a consumption which, it has been already demonstrated, cannot in ordinary grain seasons take place at the present rate of duties, whilst the general consumption would be so greatly augmented by the reduction in the market price of sugar, as, in a great measure, to make good any apparent deficiency in the revenue. This, again, would have the effect of econo-

missing food, and preventing the large exportation of gold to purchase foreign grain.

It has always been a grievance, repeatedly complained of by the British Colonies, that the heavy imposts placed on their sugar during the long war which England waged in Europe, were continued undiminished after the peace of 1815, notwithstanding that the corresponding war taxes imposed on produce of the Mother-country were, one by one, removed or reduced by succeeding Chancellors of the Exchequer. In 1844 Sir Robert Peel first touched our duties, in reducing them from 25s. 3d. to 14s., but this latter sum, if viewed as an *ad valorem* tax on the present *Gazette* average price, in bond, of West India Muscovado (26s.), will be found to exceed 50 per cent. on its *imported* value, and 75 per cent. on its cost before it leaves the Colony. What other necessary of life is thus taxed? It is not just either to the sugar grower or the British consumer, and both parties ought *here* to unite to procure a reduction of this enormous tax on British industry.

Immigration from Africa has, so lately as the 4th of June last, formed the subject of a memorial from the Chamber to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Committee, agreeing entirely in the statements and prayer of that memorial, cannot do better than annex it, for general information, as an appendix to this report.

It is indisputable to the future prosperity of the Colony, that a decreased and decreasing labour market should be supplied by willing immigration from the African coast, which, for this purpose, ought freely to be opened to the Colonies, and the vexatious restrictions, which have, up to the present moment, rendered all our attempts to procure people in adequate number unsuccessful, withdrawn. The Colonial minister, in his recent despatches on this subject, seemed by his earnest language, to feel the necessity of the Government at last making a stirring move in this direction; but the appointment of *one* steamer to the service of *three* large Colonies augurs badly for the cause; and unless it can be undertaken in a form calculated to throw a considerable number of these useful and effective labourers on our shores, within a reasonable period, it appears very questionable whether the expenditure of the public money for "bit-by-bit" immigration be advisable. Coolie immigration having been abandoned, the Committee feels warranted, from the daily exposition of its results, in declaring this determination on the part of our House of Assembly timely and wise.

The supposed *advantages* of free trade have been partially extended to the Colonies by the Act giving permission to our Legislature to repeal the differential duties hitherto existing in favour of British productions, and it is professed to have been yielded up by the Mother-country as a recompense to the Colonies for the abolition of the protecting sugar duties. The Committee feel bound to state, that the advantage to be derived by the Colony from this concession, is of no weight in the balance as an equivalent for what we have been deprived of; because it is well known that the imports of most articles of provision in leading consumption, namely, pork, flour, Indian meal, candles, lard, &c., had been, even during the existence of the differential duties, almost exclu-

sively obtained from the United States. The only change, therefore, likely to ensue from the abolition of these duties, would be the competition of a few manufactured articles from Germany, France, and Italy, principally luxuries.

If, however, the reasonable concession we claim is denied us, and the principles of free trade are to be adhered to, right or wrong, we must insist on their being carried out to the fullest extent in our favour, as well as against us. Our industry should be completely and entirely free from all shackles. All restrictions imposed by the navigation laws should be swept from the statute-book, and we should be permitted to import from all parts of the world, and export by any flag as best may suit our purposes.

We should be allowed to refine our own sugar on the spot, and to send it to England free from any protecting duty there in favour of the home refiner; and to import here *free*, for the same purpose, slave sugar, as well as slave molasses for conversion into rum; which latter we ought to be permitted to ship to England freed from the present protecting duty, maintained with glaring inconsistency by a Free Trade Parliament for the benefit of an *influential* body—the home distillers. Justice and equality, under this new commercial system, should be impartially meted out to all classes and interests alike, whether British or Colonial.

The attention of our intelligent planters has of late years been directed to the necessity of improving their position, by introducing changes in their mode of conducting their agricultural and manufacturing processes, with the view of economising manual labour, increasing the return from the soil, and improving the quality of their produce. It is apparent, however, that in most instances their private means fall far short of what ought to be attempted; whilst the capital necessary generally to develop the resources of the Colony can scarcely be looked for from private capitalists at home, so long as the best energies of the Colonists are paralysed by a course of policy which tends to involve the results of their industry in uncertainty and peril. The Committee, therefore, would suggest to the Chamber to include in any memorials to the Government, or to Parliament, a prayer, that they would be pleased to facilitate the attainment by this island from British capitalists of a loan, redeemable in twenty years, of £1,000,000 at a moderate rate of interest, by giving their guarantee for repayment of the principal and interest, on the faith of an Act of the Island Legislature pledging itself to indemnify the Government by means of the appropriation of a specific tax; the money so obtained being distributed by commissioners in this island, and being applied—first, in the improvement of large and important districts, by means of rail and tramways, with suitable wharfs and places of shipment, as well as by central factories, to carry out which joint-stock companies shall have been formed and incorporated by the Local Legislature or by the Crown, in the drainage of lagoons, and in the irrigation of lowland plains, under the superintendence of scientific engineers; secondly, in the formation and support of a permanent board of agriculture, and a comprehensive plan of industrial education; and,

thirdly, in aid of African immigration—undertakings all calculated to stimulate enterprise, and to develop the resources of this island now lying dormant, but which are not likely to be prosecuted by the little disposable private capital now left among us. That capital, small as it is, the Committee is warranted in saying is already fast leaving our shores, under the depressing influences of the rapid decline of the great agricultural interest; but it is hoped that, by an united appeal to the justice of our country, an event so decisive of the fate of the Colony may be averted ere it be too late.

WILLIAM WRIGHT, Chairman.

Kingston, Jamaica, Sept. 4, 1847.

The following set of resolutions, passed at a highly respectable meeting of the proprietors, planters, &c., of the parish of St. George—the Hon. J. R. Grosett in the chair—are a further index to the sentiments and opinions of the island:—

“ 1. That we have to express our grateful thanks to Lord G. Bentinck for presenting our petition to the late House of Commons, and more especially for his notice of motion for a committee to inquire into the present deplorable condition of the West India Colonies; and that, in order to strengthen his hands to the utmost, we deem it our bounden duty to furnish his Lordship with a statement of facts bearing on our case, and also with a petition embodying the same to the new House of Commons.

“ 2. That famine prices have extended to nearly every producer of human food, with the exception of the British planter, whose sugars have fallen from £28 to £15 per ton within the last six months, owing to the vast importation and consumption of slave-grown sugar of superior quality to his own; and that though rum took a slight rise after the alteration of the duties on that article, it has fallen again, and it is likely to fall in proportion to the increase of grain in the British market, which cannot fail to be very large ere long, under the double influence of the new corn-laws and an abundant home harvest, whilst the same causes must tend to lower the prices of sugar still more, by superseding its use in the distilleries and breweries.

“ 3. That whilst the British farmer grows his crops, as it were, in the *market place*, the West India sugar farmer incurs, for the ‘mere freight and sale’ of his produce, a charge of about 8s. per cwt. on sugar, and say 10d. per gallon on rum; and the coffee planter suffers in this respect to a greater degree.

“ 4. That under the most favourable seasons and circumstances it costs not less than £20 per ton to grow sugar in this parish, on a large scale, on a good estate—all expenses included, save the interest of capital employed, on account of the high rate of wages and deficiency of labour. But when we are visited with droughts such as those of last and the present year, there is no estimating what the cost of producing a ton of sugar will amount to.

“ 5. That we offer, as proofs of the melancholy destruction which is marching round us, the fact, that out of seventeen sugar estates in this

small parish, eight have already been totally abandoned since freedom, viz., Hart-hill, Craigmill, Buff Bay River, Caenwood, Eden, Hope, Bysbrook, and Skibo, which, in 1837, produced together not less than 700 hhds. of sugar; that the remaining nine estates, which, together, produced in the same year not less than 4,600 hhds. sugar, cannot now be averaged at more than 700 hhds. per annum for the last five years; and that nothing in our humble judgment but the timely interposition of the Imperial Parliament can save those estates (some of which are very fine) from the same fate.

" 6. That we believe the whole island of Jamaica, together with the great Colonies of Trinidad and Demerara, besides a few of the smaller Colonies, at present exporting about 90,000 tons, are nearly in the same situation with ourselves.

" 7. That since the introduction of slave coffee into England, the coffee properties are fast going out of cultivation, and no new fields have been planted, all but the very first quality of coffee having fallen in price one-half. Notwithstanding the abandonment of so many sugar and coffee properties in this parish, the price of labour has not fallen, in consequence of the labourers withdrawing from the labour market and becoming small settlers.

" 8. That the continuation and great increase of the foreign slave trade (especially now that the importation of slave-grown sugar and coffee is not only permitted but promoted in British ships for consumption in the British market) is becoming an intolerable grievance.

" 9. That a memorial on the subject, addressed to the Foreign-office, be prepared, and that the one now read be adopted; and that the Customs be requested to forward it to his Excellency the Governor for transmission.

" 10. That a committee be appointed to draw up a petition to the new House of Commons, claiming a further reduction in the duties on West India sugar and rum, to the extent of the charges incurred for freight and sale of those articles, and that one half of the £1,200,000 now expended in the vain attempt to put down slave trading be applied to the importation of free labourers into the West India Colonies; but more especially into those which have suffered most from the effects of emancipation; and that a loan be applied for, to enable us to improve permanently, either on estates or in central factories to be established for the sole benefit of estates, the quality of our produce, to render it at least equal in value to the foreign sugars which are at present driving us out of the market—provided such loan can be obtained on the terms of the new British Drainage Act, viz., $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, payable for twenty-two years, to extinguish principal and interest.

" 11. That if the British nation, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Colonies, are determined to afford them no protection over slave-grown produce, and thereby entail immediate ruin, then we submit we are entitled to ample compensation for the further confiscation of property that must inevitably take place by virtue of that right which every British subject claims when his property is sacrificed for the general good.

" 12. That we, as planters, cannot co-operate with the Chamber of

Commerce in the desire expressed in their Report of the 4th September last, respecting what they call "the oppressive high tariff upon our import commerce;" that we regard the Import Bill as the only means by which the greatest body of consumers can be taxed, and a further tax on the landed interest avoided; but that we are very ready to co-operate with them in circulating statistical information through the medium of the British press."

Moved by William Hossack, Esq.,—

"That the chairman do appoint a committee for the purpose of drawing up a petition to the House of Commons, and collecting statistical information to be submitted before a future public meeting to be held on Tuesday, the 5th day of October next."

The following gentlemen were then appointed a committee for the above purpose, any three to form a quorum, viz., William Hossack, Henry Mason, William Williamson, Robert J. Robertson, Robert Dunbar, and H. P. Crighton, Esqrs., with His Honour the chairman.

The following letter from a practical and well-informed correspondent at Trinidad, as bearing upon the subject, we append to the foregoing report and resolutions. It is severe, but there is a great deal of truth in the remarks.

Trinidad, September 26.

This certainly is a time of some apprehension, but the more I consider it the more reason have I to conclude that the existing embarrassment of West India interests is but temporary; and I am inclined to think that, so far from the present depreciated market being a disadvantage, it is the only crisis which will bring the two great interests concerned to serious reflection how to meet the emergency, and, so far as the planter is concerned, to inquire whether he cannot adopt a different policy from what he has hitherto pursued; and, on the other hand, the merchant to consider whether his hitherto selfish policy is not suicidal. The state of the sugar market at the present moment is one which any calm reflector will perceive must have occurred on the approximation of the Colonial and foreign sugars, for who could have doubted that the opening of our home market to the world would have had any other effect than to throw an immense quantity of produce into the British market, which heretofore was excluded, and was only sold on the Continent; but if we examine the state of the continental markets we shall find that inasmuch as the British supply has been enhanced, in just such proportion have the continental importations diminished, and in the ratio of this diminution most assuredly will the continental markets rise, thus affording a relief to the depressed British market. For we are not to look at sugar now as in years gone by, simply as to its value in the home market; but we must in determining the price hereafter consider first the powers of production of sugar countries, and then the powers of consumption of the world, and I need hardly point out to you the certainty of England becoming the grand emporium whence the universal price shall be dictated. A second cause of the diminished price of sugar will also at once appear in the depressed money market, and our staple must, of course, bear its share of the general pressure, but let the

