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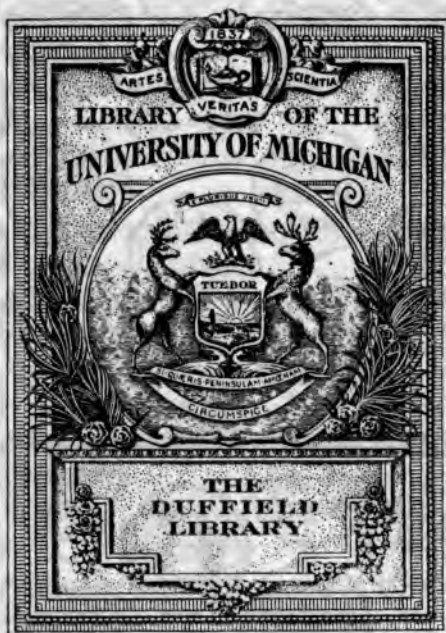
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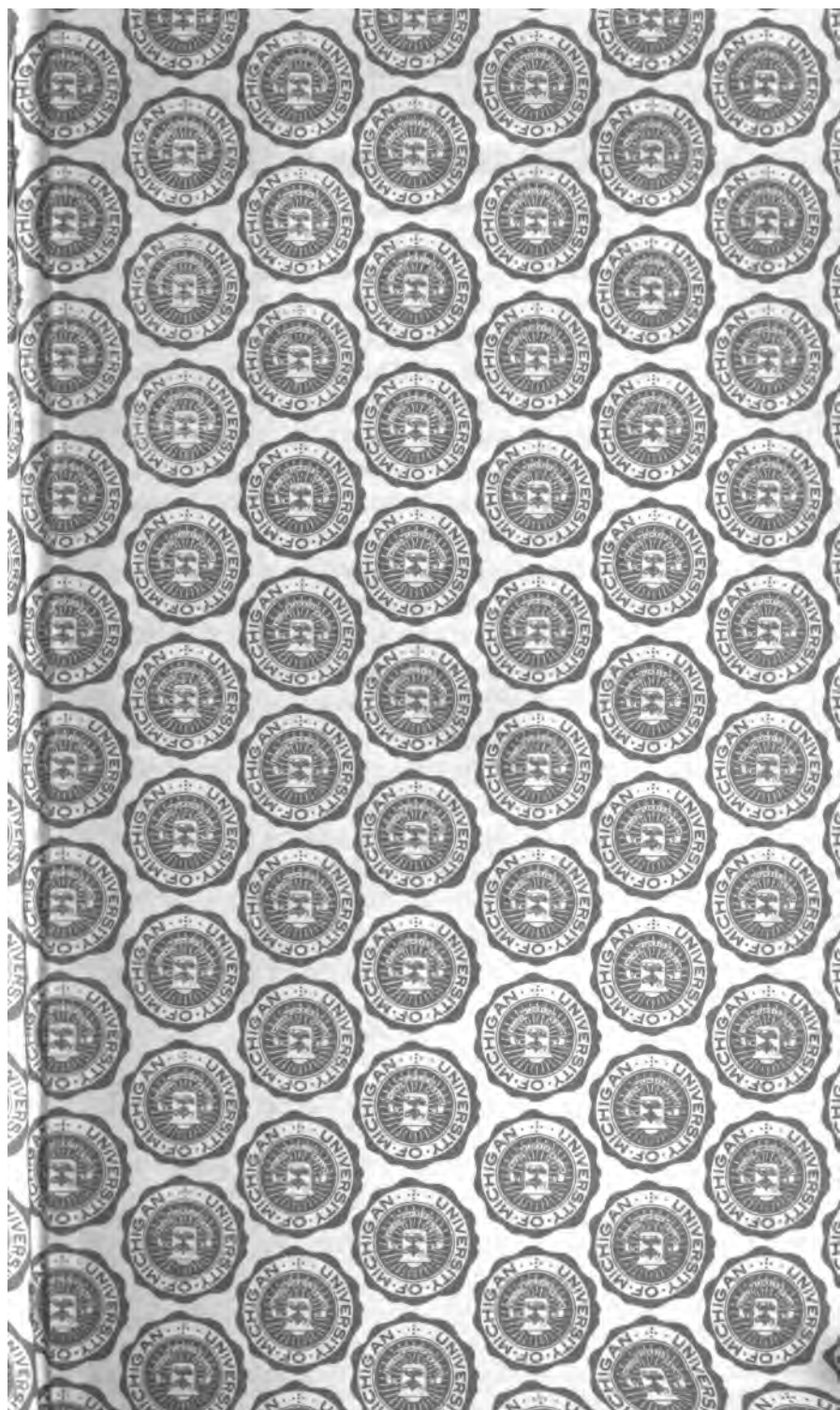