harvest be gathered—let the fruit season also set in—let further experiments go on in the use of sugar in brewing—let the markets of the world become settled, and, consequently, the exact consuming power of different countries be properly ascertained, and I feel convinced that sugar, (although it can never again be at an exorbitant price) will yet reach a remunerative one to the industrious and skilful planter (which, as far as my experience in the West Indies goes, I am inclined to fix at four dollars); and I have no fear, for a century to come, but that the increase of consumption will keep pace with the increase of production. On the passing of the Sugar Bill I ventured to predict this sum of four dollars as the average of 1851, when an entirely equal market will exist, and I also went so far as to assert that the producing power of Great Britain and Ireland, then 240,000 tons, would in 1851 be 450,000. Some commercial friends here ridiculed the calculation as absurd and chimerical; but, Sir, what has been the case in one short year? Does it not entirely bear me out? And when we bring to bear the certain increase which will ultimately ensue, with England being able with cheaper sugar to enter into competition with the fruit trade of France; the inevitable reduction of the duty on tea within the proscribed time, as a matter of policy in assistance of the revenue, causing, perhaps, a small reduction on that particular article, but prodigiously increasing it; when we consider the immense increase of consumption of sugar the use of every extra pound of tea would cause; the certain increase of the quantity in the breweries when the use is better understood—for I look with some surprise that a larger introduction has not already taken place, and can only attribute this to the disinclination of mankind to leave beaten tracks even with certainty of success; perhaps, in no instance better verified than in the opposition to railroads, and the defence of turnpikes; these sources enumerated, and innumerable others may be adduced, and I conceive argued upon with certainty to prove that no apprehension need exist as to an immense increase of consumption year by year, as the duties gradually assimilate; and with such increase of consumption a certain increase of price must follow, and the British West Indies of course participate, not in a monopolised market but in the markets of the world. It will be said that, although this may be true, it is unfair to bring those who are in a state of transition from slavery to freedom, into competition with the slave-grower. This, sir, is as universal a nostrum as quack pills. Let me pause for one moment to inquire the value of this argument. The value of a gang of slaves in 1834 in Trinidad, or Demerara, was £100 sterling per head. The interest on this sum, as money is and was valued, would be £6. The insurance of the life when the hard life of an agricultural labourer in the Colonies is considered, and when the large number of deaths among the children is taken into consideration, cannot be valued at a less sum than £6; for when in London, at the age of 23, strong and healthy, my life was valued at this sum to live in Demerara by two competent offices; and I therefore do not consider I am treating the subject unfairly to consider the facilities, I would have in procuring better and more attentive medical assistance, as well as better nourishment, when I place the slave in the same

condition, whether, as myself, young and healthy, or including infancy and decrepitude. We must to this add £1 for clothing, 10s. for medical assistance, and £5 for food—in all £18 10s. for every head; and to this we must now place 25 per cent., £4 12s. 6d., for children unable to work, old people, pregnant women, runaways, and slaves under surveillance, which will give the annual cost of a slave in these Colonies at £23 2s. 6d., taking 300 working-days in the year. We now pay, without minding old women and children, for similar services £25, a small increase of expenditure, which certainly does not warrant the cry continually raised that slave sugar and blessed free labour cannot compete on even terms. This is our own case. In Cuba and Brazil, our most dreaded antagonists, the case is stronger, for it is universally admitted, and is known as a fact, that in the former the yearly depreciation of slave population amounts to 10 per cent., while money bears an interest of 1 per cent. per annum.

Why, then, it may be asked, can the Cuba planter make a profit where our planters cultivate at a loss? The answer is ready. This occurs, not because slave labour is cheaper, for this I have shown above with him is a fallacy; but because the Cuba planter makes Cuba his home; because the Cuba planter is an educated man; because he cultivates with economy; because he manufactures with skill; because he sells his sugar in Cuba; because he gets his home freight for one-half of ours; and because he does not ship to some cormorant of a mortgagee who plays Ralph Nickleby again. These, Sir, and not the dearness of labour with us, are the causes why competition appears impossible, and hence, sir, my remark above that I look on the depreciated market as an advantage, inasmuch as it must awaken the planter to devise means to meet a great present emergency, which, when it ceases to exist, must tell in an enhanced ratio; for if he can devise means to surmount the now existing difficulties, when a larger market is open, and when the pressure from money is removed, he will certainly be able to float safely with the tide of prosperity, having been successful against the ebb of adversity. Various will be the endeavours to devise these means, but as surely as they are tried so certainly will they result in failure, if an identity of interests of all parties concerned is not in some way adopted. Wages at 1s. 8d. per day, both in Demerara and this Colony, is barely enough to support existence, as provisions in both places are enormously dear—to reduce wages, therefore, until some step be taken to reduce food is perfectly impossible, and in no way can this be done and the present system kept up. Look at it as you will—view it in any shape you will—and the longer you investigate the more convinced will you become that a completely new system must replace the present; and that in the question of price you must make the labourer a participator in your losses or profits, and give him a direct and positive interest in the success of cultivation; at the same time taking care to make his tenure such as must dissipate the fears he is now perpetually under when planting provision for his use.

I now propose to submit to you the plan I should pursue, and would long ago have pursued, were I so fortunate as to be a sugar pro-

prietor. In the first place I would have my property carefully surveyed, and laid out in lots of three acres, placing one of my cottages, which the present horrible system has already obliged me to build and keep in repair, upon each lot; or rather upon as many lots as year by year I should think it prudent to lease out, as it will be obvious that for one or two years I should still be obliged, even *at a loss*, to keep enough in cultivation on my own account to supply the wants of my intended tenants while their allotments were unproductive. I should then have fair and honest leases for twenty-one years drawn for each lot under the following terms:—for three years at a barley-corn rent; for the fourth year, at 4s. 2d. per acre; fifth, 8s. 4d.; sixth, 12s. 6d.; seventh, 16s. 8d.; eighth and succeeding years of the term, £1; originally leasing but one acre out of the three laid off, but binding myself to increase the allotment to two acres when half an acre of the original acre was in good and healthy cane cultivation, and the remaining half acre completely planted in provisions; and to three acres when the second was one half or the whole, if the tenant considered (as he decidedly must) that cane cultivation was more profitable than provisions; but leaving this matter entirely to his own choice, was also under healthy cultivation. Taking the average of a family to be five persons, say three able to work, a man and his wife could with the greatest ease cultivate two acres and a-half, and leave the spare hand to work at the provisions for the family use. Against this may be raised the old cry that the negro will not plant canes if let alone; but what right has the planter to assume this? What makes him (the planter) cultivate this plant? Is it not because he *knows* the supply of provisions *must* be limited and can at best be only profitable to a few? And if this is so well understood by some weaver, butcher, or else turned into planter, what reason is there to suppose that the negro, whom it is universally admitted is cunning and alive to his own interest, will not come to the same conclusion? On the other hand, I certainly must admit that no negro does resort to the field when he can get other employment; but this is because it is at present an employment at which he can but get a bare subsistence; because he is wholly at the caprice of some ignorant manager who has the power to oppress him in a thousand shapes; because he has no certainty of tenure in his habitation and the lands around, which are to supply him with food, to encourage him to plant his provisions; because agriculture, instead of being looked upon as a calling awakening the highest attachment to the Almighty, has in these Colonies been the employment of the most degraded—rendered disreputable and oftentimes in slavery the penitentiary of the misbehaved artisan or domestic: but reverse this order; make agriculture honourable and independent, give certainty of tenure, and at the same time liberally infuse education into your peasantry, and I have no fear but the planter, with an interested partner in the prosperity of his property, will find that with no trouble, no risk, no anxiety, no sullenness, no disinclination to labour, but, on the contrary, a desire for it, will find peace, contentment, and prosperity reigning in the places of their opposites with which he now has to contend.

Let me for a moment suppose an estate under this system, say 200 acres, are in cultivation of cane, 50 in pasture, 50 in provisions, the average rental in 21 years will be 18s. 1d. per acre, amounting in the whole lots to a rental of £271 5s. per annum, secured in the most satisfactory manner on the land. If your tenant runs away you have his canes as security for the debt, while valuing the land at 100 dollars for every lot, will yield an interest of nearly 13 per cent. in rental alone—so far, then, as the land and cultivation is concerned I should be a gainer by liberal policy.

Now, let me examine what further result I should obtain in the manufactures. An estate of the size I have taken would be worth, in Trinidad, say 30,000 dollars; if bought now under the apparent gloomy prospects probably not more than 20,000 dollars; but allow the former sum, valuing the land at 10,000 dollars, and leaving 20,000 for building, machinery, and stock. The average yield of canes would be three hogsheads to each lot, in all 300 hogsheads sugar at £12 each, is £3,600; molasses, 150 puncheons at £3, is £450; and 25 puncheons rum, at £8, is £200; in all £4,250; a moiety of this is the usual charge for manufactures in Trinidad, we shall therefore have the following account as the planter's profit:—

To planter's moiety of produce	£2,125	0	0	
Cost of manufacture of 300 hogsheads sugar	£1,000			
Manager and overseer	250			
Schoolmaster	100			
Engineer and his expenses	100			
Insurance of buildings and machinery	40			
Stock account	100			
	—£1,590	0	0	
		£535	0	0
Contingencies and assessments 10 per cent.		53	10	0
		£481	10	0

Exceeding 11 per cent. of capital invested in this department, taking produce at the lowest prices ever known, and taking the return which we now get under the most wasteful, unscientific, and unwilling cultivation of the land: but that I would realise 50 per cent. on these calculations I have no doubt; for instead of one manager I should have 100; instead of a pack of thieves stealing every ounce of sugar on which they can lay their hands, a body of 300 most vigilant police to protect our mutual property; instead of an ignorant herd of semi-savages, a tenantry well taught and independent; and above all, no occasion to borrow money from Messrs. Shark, Mortgage, and Co. with which to pay my people, in order that when my sugar is made they may comfortably spend the proceeds, and leave me, after toiling all my life, to die in beggary and leave my family in want. These would be the planter's gains; but now let us see what effect my system would have on the tenant. 100 families would have to divide £2,125; 271, £1,854, equal to £18 10s. 9½d. each, after having raised a sufficiency of provisions to

well feed them, if, indeed, not to sell—for the usual calculation is, that an acre of land will feed twelve people in the tropics—and after having received some degree of education for themselves and children.

This would be their lot with sugar at a low price; should it rise, the proprietors would not, as now, be the only parties to benefit. The labourers themselves would also participate in the good fortune; and, in like manner, when a fall in the market occurs, no bickering and dissatisfaction would ensue as if they were paid by wages, for their not being able to sell their produce but at a reduced price, would bring them to an understanding as to the real value of their labour.

And now, in conclusion, a word or two to mortgagees and supply merchants. These gentlemen have certainly a large sum invested, and as capitalists have as much a right to remuneration for their capital as has the planter to remuneration for his labour; both have their right to expect a living: but on the other hand, neither has the right to destroy the other; legitimate interest for the money lent by the one, according to the value of money in that market in which it is lent, is clearly fair; but when circumstances depreciates the value of that money, is it rational for the merchant to expect that the planter will continue to toil to give all the proceeds, and sometimes more than the proceeds, to the merchant? If, then, the value of the money of the merchant, together with the toil of the planter, will yield 12 per cent., is it rational to suppose that the planter will pay six per cent. of this as interest, and in the shape of extra freight, and unfair charges, and commissions, such as commission on the gross, and not the nett of the produce, and be swindled out of the other six per cent. This did very well when unnaturally high prices let the planter still make a living; but it is impossible it can continue with the present low markets, and the alternative is now open to those whose capital is here invested, either to continue their present policy, and plunge both planter and themselves into one common ruin, or save their capital by abandoning the heretofore ruinous, usurious, and extortionate conditions laid on the proprietor; abandoning the compulsion to ship, meeting the planter in the Colonies and not at home, where he has no chance of investigation of his account sales, and taking from him his sugar, in liquidation of his debt, at such prices as they are worth in the Colonial market. If the merchant takes it home and makes a further profit on it, he has no misunderstanding, he has done the thing freely and above-board, but so sure as he compels the planter *nolens volens* to ship in *his* ship to *his* house, to be sold at *his* time, in any parcels *he* chooses, with any other inferior qualities of *his* sugar, as sure will all the proceeds of an estate be swallowed up by the mortgagee, the planter neglect his unprofitable result, and scatter to the winds both his past toil and the capital of the shark with whom he deals; and hence, Sir, my inference that it would be suicidal in the merchant to retain his heretofore selfish policy. As leisure permits, I purpose following up these remarks, and crave your correspondence giving me your thoughts on the subject.

I am, dear Sir, yours most truly,

THE LOOKER-ON.

RAILWAY COLONISATION.

Summary of Evidence on the Colonisation of British North America, in connection with Railroads, taken before a Committee of the House of Lords, with proposals for a practical experiment in Railway Colonisation, calculated to replace the capital invested in Colonial Railways, and in the physical and social preparation of settlements; offering the means of remunerative employment and a road to independence to all classes of British society, and a constant source of revenue to the Imperial and Local Governments.*

"Banks may fail, the wheels of commerce may be clogged, and ruin and devastation may spread around; even land may be temporarily depreciated in value; but LAND cannot be lost—it must, of necessity, remain the most valuable species of property; while time lasts, it will continue to yield food for man and beast. The excess of speculation, and the effects of machinery, are driving men back to the soil; they want, at least, a dependence for food, and, feeling that they are now the victims of those changes which are ever accruing to manufactures, they are seeking for help from LAND."—*From an Address to Benefit Societies on the safest and most profitable Investment of their Funds.*

"That in a country wholly dependent on agricultural produce, daily diminishing in value to the producer from the total decline of a home market consequent upon absenteeism and the ruin of our manufacturers (which render it necessary for him to transport nearly his entire produce, at vast expense and disadvantage, to a foreign country), every security consistent with the rights of property is absolutely necessary to enable the landholders to meet the growing burden upon their diminutive means, especially since the support of the 3,000,000 paupers in Ireland has been thrown upon land."—*Resolution at Tenant Right Meeting in Waterford.*

"It is a remarkable fact that this empire should be distinguished among European nations, at once by possessing the greatest amount of waste territory, and by containing the largest number of unemployed and destitute labourers."—*Spectator.*

"The population of British North America, in 1844, was 1,851,241. Before the close of the present year, nearly 100,000 persons, amounting to a twentieth of the existing population, will have arrived in the St. Lawrence, almost entirely from Ireland. They represent—they carry with them misery and degradation. * * * * After the loss of thousands by the passage, and as many more in hospital sheds, they are forwarded up the river to Toronto, and thence to the upper provinces, still perishing, still scattering disease wherever they go, and entirely dependent for support on the piety and alms of the benevolent. * * * Such is BRITISH COLONISATION under the present system, or, rather, want of system altogether. What else is to be expected than a demoralised and disaffected population, a lost Colony, and an aggrandised rival?"—*Times.*

"It is difficult to understand what natural obstacle prevents such a territory from being occupied, not by individuals, but by societies properly organised for mutual support and assistance, carrying with them, as they advance, all the means and appliances of civilisation."—*Earl Grey to Lord Elgin.*

A GRAND congeries of railways, as a practical project, was some years ago submitted to the Imperial Government and the Local Legislatures of

* Brought from the Lords, 23rd July, 1847. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonisation from Ireland together with the Minutes of Evidence. Session, 1847. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. No. 737.

Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; of which the execution may be now said to have commenced in the line from St. Andrew's to Woodstock and Quebec, the first instalment of the proposed system; and, in the Report of Lord Monteagle's Select Committee on Colonisation, just published, the British Legislature is specially called upon to consider "the effect that may be anticipated by the promotion or encouragement of works of undisputed usefulness, such as the railways projected in British North America, surveys of which are now in progress, or have already been completed under the auspices of Government.

The Report we advert to contains the evidence of sundry persons, more or less practically conversant with the subject of Colonisation, its active and reactive effects upon British commerce and industry. Amongst others, that of Mr. George Pemberton, for many years resident in Quebec, now of London, and who represents the Canadian interest at the London Board of the St. Andrew's and Quebec Railroad Company; and of Mr. Perley, Her Majesty's Emigration Agent in New Brunswick; Mr. Cunard, the proprietor of the American Mail packets, and others. The purport of Mr. Pemberton's evidence—the result of long experience and practical observation—is, that the prosecution of public works in British North America, would render its prosperity equally rapid with that of the United States; while Mr. Perley tells us that, by local road-making, ship-building, the erection of steam saw-mills, and the laying of gas and water-pipes, not only was a vast proportion of emigrant labour absorbed last year in New Brunswick, which would have passed on to the United States, but the opening of these roads had led to the formation of several new settlements, vastly enhanced the value of land, provided for the influx of labourers, and opened a field for the profitable employment of thousands more. An emigrant is employed one year on the road, he is then engaged by a farmer, learns the use of the axe; his wages are doubled, trebled, quadrupled; he earns, by-and-by, sufficient to purchase 100 acres of land, and to place money in a savings' bank; becomes, in time, a yeoman, and employs labour, and not only lives, but helps to live. What is here effected on a small scale, by the individual efforts and industry of the poor settler, and by the intermedium of ordinary Colonial roads, might, by the agency of an economical railway system, be carried out on a national scale, not only to the national benefit, but to the national salvation, with the certainty of immense profit to the Government, and to the railway or Colonising corporation.

The land contiguous to the first section of the proposed line of railway from St. Andrew's into the interior, of which 20,000 acres are granted free to the Company, is now not worth more than two shillings an acre. On the formation of the line (says Mr. Perley), it will reach at least one pound an acre; and Government will, by the enhanced value of the lands they retain, be infinitely more than repaid the value of their concession. Various feeders and extensions must follow, with the same results. The St. Andrew's and Quebec Railroad would extend its arms to all parts of New Brunswick, to connect with the Nova

Scotian branches, which have been so zealously promoted by Mr. G. R. Young, of that Colony, and his brother, the Speaker of the Assembly; and millions of acres, now almost valueless, would become, by the mere interjunction of a railway, worth, at the very lowest estimate, as many millions of pounds sterling. If such a scheme of railways should employ, first 1,000 then 50,000, and, in the course of a few years, 100,000 labourers, *directly*, in the "navigating" and constructing, Mr. Perley's evidence goes to show, and common experience may convince us, that four or five times that number will be employed *indirectly* in the creation of new settlements, the founding of towns, the establishment of foundries, mills, and furnaces, as well as in the formation of ordinary roads, and the erection of bridges.

How ample, therefore, is the security for an almost unlimited investment in the prosecution of such "heroical works," through a country within ten days' reach of England, teeming with natural resources of the most varied kind, and, in connection with the territory of the great lakes, embracing, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, hundreds of millions of cultivateable acres, the property of Great Britain, in all parts of which are to be found the germs of enterprising, agricultural, and commercial settlements.

The recommendation to the House of Lords, by Lord Monteagle's committee, to consider and examine the great question of the effect likely to be produced by the imperial encouragement of railway undertakings in North America, and the importance of the subject at this crisis, both to Great Britain, and to what Sir Robert Peel wisely calls, those integral parts of Great Britain, the Colonies, will more than justify us in hoping for a little of the public attention to a digest and practical consideration of the principal evidence adduced.

Voluminous Parliamentary reports and evidence, are, *unless digested*, productive not of good, but of evil; for they are neither, as they are unfortunately regarded, an end, nor are they of themselves an operative means. Doubtless it is always dangerous to attempt a large benefit in a hurry, as witness, from this very report, the fact that the devastating fever in Canada has been mainly owing to suddenly supplying the wretched pauper emigrants with what they have not been accustomed to, good food. But after so much information has been collected by various commissions and committees, it is surely not unreasonable to express regret that, instead of digesting the facts already obtained, in order to action, we are only promised in this report of 500 or 600 folio pages, another examination, and another Blue-book, next year.

EVIDENCE OF GEORGE PEMBERTON, ESQ.

1. Mr. Pemberton settled in Canada in 1816, and his evidence is the result of 30 years' experience as a merchant in the district of Quebec, where he was largely engaged in the export of timber; a landowner to a moderate extent; and a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils. He also visited many parts of Upper Canada, the United States, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, and had given a good deal of consideration to the subject of the condition of emigrants.

2. One of the first practical improvements in the management of the emigration system was the appointment of emigration agents, who have been of much use in securing a superior class of vessels for the poor emigrants, and also in putting emigrants in the proper channel to obtain employment. By these and other similar agencies, little difficulty had been found, except in the cholera year of 1832, in providing employment for those who reached Canada. Many arrived in a state of destitution, but, by industry and economy, had become independent farmers.

3. The natives of Ireland are found to be the best adapted for works requiring great strength. All laborious undertakings in Canada and the United States are carried through by Irish labourers; and they are better adapted for settlers, when without means, than any other class.

4. Many emigrants pass on to the United States, where there are more extensive public works; and, therefore, Ohio and Michigan, and the new settlements of the Western States have hitherto swallowed up much of the emigration, which, being once attracted thither, has there also generally found a home.

5. But the provinces of Canada have, in some respects, great advantages over the States; the climate is healthier, and the inhabitants suffer less from fever and ague, except in swampy districts.

6. There are vast tracts of land in the Ottawa favourable for settlement, and equally productive with the lands in the United States; and where the winter is of about the same duration as in Quebec, extending over five months in the year.

7. The statement set forth in Lord Durham's Report as to the great difference of energy and development manifested on the United States and British sides of the boundary-line, are held to be greatly exaggerated and too highly coloured. The progress of Canada since it was ceded to England, has been equal to that of the thirteen *old* States of the Union, but not to the rapidly-advancing new ones in the west, such as Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri. In 1759, the population of the two Canadas was 70,000; it is now 1,400,000—an increase of twenty-fold; and the town of Toronto will favourably compare with Buffalo—its population, which was but lately 1,000, having rapidly advanced to 20,000*. If public works were duly encouraged, Mr. Pemberton asserts that its natural advantages will speedily put British North America on a level with the United States.

8. Railways have been the chief of the public works to which the States have owed their wonderful progress; and now, in order to open and maintain a constant communication with Upper Canada in the winter, the capitalists of the Union are uniting with the merchants of Montreal in the construction of a railway from Portland, a port of Maine, to Montreal. The Americans undertake the moiety to the boundary line, of 140 miles, the remaining 140 through British territory, to be

* By the last received American journals, we perceive that, up to the 19th of August, 25,000 emigrants had reached Toronto this year.

coterminous with one now in operation from Lake Champlain to Laprairie, opposite Montreal. Forty miles of this line are already under contract.

9. It is laid down that such an undertaking, if a line be not formed through New Brunswick, must prove most injurious to all commerce below Montreal, as the trade of Quebec, and the rest of Lower Canada, will proceed to Portland; and, at the same time, the proposed Anglo-American line would be preferred even to that between New York and Albany, seeing that, by means of canals (which have been fostered by a grant of a million and a half from Government), produce from Upper Canada must always find its way cheaper to Montreal than to the head of the Hudson. Part of Maine is very mountainous, but fair levels have been found.

10. But the average cost of single iron railways in Massachusetts has been £10,000 a mile (the import duty on British iron, the American being inferior and brittle, has added to the comparative cost), and by the adoption of a more economical system there is a wide field of competition open; while, besides the exports to Great Britain, a railway from Quebec to the Bay of Fundy would involve the supply of New Brunswick and parts of Maine—a vast district, and year by year increasing in importance.

11. A railway from Halifax to Quebec, though of national value, would not, in Mr. Pemberton's estimation, advantageously compete with that through Maine, in consequence of its great length and expense; but the shorter line from St. Andrew's to Woodstock and Quebec would not only do so, but immediately afford a stimulus to New Brunswick Colonisation and progress, while, from its large existing traffic, it would pave the way to the profitable formation of the greater trunk, to which it would be a most valuable feeder, and would be immediately remunerative to capitalists. At present, all the main supplies come from above Montreal, and from the Lake district of the Union.

12. While Canada and New Brunswick possess vast capabilities of increase (in New Brunswick alone there are 12,000,000 acres of ungranted lands) the greatest goods traffic will, according to Mr. Pemberton, consist in the summer transit by the lakes, the canals, and the St. Lawrence, seeing that in New England less goes by railway to Boston than by water to New York. [Mr. Pemberton, however, it appears to us, overlooks the consideration that, although railways, costing £10,000 a mile, may not compete with canals which have been mainly constructed at the expense of the State, it does not follow that wooden railways through Crown lands, costing, all things included, not more than £2,000 a mile, accompanied by large grants of Crown territory to replace the capital, and open winter and summer, would not advantageously compete with a river navigation, closed for six months in the year by the ice.]

13. In the United States, most of the lines have been constructed under the Government guarantee of a minimum dividend. But the profits have always far exceeded the return guaranteed; so that the public treasury has never been called on to fulfil its obligation.

14. The works in British America which have hitherto not only given

constant employment to emigrants, but have been the origin of many flourishing settlements, are the Rideau and Welland canals. On and in connection with these, many labourers have been enabled, in the course of two or three years, to save money and become owners and farmers of land. But the Rideau is finished, and the deepening of the Welland, and all other public works, would it was expected, be completed in the beginning of October; everything, therefore, concurring to urge on the undertakings now under discussion.

15. Besides the railways specified, there are numerous promising matters of speculation and investment in Upper Canada. A railway for example, from Kingston to Lake Huron, would make a difference of 1,000 miles in the distance between those important districts. Between Toronto and Lake Huron, in the same manner, there is at present no road, while either a canal or a railway connection would be practicable, and would, beyond anything, tend to develop the resources of the fertile lands of Western Canada. Bytown, not long since a wilderness, has, by means of the Rideau canal, become a flourishing, peopled town. Greater effects might be produced by the same facilities in Canada West, which alone would sustain a population equal to that of all Great Britain. The imports of Canada have more than quadrupled since 1816.

16. Mr. Pemberton here puts in an estimate by Mr. Stevenson, the chief Crown land clerk of Bytown, exhibiting the probable results of an experiment in the Colonisation of a million acres; the sum of which is, that the cost of this quantity of land, at 1s. 6d. per acre, would be £75,000; and adding to this the expense of survey, we have a primary outlay of £90,000. The charges of taking out 5,000 families, at £10 each, their implements, rations for a year at 10s. per week, and clothing at 2s., and an allowance of 30s. each at the end of the year, would amount to £223,500; while the value of their labour, at 22s. per week, might be estimated at £286,000.

17. The present system of land sales in British America is held to be one of the greatest obstacles to a healthy Colonisation, and has driven many to the United States. All land sales are under the control of the local executive, who, unfortunately, endeavour to get as much ready money as possible for the land, without regard to the interests of immigration or settlement—have imposed heavy duties on timber, and injuriously affected the timber trade, which has already the difficulty of the Baltic commerce to contend with—the duties levied being $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per cubic foot of white pine, and 1d. per cubic foot of oak and red pine—and thus encouraged squatting, in lieu of legitimate settlement. The lands are put up to auction at a minimum upset price of from 2s. to 20s. per acre; out of which very little need goes to form a fund for improvement—or what we must regard as the grand preliminary PREPARATION—without which, land, at any price, is valueless; and the Canada-company, too, owning vast territories on Lake Huron, at the same time dispose of large tracts at a price varying from 10s. to 25s. per acre in the wilderness.

18. There is no wild land-tax or tax on absentees. Large grants of uncultivated lands are in the possession of individuals; blocks of

20,000 to 40,000 acres have been sold at 6d. per acre, and remain still in a state of nature; and thus in every possible way we find squatting, land-jobbing, and other detrimental practices. The great grievance of the clergy reserves has been somewhat modified in consequence of the efforts and policy of Lord Sydenham; but the township corporations (in whose election the squatters have an equal voice) moderately tax the Colonists, while the whole proceeds of the land sales go into the common fund of the province—scarcely a pound being laid out in roads through the district of the timber trade—though they have lately begun to contribute to the construction of slides over the Rapids. Seeing that large tolls also are levied, it is obvious that a considerable portion of the proceeds of sales should be devoted to the improvement of the district, though Mr. Pemberton thinks that objections would be raised to reserving any portion for the employment of emigrant labour.

EVIDENCE OF M. H. PERLEY, ESQ.

19. Mr. Perley is a native of New Brunswick, his family having been settled in the Colony for six generations. He has been four years Emigration Agent, at St. John, for the Province, and Commissioner for Indian affairs. [Mr. Perley is also the elected Wunjeet Sagamore, or Chief of the Indian tribes, and has with them explored the whole Province in hunting excursions and otherwise.]

20. Of 9,690 emigrants who reached New Brunswick in 1846, 9,000 landed at St. John; 9,500 were from Ireland, only 60 or 70 from England; 4,500 proceeded to the United States; 5,000 were absorbed locally.

21. The progress of emigration was as follows:—in 1843, 392 persons; 1844, 2,600; 1845, 6,000; 1846, 9,600. The progress of population during the last 65 years has been—1783, 12,000; 1803, 27,000; 1834, 120,000; 1846, 200,000. [The population of the whole of this vast Colony being thus about equal to that of one of the parishes of London.]

22. The imports in 1842 amounted to £200,000; in 1846, to £600,000, or £3 per head of the population.

23. The area of New Brunswick is about 19,000,000 acres, of which not 7,000,000 are located; 12,000,000 ungranted; little more than half a million cleared, or 1-37th of the whole; the quantity of land sold in 1846 was 48,995 acres.

24. Mr. Perley submits a table of particulars relative to the lands granted and ungranted to each Colony; but, as printed in this Blue-book, there is an evident mistake of between two and three millions of acres in each column. We, therefore, interpolate in this place a table compiled from Mr. Perley's official reports, which embraces the whole of these particulars, with additional information.

AREA AND CAPABILITIES OF NEW BRUNSWICK.

County.	Acres Granted.	Acres Vacant.	Total Acres.	Acres Cleared.	Population in 1840.	REMARKS.
Restigouche....	156,978	1,109,581	1,266,560	5,579	3,161	Lime and marl. Good soil. Extensive Fisheries in Bay of Chaleur. Interior unexplored.
Gloucester	332,902	704,538	1,037,440	11,681	7,751	Wheat averages 64½lb. to the bushel. Favourable for fisheries. Large exports of oysters and dried fish.
Northumberland	986,168	1,933,832	2,980,000	25,323	14,620	Exported 37,000 tons of timber from Miramichi in 1845. 5,563 new tonnage, registered 1845.
Kent	386,398	640,002	1,026,400	20,413	7,477	Good harbours and extensive fisheries.
Westmoreland..	577,440	301,000	878,440	not stated.	18,360	Fine grazing and agricultural land. Trade in grindstones and flagstones. Shad fishery. Railway proposed from Dorchester across the Isthmus to Shediac, opposite Prince Edward Island.
Albert	223,700	199,860	433,560	25,000	5,660	Excellent freestone, gypsum, and timber.
St. John	309,147	105,573	414,720	not stated.	25,716	Exported (with outbays) 245,000 tons of timber in 1845, besides deals, planks, &c. Large exports of fish and oils. Possesses steam saw-mills, grist-mills, foundries, breweries, &c. 21,833 new tonnage, 1845.
Charlotte*	317,245	466,115	783,360	35,135	18,178	Undulating country, with ridges of granite. Good valley land. Admirably adapted for fisheries. Abundance of sea manure.
King's County..	626,752	187,168	849,920	69,452	14,464	Abounds in salt, gypsum, and marl.
Queen's County	514,204	477,076	961,280	43,089	8,232	Iron ore; extensive seams of rich caking bituminous coal.
Sunbury	377,078	405,002	782,080	12,262	4,260	Large lumber trade. Agriculture neglected. Good alluvial land.
York*	940,914	1,230,686	2,201,600	44,818	13,995	Town of Fredericton, capital of Province. Several very promising settlements.
Carleton*.....	811,402	4,480,598	5,292,000	49,553	13,381	Excellent soil in valley of Tobique. Fine slate. Large deposit of iron at Woodstock. Abounds in timber of the finest quality.
	6,606,329	12,301,031	18,907,360			

* Traversed by St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway.

VOL. XII.—NO. 47. NOVEMBER, 1847.

N

RAILWAY COLONISATION.

24. The ordinary prices of provisions in New Brunswick are 30s. per barrel of best flour; bread, 2d. per lb.; beef, 3d. per lb.; mutton, 4d. per lb.; potatoes, 1s. 3d. per bushel. [So much for statistics; in compressing which we have necessarily transposed, without, however, mutilating, the replies to sundry discursive inquiries, suggested in the progress of examination.]

25. Mr. Perley's duties consist in inquiring into and redressing complaints as to treatment of emigrants, in aiding them with advice and assistance in procuring employment, and in registering and supplying the wants of employers of labour up the country. In the course of this duty he assists them also with occasional funds, and this out of his own pocket, the emigrant tax of 5s. per head going into the general revenue.

26. The general management of emigration has greatly improved since the Passenger Act of 1842 was passed; but, nevertheless, he had to conduct thirteen prosecutions last year, to conviction, for bad provisions and other offences; this proportion forming one-tenth of the arrivals.

27. The sum of £40,000 was last year granted for local road-making, being about one-third of the revenue, which is principally derived from customs; and as, during the same period, there was extensive employment connected with shipbuilding, laying of gas and water pipes, and erection of saw-mills, a thousand families readily found employment.

28. An emigrant commences with the use of the spade, earning 25s. a month, which is advanced to £5 or more as he learns to wield the axe; thus, in the course of a year or two, he may save money to buy a farm of 100 acres, and gradually to become independent. By contract or piece work, the road-maker may earn 25s. per week. At the end of three or four years, a settler may afford to employ one man; in seven or eight years he might perhaps hire a few more, on the present system.

29. Two settlements, one English and one Irish, the "Harvey" and the "Tectotal," had been formed within the last twelve years; the former in 1835, by forty-four families, who, last year, gathered 15,000 bushels of grain and other crops; the other, by thirty-five families, in 1842, who realised 7,000 bushels; the aggregate value of buildings and crops being now £4,000 and £2,000 respectively. They were all paupers at the commencement—had "blazed" their way into the wilderness, and now, after twelve years, the Harvey road has been extended right and left between Fredericton and St. Andrew's.

30. There are gravelled mail coach roads between St. John, Fredericton, and Quebec, and from Miramichi to Fredericton; the road from Dalhousie to Fredericton is 225 miles; as the crow flies, only 100. Heavy goods proceed by water: the river is a mile wide at Fredericton, and the St. John and its tributaries embrace 4,000 miles of navigation. The roads and clearances have mainly been carried on by piece-work. There is no fund for clearing lands or for "preparation;" out of 2s. 6d. per acre, there is indeed no margin for a preparation fund.

31. The churches and schools are not paid for by the Legislature, but the gaols are; a gaol to every village. £12,000 is voted annually for education. The district, when it can afford it, builds a school, and gives £20 for a master, when the Government adds £20.

32. Lands are generally disposed of at the auction minimum price of 2s. 6d. sterling an acre. At present, the purchase is often made out of first savings; the owner continues to hire himself out for wages; the second season, perhaps, he gathers a crop, chops down some trees, and shelters himself in a log hut, and is safe. But the system of land sales, the application of the land fund, the objectionable practice of making roads by statute labour, four to twenty days' work being supplied by proprietors, according to their means—all these things deter and repel settlers of a superior class, and all requires reorganisation; and, in order to do this, the local legislature would gladly listen to imperial recommendations. Application must be made for an auction by any one desirous of purchasing a particular lot; he must pay for the survey, if unsurveyed, or 3d. per acre, before the same is put up. The sale must be advertised one month before the time fixed; and the purchase-money, after all, goes into the general revenue, and not for roads or improvements. There is no wild land tax.

33. All this narrow and limited colonisation would receive an expansion and stimulus from "reproductive works:"—these, according to Mr. Perley, embrace, pre-eminently, railways, as no tolls are levied on ordinary roads and bridges, which, therefore, make no return. The three legislatures concurred on recommending the survey of a line from Halifax to Quebec. The survey for a military road between these places was made in 1844, under Colonel Holloway, the estimate for which was £2,500, being more than that for a wooden railway in an easy country. [The survey for a railway from Halifax to Quebec was undertaken last year, in consequence of certain correspondence, representations, and movements initiated in London.]

34. But the St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway Company was incorporated in 1836, the survey being made by Government at the cost of £10,000: a grant made by the advice of Lord Glenelg; who then also notified that "when the survey should be completed, the Government would take into their consideration the further proposals made to them for an advance of money in aid of the undertaking." The proceedings of the company were arrested in consequence of the disputes with the United States. On the settlement of these by Lord Ashburton, proceedings were resumed, and the company reconstituted, with larger privileges, embracing a grant of 20,000 acres on the first section between St. Andrew's and Woodstock, and a guarantee of 5 per cent. interest on the portion of capital to be raised in England; £50,000 has been subscribed in the Colony.

35. The settlement of the boundary and the concession to the United States caused a diversion of the route beyond the Grand Falls, the centre of the line, where it will intersect the trunk line from Halifax, if that should proceed, or otherwise carried on to Quebec. The length of the line from St. Andrew's to Quebec is 320 miles; from Halifax to Quebec, 620 miles. Either line would pass through rich lands in New Brunswick. The larger line would employ more labour; the smaller line would be commercially profitable, and involve the future construction of the greater line, as the progress of settlement should warrant it, the re-

numerativeness of the latter being, at present, very problematical. Woodstock and the Grand Falls are flourishing settlements. The port of St. Andrew's is open at all seasons for vessels of every size, and the outer harbour is magnificent. This line being made, feeders would follow from every port, and would pave the way to the profitable construction of the great trunk.

36. The railway connection of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia would vastly increase the demand for labour—would effect great social, moral, and political benefit—would make the three Colonies one country—*counties*, so to speak, and part and parcel of the United Kingdom. Without railways, Great Britain will lose America. At present the long line would not pass through any important towns; but Halifax is the nearest port to England; and, on the development of the Colonies, produce, even during winter, would, in time, be transported by Halifax instead of through the United States. [A movement has commenced both in Halifax and New Brunswick for the formation of a line from Halifax to Windsor and Annapolis, towns on the eastern shore of the Bay of Fundy, and opposite to St. John and St. Andrew's. This line passes through one of the richest and most highly cultivated districts of North America, and would, with the exception of the short passage across the bay, open up a continuous and *immediately-remunerative* railway connection with Canada, by way of the St. Andrew's line; serving also for the rapid transmission of troops and stores through Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, and especially to the United States frontier.]

37. The indirect would be still greater than the direct effects of railway constructions in the employment of labour. The land in the neighbourhood of the line would increase from the value of 2s. to at least 20s. per acre, and for every labourer employed upon the line, at least four would be employed in the formation of settlements growing up on either side; in the foundation of towns; the construction of roads and bridges, of forges, foundries, and furnaces; and the erection and use of steam saw-mills.

38. The means of intercommunication would give a powerful stimulus to the fisheries, the coast on the Bay of St. Lawrence being peculiarly fitted for fishing Colonies, and calculated to give inexhaustible employment to fishermen from England and Scotland. The north-east coast is generally level, the soil sandy and argillaceous, admirably suited for the growth of wheat, and nowhere rising more than 300 feet above the level of the sea. Wheat, in Restigouche and Gloucester counties, had been produced of the weight of 65, and even 68 lbs. to the bushel; and the large growth of timber over the Province is evidence of the general richness of the soil. The mineral resources of the Province, which railways would develop, embrace iron, coal, salt, gypsum, granite, freestone, grindstones, potter's clay, fire clay, &c.

39. In order to pave the way to a better system for the Colonisation of the unlocated lands in the neighbourhood of the railways, and to prevent the practice of land-jobbing, an order in Council had been passed to prevent all sales within two miles on each side of the St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway.

40. It is proposed to construct this railway entirely of wood, the rails and sleepers being chemically indurated, using a guide-wheel instead of a flange to maintain the carriages on the line.

EVIDENCE OF SAMUEL CUNARD, ESQ.

41. Mr. Cunard, a native of Nova Scotia, established, eight or nine years ago, the present steam communication between England and America; embracing now five large vessels, one of a middle size, and four others building. Mr. Cunard is likewise the largest proprietor in Prince Edward Island, and has extensive lands in Cape Breton and Nova Scotia.

42. Prince Edward Island—one of the most highly favoured of all the western possessions of the Crown—was one day disposed of to seventy grantees in so many lots of 20,000 acres each, of which Mr. Cunard holds 230,000. The population is now 50,000; it imports largely from England, and in agricultural products excels most of British America. By the French it was looked upon as the granary of the continent; out of 1,400,000 acres, not 10,000 are unfit for cultivation.

43. Mr. Cunard has established the generous precedent, in the disposal of his lands, of giving 99 years' leases, at a rent commencing at a barleycorn, and gradually increasing to 3d., 6d., and 1s. per acre; giving, moreover, the pre-emption, *at any period*, at 20s. per acre. This moderate rent, too, he has been content to receive in labour, the tenants making for him the means of intercommunication.

44. By this system he has greatly promoted the benefit of his tenants as well as improved his property. Many purchase within fifteen years, though some prefer to pay the rent, and among these are men now of large property. No sober and industrious man, with £10 to begin with, has failed to realise.

45. The other grantees, including Lords Melville, Westmoreland, and Selkirk, and Sir George Seymour, have invested largely, with the view of promoting settlement, but had not benefited themselves; although Major Read has asserted that, with proper cultivation, the island might support, by agriculture alone, ten times the present population.