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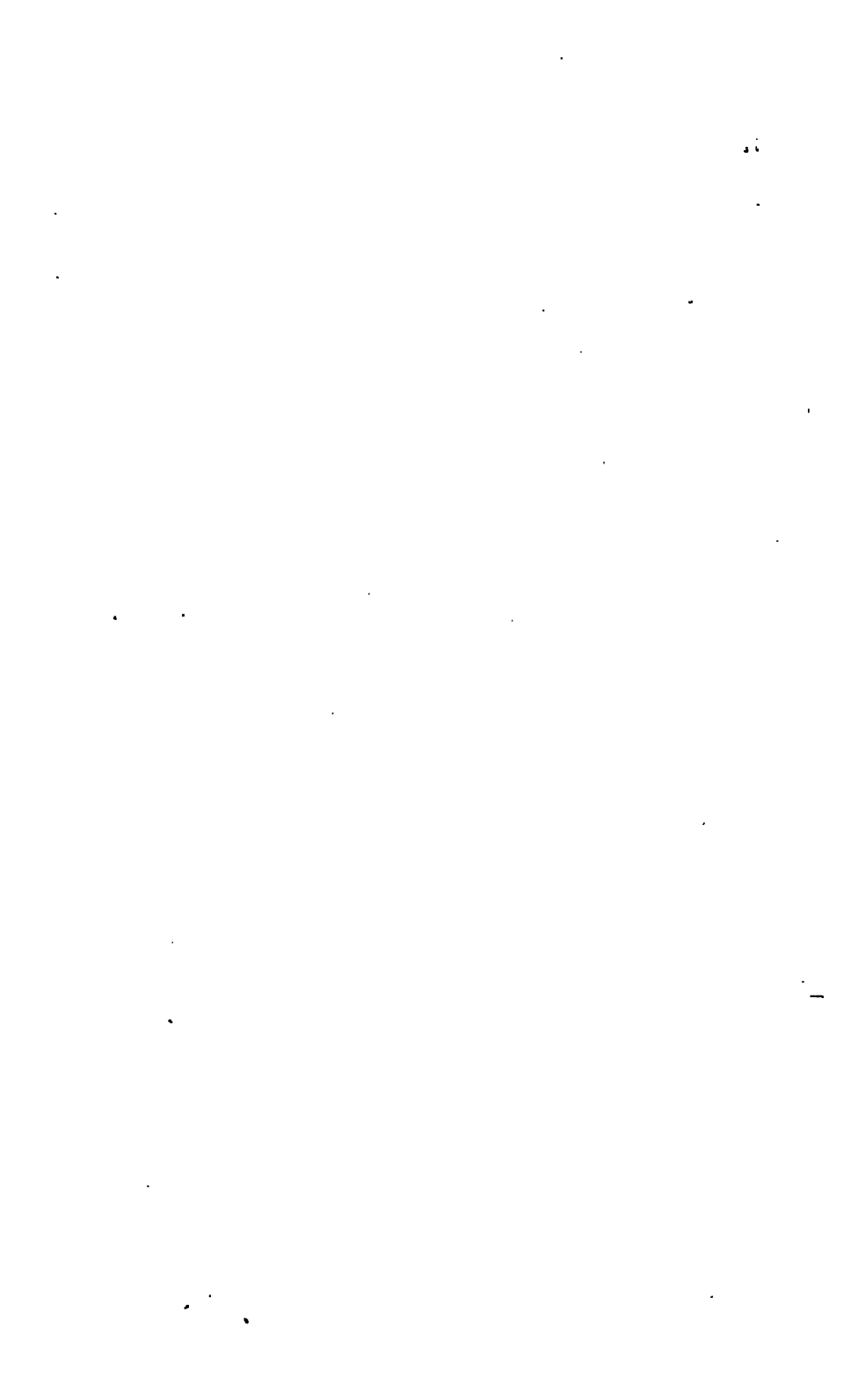
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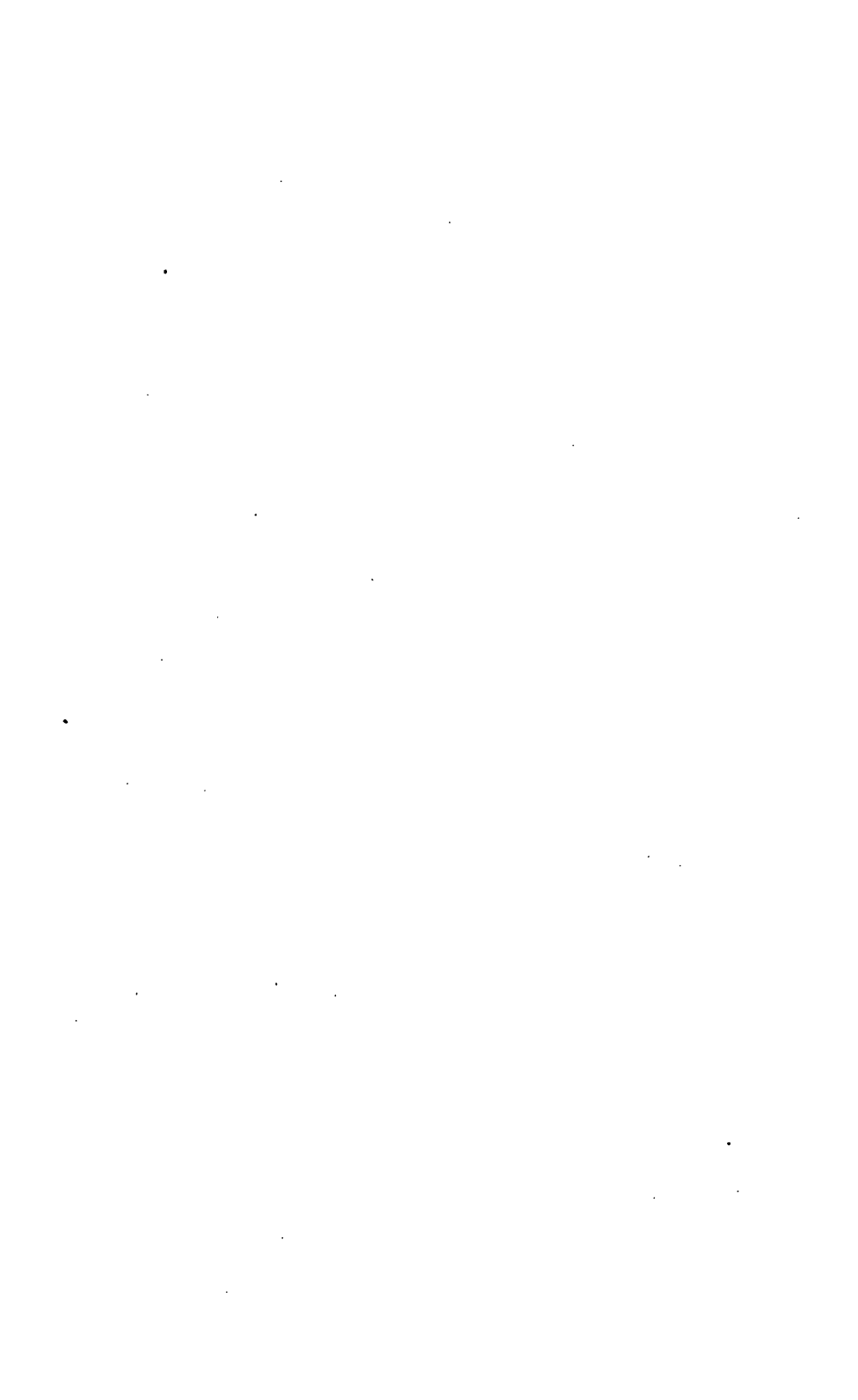