46. Mr. Cunard does not think that there is any field for public works as a means of extensive employment, either in roads or docks, though he admits that he has himself effected much by road-making, is ready to receive 1,000 tenants on the liberal terms above indicated, and that the fisheries are vastly productive. Indeed, he says, "I do not know how it is we do not use the benefits lying at our door." There are few mineral productions.

47. In Cape Breton coal is abundant, equal to Newcastle, and used for the steamers; competing advantageously with that of Pennsylvania, which is anthracite, the Cape Breton being bituminous.

48. Mr. Cunard had established a sort of savings'-bank principle with his colliers, deducting 10 per cent. from their wages as a reserve fund to be invested in land—a plan which had been highly useful.

49. Railways would greatly stimulate Colonisation; and, in conjunction with these, thousands of families might be absorbed at Miramichi and Eastern New Brunswick in logging, lumbering, and shipbuilding.

50. As a commercial speculation, he cannot speak confidently as to the Halifax and Quebec Railway; but it would give employment to thousands of families—the nucleus of a village might be formed at every station. As a military road, also, and for imperial purposes, the object is valuable; the commerce of Canada would traverse it in the winter, and it would tend to consolidate British North America. Halifax is the termination of the Atlantic voyage and the naval depot.

51. The St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway would certainly benefit New Brunswick, and passes through a fine and valuable country; but Mr. Cunard thinks it is too near the boundary, and, in the event of war, might be seized by the States and destroyed. The frontier ought to be defended by fortifications. [We need scarcely say that we here dissent *in toto*. A railway along the boundary would be the best of all defences in the event of a war, accompanied by a line of blockhouses. The rapid intercommunication for troops would increase a hundred-fold their effective force.]

52. Mr. Cunard does not consider that there is any more danger in navigation between Halifax and Boston than from England to Halifax. The insurance is about the same to Boston as to Halifax.

53. As respects emigration, something might be saved by having the port of embarkation in the west of Ireland; but the use of steamers—though shortening the voyage from 44 days to a week—would be too expensive for that purpose. Government, however, have steamers employed merely for exercise round the coast; why not (says Mr. Cunard) send them to Halifax with 1,000 emigrants. But, he concludes, "it would be wrong in me, perhaps, to suggest that the Admiralty would not like this."

EVIDENCE OF J. B. UNIACKE, ESQ.

54. Mr. Uniacke has been a member of the Provincial Parliament since 1830. His father was Attorney-General of the Province.

55. The emigration into Nova Scotia, chiefly to Cape Breton and the eastern counties, is very small—in 1845, 650; in 1846, 698. Much of the land is in the hands of grantees, many of them official; or possessed by squatters on sufferance. The emigration is mainly composed of the friends of existing settlers. The emigration, at present, could hardly be increased to more than 1,000 annually. Colonisation is not a favourite subject in the Colony. The Irish, French, German, and Scotch keep distinct; but there is little sectarian separation.

56. The Irish make good emigrants. They can live as well in Nova Scotia on 10d. a day as in Ireland; and, as their wages are 2s. 6d. sterling a day, they are soon enabled to save and buy land.

57. On the collieries in Cape Breton wages reach 5s. 6d. a day. Cape Breton coal finds a market in the Provincial settlements, in the United States, and West Indies.

58. The Halifax and Quebec Railway, now under survey, would greatly tend to open and develop the country, by throwing unsettled lands into the market. Of this line 115 miles would be in Nova Scotia, extending from Halifax to Bay Verte. It would tend to make Halifax

a great seaport town: it is accessible at all seasons, and possesses a very fine harbour.

59. As regards comparative distances and freights from Halifax and from the ports of the United States, in the event of the formation of railways from the coast to the St. Lawrence, Mr. Uniacke's evidence exhibits the following calculations:—Halifax to Montreal, 700 miles, 28 hours; Boston to Montreal, 350 miles, 14 hours; Boston, 500 or 600 miles further from England; Halifax to Boston, one week's sail, or 40 hours by steam.

The freight of a barrel of flour from Cleveland to New York is 5s. 1d.; to Boston, 6s.; to Montreal, 2s. 11d.; Montreal to Quebec, 3s. 1d.; Quebec to Halifax, by railway, 3s. 4d.; Montreal to Halifax, 6s. 5d.

60. The transit duty through the United States is $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., which, with a railway through New Brunswick, would counterbalance the above difference of charges.

61. There is a more friendly feeling on the part of British America towards the Western States than the Eastern, and a railway would probably tend to bring the trade of the Western States, the granaries of Ohio, &c., to Halifax, and this even with the competition of United States railways.

62. The opening of a railway would give such an enhanced value to the alternate reserved territories of the Government as would pay for the cost; would throw lands into the market for sale and lease on more reasonable terms, and would open markets in every direction for agricultural produce and for coals.

63. No coal has been found north of the St. Lawrence; the coal of British America competes favourably with that of the States, even under a transit duty of 4s. a ton; it is sold at the mines at 32s. a ton.

64. Mr. Uniacke acted as the Honorary Secretary to the Committee of the Halifax and Quebec Railway at Halifax. A public meeting took place in Halifax in November, 1845, when resolutions were passed in support of the project, and Lord Metcalfe promised his hearty co-operation.

65. As a military road, the railway was, above all things, desirable. At present the transfer of troops to Quebec involved the harassing march of a fortnight. A railway would connect every military post. A line of fortifications would be required to protect the boundary.

66. Mr. Uniacke strongly recommends that portion of the wages of all labourers should be reserved, on the savings' bank principle, to purchase land.

67. The reserved lands, it had been calculated, would more than pay the expense of construction, if the preliminary investment and preparation were adequate. Lands would become immensely valuable at the termini, and towns and settlements would arise. Towns do spring up in the United States under such circumstances. The Erie Canal dates only from 1825, and now it passes through a line of cities on its banks.

EVIDENCE OF J. R. GODLEY, ESQ.

68. We shall conclude our digest of the evidence submitted to the

House of Lords on this subject, by a brief analysis of the testimony of Mr. Godley, the chief promoter of a system of Colonisation, set forth in a memorial to the Prime Minister some months ago; and shall present also the views of Earl Grey himself upon the same question, as exhibited in his Lordship's correspondence with the Colony, printed in the "Further Papers relative to Emigration to the British Provinces in North America," presented, by command, in June last. Hereafter, we shall submit some suggestions towards a practical scheme of "Railway Colonisation."

69. John Robert Godley, Esq., is the son of a landed proprietor in the counties of Leitrim and Meath. He resided for five months in America, in 1842, and has devoted much attention to the subject of systematic Colonisation.

70. Mr. Godley's memorial to Lord John Russell was very numerous and influentially subscribed by the landlords and nobility of Ireland. The suggestions it embodied were—that emigration is absolutely necessary as an auxiliary to any measures that may be adopted to relieve the Irish population, either by reproductive works in Ireland, or otherwise; and that the disordered relations of landlord and tenant in that unhappy country cannot be permanently corrected, unless in connection with such a large emigration as shall pave the way to the consolidation of farms, and reduction of excessive competition in the labour market; that a little emigration is, in truth, a dangerous thing, at least completely inoperative, except as respects the comfort of the emigrant himself; that public works in Ireland, of themselves, only tend ultimately to reproduce and enhance the evil they temporarily remedy. It was suggested, therefore, that a company should be encouraged to undertake a scheme of Colonisation, by large bonuses—£5 per head for every emigrant family settled in the land, and £1 per head for passage money.

71. The principles propounded also embraced what we might call a sort of Roman Catholic patriarchalism. Each body of emigrants to be accompanied, and spiritually governed, by a priest (with an endowment by the State, to be repaid by an Irish income-tax)—a leader who should, in fact, act the part of a Hibernian Moses, and guide the detachment towards the promised land.

72. Irish emigration to America, Mr. Godley wisely holds to be a necessary alternative of Irish migration to England, the great moral and physical evil of which can hardly be exaggerated.

73. The United States at present are more attractive to emigrants, in consequence of their superior advantages as respects the means of intercommunication by railways or otherwise, and by command of capital, and the possession of towns and cities, securing the appliances of civilised life. In British America, even the most promising settlements exhibit a rude and barbarous prosperity.

74. The formation of the Rideau Canal had been useful, in first of all affording employment, and, secondly, in opening up land for settlement; the first thing to be done was to encourage other works of the kind, and, in a word, that, towards any system which should embrace social organisation, every settlement should possess the five pre-requisites of roads, bridges, mills, schools, and churches.

75. With the present public economy of Canada, even the present emigration of 40,000 souls per annum would not be profitably or advantageously absorbed in British North America.

OPINIONS OF EARL GREY.

76. The despatches to and from Earl Grey, to which we would now direct attention, extend over the present year, the first bearing date the 31st December, 1846.

77. The despatch of the 31st December authorised Lord Elgin to advance the sum of £50,000 in the establishment of villages for the reception of the emigrants, the situations to be selected in localities which would afford immediate employment for the people, at wages. Each village to consist of a sufficient number of log-houses to accommodate 300 souls; and to each house a garden, sufficient to occupy the tenant's spare time, but not to relieve him from working for wages; and cheap and simple wooden buildings to serve for a church and a school.

77. Insurmountable difficulties to such a scheme presented themselves, from the fact that, in Canada, straggling grants of land, with here and there an intervening frontage for a road, precluded the possibility of finding a compact site for the establishment of these villages.

On the 29th of January last, Earl Grey countermanded the advance above authorised; and on the 25th February, Lord Elgin expressed his satisfaction at such a course, and enclosed a statement from the Attorney-General of the Province, exhibiting the insurmountable obstacles to the village system.

78. On the 12th February also, Mr. Buchanan, the emigration agent at Quebec, submitted to Lord Elgin that 25,000 souls might be at once employed in the construction of a railway from Halifax to Quebec, to be guaranteed employment for two years at 2s. per day, and a grant of 50 acres on the route of the railway. Such a road, he added, "as a great and national work, is admitted by every one connected with the Colony to be of the first and most vital importance, not only to the Colony, but to the Mother-country; and it will, when completed, tend more to advance the interests and prosperity of this noble appendage to the British Crown, than any other measure. It will serve to open out a large and valuable tract of country for settlement. A portion of the money which is now being expended in providing temporary relief for the distressed in Ireland, and elsewhere, might be advantageously employed in this work; and, by the settlement of these poor people along the route of the railway, they would soon be able to provide for themselves and their families permanently by their labour on their own lands."

79. We may mention, in this place, that the railway connection of Halifax and Quebec is involved immediately in the construction of the St. Andrew's and Quebec Railway, the local directors of which are now engaged in arranging for the formation of a line, in steam-ferry connection with St. Andrew's, from Halifax to Windsor and Annapolis, on the opposite shore of the Bay of Fundy—a railway which would pass through the finest portion of Nova Scotia, and save about 300 miles as compared with the continuous line from Halifax to Quebec by the north of the Provinces.

80. Earl Grey expresses great doubts as to the practicability of Mr. Godley's patriarchal scheme; that the district councils in whose support much reliance was placed, would be neither able nor willing to render aid and encouragement; and that no commensurate advantage would arise from giving a public company £6 for every emigrant carried out and settled on the land—a process which, on a reasonable estimate, might have settled the 1,337,000 emigrants who have gone out during the last twenty years, at a cost of £3,307,000.

81. Lord Grey strongly recommends that, if any assistance be afforded towards Colonisation, it may be in the shape of encouragement to railways and public works. "Assuming," says his Lordship, "that Parliament were prepared to grant such a very large sum of money for this purpose, I cannot but believe that more would really be accomplished towards encouraging emigration by applying it to the construction of great public works; such, for instance, as railways, by which employment would be provided for a large number of emigrants in the first instance, and a great extent of land would be rendered far more accessible, and therefore available for settlement, than it now is. The demand for labour thus created would, I am inclined to think, create a spontaneous emigration to a large extent, and of a more healthy character, than the adoption of such a scheme as has been suggested."

82. The want of the means of intercommunication Lord Grey wisely affirms to be the main cause of the hardships and privations attendant upon young settlements, and of their slow and unequal progress—hardships and difficulties and great waste of labour, "incurred entirely in consequence of the want of some means of giving increased efficiency to labour, by combination, and by the division of employments. We hear of days wasted, in perhaps the busiest part of the season, in carrying to a distant forge, to be repaired, some necessary implement of agriculture, which, in England, would be taken to the village shop, and be again ready for use in an hour; of bread being scarce, where corn is cheap and abundant, because, from the distance of mills, and the badness of the roads, it takes many days of toilsome labour for men and horses to carry a small quantity of corn to be ground, and to bring it back in the shape of flour." Hence, too, "the want of adequate means of religious instruction for scattered settlers, of education for their children, of medical assistance, and of all the main advantages of civilised society."

83. A railway, then, in the opinion of the present Minister for the Colonies, is the first requisite for successful and *civilised* Colonisation. A railway first; then such an enhancement of the price of land (and a railway at once enhances the *value* of such land) as shall supply a preparation fund—a fund which shall not only replace the outlay in the construction of the railway, but supply the attractions of civilised life to the settlement.

84. Thus Earl Grey observes:—"It is difficult to understand what natural obstacle prevents such a territory from being occupied, not by individuals, but by societies properly organised for mutual support and assistance, carrying with them, as they advance, all the means and appliances of civilisation. For this purpose, what seems to be most re-

quired is, to carry further than has yet been done, the principle of making all who obtain land, pay for it such a price as at once to afford the means of effecting those improvements, by the construction of roads and bridges, and by erecting schools and other public buildings, which are necessary for its regular and systematic occupation. If no public lands were alienated, but at a price sufficient to pay for such improvements, and if the money obtained from their sale were so expended, land would only be purchased where the improvements were already in progress, while the settler, receiving in return for the enhanced price he paid for land, not only the land, but the advantage of those works by which its profitable occupation is facilitated, would not in reality pay more, perhaps not so much, for the mere land, as when it is disposed at a very low and almost nominal price. Where the previous improvident alienation of large quantities of land presents an obstacle to the adoption of the system of selling land in this manner, precisely the same results are attainable by the imposition of a moderate tax upon all land, whether wild or reclaimed, and applying the proceeds to the same sort of improvements. Such a tax is not felt as any practical burthen upon settled land, but presents a powerful bar to the acquisition or retention of land which cannot be turned to some account."

85. Acting upon these principles, he concludes:—"I am of opinion that the mode in which Colonisation may, with most prospect of success be promoted, is by the application of any money which may be hereafter granted or advanced by Parliament for this purpose, in opening land for settlement, by making such improvements as I have described, or by constructing public works of a more important character, such as railways and canals."

86. We shall, in conclusion, present our own views with respect to a system of railway Colonisation, embracing also the extension of Mr. Wakefield's principle of charging a "sufficient price" for land to cover its adaptation to the purposes of society. Meanwhile, let us invite Earl Grey's attention to the fact, that, on the 1st of April last, he desired Lord Elgin to reserve the £50,000, formerly authorised to be invested in villages, in lieu of which a sum of £10,000 was to be voted for the relief of sick and destitute emigrants (who, by-the-bye, have flocked into New Brunswick in such numbers as to swallow up half the whole provincial revenue for their care and maintenance), and if any portion of the balance is still in hand, or if the Crown, in these bad times, has yet credit enough to raise an equal sum for so noble and *creative* a purpose, to omit the bestowal and application of it, if required, to carry into immediate effect one of these Colonisation railways, would, on the part of Earl Grey, be indeed to "keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the hope."

PROPOSALS FOR A PRACTICAL EXPERIMENT IN RAILWAY COLONISATION.

By a rapid glance over the Parliamentary evidence we have now analysed, we find that New Brunswick, in itself, possesses an available field for Colonisation of twelve millions of acres of unlocated territory; that it is not only eminently productive as respects agriculture—abounding too with timber of large growth, the sale of which, transported by

a railway, must more than pay the expense of clearing—but rich also in coal, iron, copper, and other minerals; with seas, bays, and lakes teeming with fish. Spite of all these natural advantages, we perceive that neither New Brunswick, nor any portion of the three hundred millions of acres, the neglected imperial patrimony of British North America, has added greatly to the aggrandisement either of Colonists or the Mother-country; that Great Britain is actually poor amid all this abundant riches; while the United States, without, on the whole, greater natural advantages, are covered with railways, and with all the signs and tokens, means, elements, and appliances of wealth and civilisation. We find that a few thousands of poor Irish arrive annually in New Brunswick, of whom half, after being cured of fever, pass on to the United States; that only occasionally is any large portion of them profitably absorbed. And we note in every paragraph of the evidence that all this disparity of progress is traceable to the want of system and preparation on the part of the British or Colonial Legislatures, who yet are desirous to adopt and carry out measures of improvement, if the practical means of doing so can be satisfactorily demonstrated. We find that, not only as the first step to civilisation and commercial and agricultural improvement, but as the only means to economise and give effect to our military strength, and, in the event of war, to preserve America to England, a cheap railway is above all things an absolute requirement. That, in connection with the opening up of the country by railways, it is the opinion of the Colonial Minister of the Crown that we must restrict the sale of lands by an enhancement of price to cover the expense of improvements, as well as to attract and retain the better class of emigrants; and that the local Legislature of New Brunswick has so far practically coincided with this view, as to pass an order in Council that no land meanwhile shall be disposed of within two miles of the projected railways through that Province.

We learn, also, that an earnest desire for independence is conspicuous among the mass of intelligent emigrants, and that hitherto the high price of labour and low price of land have in many instances enabled the hard-working man to pass rapidly from a position of daily labour for wages to that of a freeman earning an uncivilised and precarious independence from his own land; and that this has been encouraged by the establishment of a sort of savings'-bank principle, on the part of many wealthy employers, for the emigrants' benefit—a good somewhat counterbalancing the multitudinous evils of a state of society where none but labourers of the poorest class flock in thousands, carrying often in their train disease and death, passing in too rapid transition into the rude and barbarous comfort of the log-hut and the scattered freehold.

We have arrived, then, at the knowledge of three principles of action, of which, without any more Blue-books, it is time that there should forthwith be a practical exemplification on the part of the British Government.

1. The land must be adapted and prepared for Colonisation, by the establishment of railways, roads, bridges, mills, schools, churches, and other requisites of social life, so as to make emigration, not a last resort of poverty and dependence—a cruel imposition and a task of sorrows,

difficulties, and disappointments—but a heroic and attractive work for the English labourer, yeoman, and gentleman.

2. This land itself is the custom-house from whose treasury the fund for all these preparatory works shall accrue; and this must be cared for, so that men of moderate capital may not be deterred by grasping demands, either in the price of land or the price of labour; nor, on the other hand, the labourer, by inadequate remuneration, be left without the hope of ultimately realising independence. Thus—

3. Not merely the man of capital in money, but of capital in energy and intelligence, and industry, must be aided and encouraged, out of his savings, gradually to become an independent freeholder.

We have adverted to the fact that Earl Grey, in his despatches to Lord Elgin, has again and again expressed his opinion in favour of enhancing the price of land, so as to cover the expense of preparation; and to the effect that, on such a principle, the price of mere land might be actually less than when sold in an unimproved state at a nominal price. The price of land in New Brunswick is at present two shillings and sixpence an acre; we shall show that it is for the interest of the British Government, as well as of the Irish emigrant; of the Provincial Government, and of the Colonists of every class, that this price be increased manifold; the enhanced price involving an immense revenue to the Colony, a comparative relief from all taxation to the settler, an attraction to the uneasy classes in England, Ireland, and Scotland, from the younger sons of the aristocracy down to the able-bodied poor; and, by reaction of agricultural production and commerce, a never-failing and ever-increasing market to the Mother-country.

The system of increasing the price of land, so as to cover the expenses of improvement and preparation, is no novelty. In the Australasian Colonies, the minimum price of twenty shillings an acre embraces a supply of labour, and other elements of social advancement; and various experiments have taken place, under the direction of public companies, with a still higher price and a higher scale of attraction. But the transition from the home system of leases and rents, to that of absolute freehold, to be purchased out and out, has been made too rapidly, whether as respects the accommodation to the yeoman, the profit to the Colonising body, or the progress and success of the experiment. The price called for was too heavy, even while it was inadequate—an apparent paradox, but a truth, the conviction of which must precede any successful exhibition of the great principle of preparation. In the last and pending experiment of one of the most prominent of the Antipodal Colonising Companies (to whose lands the tasteful pencil of Mr. Brees has given a drawing-room attraction) the price of land is fixed at £2 an acre, or £120 10s. for a property comprising sixty and a quarter acres, fifty of these being country land, ten close to the town, and a quarter of an acre within the town. Of this sum, three-eighths is expended in emigration, equal to about the passage-money of two adults, per property of £120 10s.; two-eighths in preparation, by roads, bridges, mills, &c.; one-eighth (of which one-third is to be an endowment in land) in educational and religious purposes; and the remaining two-eighths, or 25 per cent. (one-third also in land), goes towards

expenses and profit to the Company, besides 5 per cent. on the expenditure of the five-eighths devoted to emigration and preparation. The benefit of this system is well and fully exhibited in the concluding paragraph of the prospectus, in which it is set forth:—

“In all new countries, lands partially occupied, acquire no increase of value until church and market have been formed in the neighbourhood; but so soon as this is accomplished, the same lands which had cost but a few shillings an acre, sell freely at ten pounds an acre and upwards, in proportion to their nearness and the goodness of the roads. This result, especially in Canada, is generally waited for in thriftless discomfort through a long series of years; but, with respect to this experiment, it is to be carefully noted that church and market go along with the first party, and this being secured at a cost of forty shillings an acre to the first purchasers, the advantage is solid, and the gain certain.”

The evil of the system lies in killing the goose that lays the golden eggs; the land is at once disposed of, and for ever, at a really inadequate price, considering the immense prospective benefits held out, and yet at a price, being ready money for such prospective benefits, pressing deterringly upon the limited resources of the small capitalist. Passing for a moment from this system so fraught with great good and not small evil, let us consider whether any other system presents itself, also in operation (for we would rather combine systems, the result of experience, than pretend to originate), from which we may glean a useful and available principle. We have adverted to the proposal suggested in the evidence to enable the emigrant to acquire land by a reserve from his wages on the principle of the savings' bank. The modern English building societies may be regarded as an application of this principle to Home Colonisation, and must possess vitality and effect real good, seeing that from 400, in 1843, they have increased to 1,290 in the present year, and are now being established also for the same purpose in Canada and New Brunswick. As originally constituted, with their cumbrous and unjust machinery of withdrawal and redemption fines, bidding of premiums, and deduction of discount from advances, these societies were, perhaps, adapted more for the benefit of the lender, and to throw dust in the eyes of the borrower; but of late a very simple rule has been adopted, based upon the unerring principle of an annuity certain, and the easy extension of which to the purposes of railway construction in combination with Colonisation will almost suggest itself. An annuity of 10 per cent. for about 14 years is equivalent to payment of the principal in that period with 5 per cent. interest; in the case of the £60 shares of the new building societies, an annual sum of £6 is now charged for 13 years, which is equivalent to receiving repayment of the money borrowed over that period, at less than 5 per cent.

To adapt American Colonisation both to the preparation principle now urgently recommended by Earl Grey, and which has been systematically pursued in all the Australasian settlements; at the same time, to insure a greater benefit to the State and to the revenue, and a lighter burthen to the settler; and, moreover, legitimately to enlist those prudent classes, who, if they remain at home, support the building

societies (the converse and auxiliary to life assurance), we would submit the following plan of Railway Colonisation—a plan which, it will be observed, replaces the capital invested in the construction of the railway, as well as in other physical and moral preparation, out of the land, leaving the income afterwards accruing from traffic a clear revenue.

To insure a fair comparison in every detail and calculation between the proposed system and that of the societies we speak of, we shall, in all cases, assume the £60 share as the basis of our estimates.

Let us suppose that, in each experiment, a society or body of Colonists act concurrently with the British or Local Government, or otherwise with a Railway or Colonising Company; that the Government or Company, coincidentally with successive expeditions, make an extensive investment, over a period of years, in the supply of labour, and also in free cabin passages, in a proportion to the land sold, to persons of the middle class; in the construction of wooden railways; in ordinary roads; in bridges, grist and saw mills, and similar physical preparation; in endowments for schools, churches; in sites for public parks, cemeteries, villages, &c., and for purposes of local government. That the settlement being thus in the way to become eminently attractive, both to labour and capital, the lands be disposed of in £60 shares, each share representing, at option, a fraction of an acre of frontage, or building, or wharf land; or a moderate portion of accommodation land near the town; or a still larger portion of country or farming land, possession to be taken according to a priority to be determined by ballot on arrival in the Colony; and payment to be made, either at once or by annual instalment of £6 per share, or 10 per cent., for a period of 13 years, leaving the yeoman in command of a balance of capital for seed and reproductive investment, and giving him the opportunity to pay for his land gradually out of accruing profits till it becomes an unburthened freehold; securing the possession to his family, if he please, by a life assurance in case of his premature decease, his family being entitled, at the same time, to a return of his payments, with interest, in the same event, from the Colonising Company.*

An example will more readily exhibit the practical working of such a principle.

Let us assume that the nucleus of a flourishing settlement is to be formed on a line of railway, in British North America, the site for the town embracing

1,000 acres in 4,000 sections of $\frac{1}{4}$ acre each, at £60, equal to	£ 240,000
The suburban lands, 40,000 acres in 4,000 sections of 10 acres each, at £60, equal to	240,000
And the country lands, 160,000 acres in 4,000 sections of 40 acres each, at £60, equal to	240,000

Making up the investment of £720,000

* We may observe that a Colonial Assurance Company, under very respectable and influential management, of which the present Governor-General of Canada is Governor, has lately been formed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and London, with branches and agencies in Quebec, St. John, and Halifax.

To be thus distributed:—	
In emigration (2-6ths)	£240,000
Equal to £20 per share, or £60 for each triple quantity of town, country, and suburban land; equal to passage of about two families of labourers and one family of middle class.	
Railway (1-6th)	120,000
Equal to the construction of 60 miles of wooden railway, at £2,000 per mile, the estimate for the construction and plant of the St. Andrew's and Quebec Railroad.	
Churches and schools (1-6th)	120,000
Bridges, roads, mills, clearing, &c. (1-6th)	120,000
Provincial Government, as price of land, at 6s. an acre, more than double that now received	60,000
Profit and expenses	60,000
	£720,000

As respects the benefit to all classes from such a system as this, we trust that we need not enlarge. The only important matter of discussion will be the practical impediments in the way from past no-systems, and from the possible apathy of those most concerned. It is obvious that to carry the proposed principle into effect, there must be the most cordial action on the part of the Local Legislatures, who must not only consent to raise the price of vacant land, but to impose a commensurate tax on all wild land now in the hands of individuals or corporations, and also to restrict all sales in any district except that to be thus systematically opened for settlement.

General objections we must leave to find their level; particular practical objections we, perhaps, meet by practical modifications; and we accordingly invite correspondence and objections, especially on the part of our Colonial friends, on the subject. If, for example, it is alleged by practical men that we devote too much to emigration, in proportion to the land sold, we are open to re-consider this item—although we have not arbitrarily named one-third of the whole price, to stimulate the going forth of the educated man and the skilful mechanic, as well as the mere hand-labourer, to the heroic work. If, in the same manner, we are held to have offered too little to moral purposes, or to particular items of physical preparation, or too small a bonus to the Crown and the Provincial Legislatures, too small or too large a profit to the colonising body, all this we shall be glad to discuss and minutely to reconsider. But, again we say, that at the same time that we have not assumed merely arbitrary ratios, we stickle not except for the general practicable and practical principle of making land the fountain and origin of that which shall henceforth be built upon the land, whether in the shape of physical attributes, or moral and religious, and social institutions; markets, revenue, and political and municipal government.

REVIEWS.

Travels in Western Africa in 1845 and 1846. By John Duncan. 2 vols. London : Richard Bentley.

MR. DUNCAN is one of those bold, adventurous spirits who, reckless of danger, are fond of braving the moving accidents by flood and field which are sure to await the traveller in uncivilised regions. Sixteen years' hard service in the First Life Guards one would have supposed to have afforded sufficient adventure, and taxed the powers of endurance of any ordinary man; but our author does not seem to be of the ordinary class, for seeking, as he tells us, fields of greater enterprise, he no sooner obtains his discharge under a good conduct warrant, in 1839, than he solicits and obtains the appointment of Master-at-Arms in the unfortunate Niger Expedition, whose disastrous proceedings we recorded in the early volumes of the *Colonial Magazine*.

After recruiting his impaired health, he volunteered his services to the Royal Geographical Society to proceed again to Africa and penetrate to the Kong Mountains from the west coast. The country he has traversed he tells us has been hitherto untrodden by any European traveller, since he reached as far as $13^{\circ} 6'$ north latitude, and $1^{\circ} 3'$ east longitude.

Mr. Duncan having been furnished with a scanty outfit and a few instruments, &c., by the joint assistance of the Geographical Society and some private individuals, was granted a free passage by the Government, and embarked in the "Prometheus," steamer, for the Gambia and Cape Coast Castle, touching at Tangier, Gibraltar, Sierra Leone, &c. We will pass over the description of these places, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the African coast, which have so frequently been described in our pages.

On the 22nd of July, 1844, he landed at Cape Coast. After suffering severely from fever, and losing his servant by death, it was not till the 23rd November, that he made his first exploring excursion to visit a town of considerable trade on the coast named Annamaboe, distant thirteen miles from the Castle. He was accompanied by Mr. T. Hutton, one of the chief British merchants. Subsequently they visit together all the principal settlements along the coast as far as Whydah.

On June 7 Mr. Duncan finally sets out for Abomey, on his journey to the Kong Mountains, and on the 10th entered the town, where he was well received by the King of Dahomay.

The King then, in honour of his visitor, puts his regiments of female warriors through their military evolutions, and about eight thousand women, well armed and clothed, were passed in review before him.

After being fêted and feasted in his Majesty's palace, and having made himself thoroughly acquainted with the habits and tactics of the people, Mr. Duncan left the Dahoman capital to pursue his journey, on the 9th July, with a guard furnished him by the King.

Our space will not allow us to follow, as we had intended, the author through his various peregrinations, and we must be content to refer our readers to the book itself, where they will find much both to amuse and inform, in notices of the animal and vegetable productions, the peculiar traits of African character, and graphic descriptions of tropical climate and scenery.

On the 1st of August he reached his farthest point, the important town of Adafoodia, where, singularly enough, he met with two friends—one a merchant whom he had encountered at Egga during the Niger expedition, and the other a slave who had been head-cook to the firm of Boothby and Johnston, of Liverpool, and who spoke English well. He here learned the correct particulars attending the death of Mungo Park.

In September, 1845, Mr. Duncan arrived again on the coast, and embarked at Whydah on board the "Jane," Captain Lee, her commander having offered him a

passage round to Cape Coast. After suffering severely from illness, his constitution finally triumphed over the united assaults of fever, ague, and diarrhœa, and in February, 1846, he embarked on his return to England.

History of the Hawaiian Islands. By James Jackson Jarves. Third Edition. Honolulu: C. E. Hitchcock. 1847. pp. 240.

HERE is one of many marvels of the 19th century—the *third* edition of a history of the Sandwich Island group—published on the spot, beautifully printed, and illustrated with numerous elegant wood engravings, and reaching us in four months from the date of publication! The progress of civilisation is, indeed, making rapid strides in this group—through the instrumentality of the missionaries. As a few proofs of their advancement we may cite the following:—there are now five journals published, the *Polynesian*, Government paper, weekly; the *Sandwich Island News*, weekly; the *Messenger*, semi-monthly; the *Friend*, monthly, and the *Oaku Fountain*, a temperance journal, issued gratis. There is a native military force nearly 700 strong, a police corps of 36 men, four splendid hotels, three billiard tables, six bowling alleys, 80 stores and warehouses, three Protestant and one Roman Catholic Church, 10 printers, five lawyers, and five physicians, and about 60 European ladies.

As we have already published Mr. Wylie's valuable notes on the Sandwich Islands, it is hardly necessary that we should go through this history in review—however interesting the subject matter it contains. We shall, possibly, at some future period, bestow attention on these islands, when we shall make Mr. Jarves' valuable history the text-book for our remarks.

The getting up of such a work reflects credit both on his literary industry, and his professional duties as Government printer.

British Colonies in North America—Canada. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

THIS little work appears to be published for a useful purpose, being intended to serve as a handbook or manual for the emigrant and settler. There is little that is new or original put forth, but the compiler deserves the merit of pains-taking fidelity, and honesty. The object seems to have been to condense into as small a compass as possible the history, topography, and statistics of the Province; but in doing this we fear the work will be found scarcely sufficient for the purpose of the emigrant who really seeks information, since it furnishes nothing in the shape of an itinerary—prices of provisions, clothing, wages, best localities, and other minor matters of so much importance to those who go as perfect strangers to a new country.

The work has two neat maps, one of British North America, and the other of the Lake District.

Thoughts on British Guiana. By a Planter. Demerara, 1847, pp. 40.

THIS is the valuable treatise on the state of the Colony by Dr. Rankin which has been liberally rewarded by the Court of Policy, and which should be in the hands of all instructed in the welfare of British Guiana and our sugar-growing Colonies generally. If our limited space would admit of it, we would extract largely from this publication.

British Possessions in Europe, Africa, Asia, and Australia, connected with England by the India and Australia Mail Steam-packet Company. By R. M. Martin, Esq. London: W. H. Allen.

THIS is a very valuable descriptive and general pamphlet, in which is condensed an immense mass of useful information regarding our possessions in the eastern hemisphere. Although compiled to serve a purpose, yet the facts and figures adduced speak for themselves, and prove the growing trade and immense importance of our Colonial possessions. We have ever been staunch advocates for improved steam communication by land and sea, and although the times are adverse for the carrying out the great object of which this pamphlet is the herald and precursor, yet we hope to see the day when not this Company alone, but others connecting the Mauritius and the Cape Colony shall be established, and prove remunerative and beneficial, not only to the Colonies concerned, but to the shareholders and the Mother-country.

COLONIAL INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA.

Our advices are from Bombay to the 18th, and Calcutta to the 7th September. Trade continued to improve, especially in respect to exports. Money was now plentiful, and freights had gone down considerably, being quoted at Calcutta at £7 15s. to £8 5s. for sugar and rice to England. The quantity of rain that had fallen had been very injurious to the indigo crop, materially affecting it both in quantity and quality; but later accounts were better, and the total out turn of the season was still expected to be not less than 115,000 maunds. The Legislative Council of Calcutta had passed an act permitting the emigration of Indian labourers to Ceylon, on the Governor-General being duly certified that the Legislature of the island has made such law as he shall think necessary for their protection.

CEYLON.

We have Colombo papers to the 16th September. The new coffee crop was expected to be an excellent one, being both early and abundant in its promise. Above 30,000 coolies had arrived in the island in the course of the previous four months, and many more were arriving daily.

The current revenue of the island would appear to be somewhat more satisfactory than had been expected, and at the same time the Colonial expenditure has been sensibly diminished during the past seven months; how far the island may benefit or suffer from this we are, of course, left to imagine. The revenues for the year 1847 are likely to exceed those of its predecessor, which, by the way, would seem to be very desirable, seeing that the receipts for 1846 fell short of those for 1845 by full £37,000.

The Legislative Council met on the 30th of August, and from Lord Torrington's opening speech we make the following extracts:—

“In concert with the Government of India, I have every hope that, in a short

time, we shall be in a position to adopt such measures as will be calculated to place the immigration of Indian labourers or coolies into this island upon a wholesome and satisfactory footing.

“The importance of a constant and well regulated stream of immigrants, for the extension of our new articles of production, and not less so for the maintenance even of those valuable estates which are already in cultivation, cannot possibly be over-rated. Hitherto the natives of India have annually come over from the neighbouring coast, in thousands and tens of thousands, of their own free choice, without the authorisation, and, in some degree, in opposition to the regulations of the Indian Government.

“Communications have passed between this Government and that of India, having for their object the removal of the restrictions which have hitherto been in force for the prevention of voluntary and unregulated emigration of the natives of India from their own country, so far as relates to the Island of Ceylon. I am given to understand that these restrictions will be entirely removed, so soon as an ordinance shall have been passed by the legislature of this island, to prohibit the re-emigration of the natives of India from it to other and distant parts. Such an ordinance will, therefore, be shortly laid before you.

“But I am persuaded that you will agree with me, that this can only be regarded as the first and initiative step towards more complete and systematic legislation upon the general question of cooly Immigration. Our duty towards them, in fact, begins from the moment they set foot upon our shores: a duty the more sacred, the more imperative, and not less difficult, because they are destitute and almost helpless strangers, seeking, at the distance of several hundreds of miles from their homes, a moderate recompense for the labour of their hands, under European masters, to whom their services are indispensable. Do they not demand, therefore, the especial pro-

tection and encouragement of our legislature, no less than they require the control of our laws?

"To effect this object, which circumstances almost daily brought under my notice, appear to me to render imperatively necessary; the draft of an ordinance will be prepared with as little delay as circumstances, and the collection of all the requisite preliminary information, will permit.

"Not altogether unconnected with this subject is that of a projected railway communication between Colombo and the coffee districts. I have every reason to believe that such an undertaking, to the extent in the first instance of 32 miles, will be not long delayed. I have received the authority of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State, to submit for your consideration an Ordinance, having for its object the facilitating this desirable undertaking, and to give to its projectors such privileges and power as cannot fail to secure the ultimate accomplishment of the end in view, with advantage to the public and to the shareholders.

"As soon as I have received information that the arrangements of the company are sufficiently matured, and the requisite proportion of the subscribed capital has been paid up, I shall not fail to submit to you such an Ordinance as may be required for the purpose.

"Increased facilities of postal communication with England will, I hope, be shortly afforded by an arrangement with the Directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, which has been already sanctioned by the Lords of the Treasury, according to which one of the steamers of that company will be despatched monthly from Galle to Bombay, touching at Colombo, and returning by the same route. I am in communication with the Government of Bombay, upon the subject of the regular transmission of the English mails by this opportunity, by which means the Government steamer, "Seaforth," may in future be employed upon the more legitimate objects of its original equipment."

NEW SOUTH WALES.

SYDNEY.—The diminished supply of tallow from this Colony during the last year, as compared with the previous one, no doubt assisted in some degree in raising the price to the height it had at-

tained in the English market at the last advices. The export in 1846 could hardly, we think, have been more than one-third of the quantity sent home in 1845. The probable export of this year we have heard estimated at 10,000 tons, nearly three times the quantity exported in 1845; and for the whole of this, more particularly if a large portion of it be sent home early, a higher average price will no doubt be obtained than has yet been realised in any one year for Australian tallow. There are some amongst us who are disposed to lament in rather a lachrymose vein over the general and extensive preparations which are making for rendering a number of our fat stock into tallow. We confess that we can only see in this process the means of adding to the income of our stockholders, and through them to that of the community. It would doubtless be better if we could obtain for consumers those at home who have no beef or mutton to consume; if this could be accomplished, those parties would be better fed, and our graziers would be better paid for stock rearing. But many years will elapse before the demand for animal food in this country will press upon the supply; and in the meantime, the only question to determine is, to what purpose can stock be converted so as to return the largest remuneration to the breeder. Experience has determined that for the present the tallow trade affords the best market for our fat stock, in seasons like the present, when the supply exceeds so greatly the wants of our own population for food. And we hope that the settlers generally will take advantage of the present favourable season to convert their fat stock freely into tallow. By doing so they will sustain the value of cattle and sheep required for home use; they will lighten the increasing demand for labour in the pastoral districts, and thus check the rise of wages to an exorbitant rate; and they will be adding to their own incomes, and also enriching the Colony without trenching in any injurious way on its future capabilities. The extent to which boiling down can be safely carried on may be left to the stockholders themselves. They are in the best position to judge whether an addition to their stock-in-trade, or to their annual incomes, is likely, under existing circumstances, to be most profitable to them; and whichever

course is found to answer them best will no doubt be equally conducive to the well-doing of the community. It is a pity that some of our stockholders or merchants do not test the practicability of preserving meat for the home market by the boiling process. The demand there for it appears to be very extensive; and from the price realised for the shipments received from various parts of Europe, we think it would prove a most profitable adjunct to the boiling down system. The process is so simple, that it would not be difficult to make arrangements in the one establishment for preserving the prime portions of the beast, and rendering the remainder into tallow. The subject is well worthy the immediate attention of the graziers, for it might be the means of increasing the value of their fat stock ten or even twenty per cent.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—We have dates from this Colony to the 16th May. Captain Sturt, the Surveyor General, has arrived home on leave of absence.

Large quantities of fish, about twelve inches in length and much resembling the English perch, have lately been taken with nets in the Murray. They are said to be, by many degrees, the best which have been caught in South Australia. A keg of them, pickled, was sent in the other day to a gentleman in Adelaide, and they were in excellent preservation. We do not know if there is any probability of the fishery being followed up, but should imagine it might profitably be so.

New Mines.—We are glad to hear that Captain Hart, one of the oldest Colonists, has discovered good specimens of copper ore on land at Yorke's Peninsula, purchased by him at the recent Government sale. We have also seen excellent specimens of the blue and green carbonate varieties of copper ore discovered in the district of Frank's harbour, 150 miles to the north of Port Lincoln.

Exports of Wheat.—The "Phoebe" will take about 25,000 bushels of wheat for the British market; and the "Kallibokka," for Mauritius, will take nearly as much, making the exports of the season at least 150,000 bushels.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The Colonial Government schooner, "Champion," arrived at Singapore, August 27, with dispatches from Swan River for the overland mail down to July 25. The new

acting governor, Lieutenant Colonel F. C. Irwin, gives much satisfaction to the Colonists. The question of regular communication with India, *via* Singapore, had engaged the attention of the Colonists; the Legislative Council had voted a sum of money for the purpose, but the authorities have referred the matter to the Minister for the Colonies. Singapore was preferred to Batavia not only in reference to the lower rates of postage, but also because the former offered a good mart for sandalwood and other produce from Western Australia. A new Registration and Marriage Act was under the consideration of the Legislative Council, which was considered far from satisfactory. On the 8th of July his Excellency submitted to the Council an order for the appointment of a committee to consider the best method to further the introduction of German immigrants into the Colony—the report recommended that German immigrants should be naturalised. Another committee was appointed to inquire into the means of promoting the appointment of a bishop for the Colony. The probable revenue for the year would be £9,221 18s. 2d.; there has been an augmentation of revenue under the head of "regular duties."

NEW ZEALAND.

Twenty-third Report of the Court of Directors of the New Zealand Company.

"On the 14th of May last, when you held your Annual Meeting in this place, particulars were laid before you of the arrangements which were then in progress between your Directors and Her Majesty's Government; and, in anticipation of the necessary sanction of Parliament, those arrangements received your approval.

"The Act by which the required sanction has been given, intitled, 'An Act to promote Colonisation in New Zealand, and to authorise a Loan to the New Zealand Company (10 and 11 Victoria, chapter cxii.), is now upon the table; your consent is requisite to empower your Directors to give effect to its provisions; and resolutions for this purpose will be proposed for your adoption.

"By the arrangement with Her Majesty's Government, confirmed by the Act of Parliament thus referred to, a most important trust is confided to the New

Zealand Company. All the Demesne Lands of the Crown in the whole of the Middle and of Stewart's Island, and in the southern part of the Northern Island of New Zealand, are absolutely vested in the New Zealand Company, with power to administer in the manner stated in the Act all the rights of Her Majesty in reference to the said Demesne Lands, in such wise as shall seem to it best fitted to promote the efficient Colonisation of New Zealand. It becomes, in consequence, the duty of your Directors to lay before you and the public, the object with which they undertake this great trust, and the advantages which by means of it are offered to all ranks of society.

"The aim of this Company is not confined to mere emigration, but is directed, as you have long been aware, to Colonisation, in its ancient and systematic form. Its object is, to transplant English society with its various gradations in due proportions, carrying out our laws, customs, associations, habits, manners, feelings—everything of England, in short, but the soil. We desire so now to cast the foundations of the Colony, that in a few generations New Zealand shall offer to the world a counter-part of our country, in all the most cherished peculiarities of our own social system and national character, as well as in wealth and power.

"Such is our aim in consenting to undertake this trust. The New Zealand Islands seem to afford the only field on the globe where it is any longer possible to attempt an enterprise of this interesting and comprehensive character. And in them many circumstances unite in a remarkable manner to promise success, provided the proper means are prudently and energetically combined.

"So much is now generally known regarding the salubrity of the climate of New Zealand (superior to all others in respect of its freedom from drought, from excessive heat in summer, from cold in winter, and from too much wet in any season)—regarding the great fertility of its soil in many extensive districts—its adaptation to agricultural and pastoral purposes—the mineral productions, comprising coal, iron, sulphur, copper, and several other useful kinds—the timber—the excellence and number of the ports—and the advantageous position of the islands, which assures to them ultimately

the naval and commercial command of the Pacific—that it is unnecessary at present to do more than to allude to these points; but connected with them, the moderate extent of the islands is an element of great consequence. For a limitation of the area in any field for Colonising operations, where neither slaves nor convicts can be employed, is indispensably requisite for the retention of Colonial society in the onward path of civilisation, and the prevention of the dispersion and isolation of families, so fatal to Colonial prosperity.

"Such is the country which is now opened to the enterprise and sagacity of the merchants, agriculturists, and gentlemen of England, and to the industry of its labourers and artisans, and on which her Majesty has graciously been pleased to confer rights and institutions which offer the benefits of local and municipal self-government. But while the assemblage of circumstances thus combining to promise that life in New Zealand shall be agreeable and property valuable, displays itself in colours so attractive, care must be taken that the attention is not diverted from the great certainty that social happiness and the growth of wealth in a new Colony are results which may be entirely missed, unless the methods which shall be employed respectively to achieve them embrace those elements which experience of the moral and material acquirements of mankind demonstrates to be essential to their attainment. No procedure—no organisation—will prove of any avail unless animated by such principles.

Thus religion and education are essential to the existence and growth of social happiness. And although the extent to which the Colonists shall enjoy the benefits of these blessings will ultimately depend on themselves, yet the Company will endeavour to initiate the provisions for them in every one of the settlements that shall be formed.

"In like manner the growth of wealth (and with it all the fruits of civilisation) depends entirely upon such a combination between the capitalist and the labourer, that each shall be reciprocally dependent on the other. Capitalists without labourers would find their capital paralysed; and labourers without capitalists, or independent of them, would uniformly pass off into semi-barbarous cottiers, with

no example of any class of society better and higher than themselves, and without any possible means of improvement.

"Unless, therefore, the New Zealand Company can secure combination between capital and labour, it will fail of its great object. This combination is the indispensable condition of Colonial prosperity; and all the plans for new settlements, which your Directors will soon have to submit to the public, will be founded on it. Their great desire is, and to the accomplishment of it they will direct all their energies, that the opportunity of gradually acquiring a good landed estate shall be afforded to the gentleman and practical farmer, and the certainty of good wages, good living, and an ultimate independence to the industrious labourer. In devising, and in steadily applying, the means for attaining these objects, consists the main utility of the Company; and now that all differences between it and the Government, both at home and in the Colony, have entirely ceased—that it is receiving possession of its long withheld lands—has been invested with the great trusteeship which is now announced—and that the natives, reduced to order by the energetic and conciliatory policy of Governor Grey, are generally adopting the habits of civilised life, betaking themselves to the culture of the soil, both on their own account and as labourers to the settlers—your Directors resume their functions under a confident hope that they shall be enabled to carry to a happy practical result those principles which the experience of all Colonies, in all ages, has shown to be sound.

"Subject to such modifications as altered circumstances render necessary, they are prepared to go on with land-sales, and to recommence their active operations in the existing settlements of Wellington, Nelson, New Plymouth, and Otago; and they will, ere long, make known what new districts they offer for Colonisation.

"It only remains to state that John Welsford Cowell, Esq., her Majesty's Commissioner, has entered upon the execution of his duties. The Directors anticipate much advantage to the Company and to New Zealand from the great experience and sound judgment of this gentleman, and they regard his appointment with sincere satisfaction for the

evidence it practically affords of the disposition of her Majesty's Government effectually to co-operate in carrying out the great public objects to which the efforts of the Company are directed, and for the confidence which a knowledge of that co-operation will impart to the public.

"New Zealand House,
Broad-street-buildings, London,
Oct. 15, 1847."

The *New Zealander* says—"The tranquillity of New Zealand may now be considered as firmly established upon settled and abiding principles. The Aborigines prefer the presence of their white neighbours to their absence, and the colonists feel that the natives are very important auxiliaries to them, both for labour and for traffic. The parties have tried their strength in the battle-field, and both have come off with honours; one is strong and overwhelming on open ground and near the sea; the other is lord of the mountain, bush, and swamp. But the most important advantage has been gained by this struggle to the white population, and that is, their native friends have been tested and ascertained, the result of which is most gratifying, and we now know that more are they who are for us than are those who have been against us. The Aborigines generally are convinced that cultivating their lands and planting food is more to their advantage than fighting against soldiers and our native allies. There may probably be now and then local interruption of the general tranquillity of the Colony, but the universal tendency and order of things is peace and its prosperous consequences. The resident magistrates have been appointed, and, for the future, Courts will be held at Wellington, Wai-kanae, and Wanganui. An experiment is about to be tried at Waikarau, upon the success of which will, we suppose, mainly depend the question of placing native chiefs upon the list of resident magistrates."

MAURITIUS.

We have dates from Port Louis to the 23rd July. The Colonists were petitioning for an elective council. The agricultural interest were still complaining of the urgent want of labour, and as the crops were thus placed in imminent danger, the planters were beseeching Sir

W. Gomm to suspend the existing immigration regulations.

The Council of Bourbon had voted 15,000 dollars per annum towards defraying the expenses of steam communication with Europe jointly with Mauritius.

We have been favoured with a private letter from Zanzibar, which contains information of no small importance. We have only time at present to extract the passage:—"Free labourers are to be had in Zanzibar and in great numbers. It may not be generally known that a custom exists amongst the Arabs, and particularly those who are piously inclined, of liberating at their deaths the whole, or a great proportion, of the slaves they possess. Thousands are in this way annually liberated, and a reasonable prospect of advancement held out to them would induce them to abandon their pursuits here for a remunerative engagement in Mauritius. In addition to these there are thousands of free labourers in Zanzibar who are born free, and whose forefathers never knew what slavery was. The British Consul here (for what reason I cannot tell) seems much opposed to the emigration of labourers to Mauritius; and some of his statements as to the impracticability of procuring free labourers here I am fully prepared to prove incorrect. All that is required here is an agent duly appointed and possessing the full authority of the Mauritius Government."—*Mauritian*.

A pamphlet, published under the title of "La Sérigène à Maurice," contains

an examination of the advantages to be derived from the production of silk in Mauritius. Various calculations are entered into to prove that this branch of industry will add to the richness of our Colony, and the author seems to be thoroughly and practically conversant with the subject he treats. Already mulberry trees have been planted in many parts of the island, and many spinning machines have lately arrived from Bordeaux, therefore there is reason to hope that silk will, in a few years, form an article of exportation from our island.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

The report that the Surveyors had found a pass for a railway through the Restigouche mountains (which I mentioned in my last) is said to be correct, although not reported officially. It is now said that an available line from Halifax to Quebec is to be reported at the close of this season, and then we shall see if the Government are really in earnest as to "Railway Colonisation." The circumstance of the American Government having given notice of the termination of the agreement to transmit the mail from Boston to Montreal, will give an increased desire for a direct communication from Halifax to Quebec. The Postmaster-General of Canada, advises that Montreal is now in communication with New York by the electric telegraph, and that the posts are already up for the line from Montreal to Quebec, and thence to the boundary of New Brunswick.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

At Moderat-house, Ceylon, on the 11th of September, the lady of John Armitage, Esq., member of the Legislative Council, of a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 13th July, at St. Mary's Church, Malulipatam, Madras, by the Rev. R. Noble, M.A., J. Somerville, Esq., 26th regiment, N.I., to Elizabeth M. G., second daughter of the late G. Simmonds, Esq., Captain, R.N., of Portsmouth, Hants.

On the 21st September, at St. John's Church, Derby, George Hall, Esq., of Parkhurst Prison, Isle of Wight, late of the 52nd Light Infantry, to Julia, eldest daughter of Colonel George Gawler, K.H., formerly of the 52nd Light Infantry, and late Governor of South Australia.

At Colombo, Ceylon, on the 21st August, Samuel Dawson, Esq., of Canton, to Frances

Ann, youngest daughter of the late Rev. Charles Smelt, of Gudling, Notts, and niece of the Hon. Major General Smelt, C.B., Commander of the forces in Ceylon.

At Quebec, on the 7th September, the Rev. Jasper H. Nicolls, M.A., Principal of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, son of Lieutenant-General Nicolls, R.E., to Harriett Mary, daughter of the Lord Bishop of Montreal.

DEATHS.

At St. John, New Brunswick, on the 12th September, Thomas L. Nicholson, Esq., a leading merchant of the city, aged 56.

At Mount Edward, Prince Edward Island, on the 6th September, after giving birth to a daughter, who survives her, Elizabeth, the beloved wife of the Hon. Chief Justice Jarvis, and daughter of the late Hon. Robert Gray, formerly Treasurer of that Island.