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THE HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

IN THE

WEST INDIES.

J.3851
By BRYAN EDWARDS, Esq. F.R.S. S.A.

ILLUSTRATED BY AN ATLAS,

AND

EMBELLISHED WITH A PORTRAIT OF THE AUTHOR.

TO WHICH IS ADDED A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE

BAHAMA ISLANDS,

By DANIEL M'KINNEN, Esq.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. III.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JAMES HUMPHREYS,
At the Corner of Second and Walnut-streets.

1806.

972.7

Ex 6
1935

214
Tobacco, Candy, &c. 214

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THE HISTORY,
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BOOK V.

AGRICULTURE.

CHAPTER I.

Sugar Cane.—Known to the ancients.—Conjectures concerning its introduction into Europe.—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the 15th century, and from thence to the West Indies.—Evidence to prove that Columbus himself carried it from the Canary islands to Hispaniola.—Summary of P. Labat's reasoning to demonstrate that it was found growing spontaneously in the West Indies.—Both accounts reconciled.—Botanical name and description.—Soils best adapted for its cultivation, and their varieties, described.—Use and advantage of the plough.—Usual method of holding and planting.—Season proper for planting.—Blast.—Manures.—Improvements suggested.

IN treating of the agriculture of the West Indian islands, the first object that naturally excites attention is the cane which produces their

great staple commodity, sugar;—a plant which, from its commercial importance and general utility, we may venture to pronounce one of the most valuable in the creation. The ancient name of the cane was *Saccharum*. This word was corrupted, in monkish Latin, into *Zucharum*, and afterwards into *Zucra*. By the Spaniards it was converted into *Açucar*, from whence *Sugar*. The plant is a native of the east, and was probably cultivated in India and Arabia time immemorial. The *sweet-cane* is mentioned twice in the Old Testament* as an article of merchandize; and there is a passage in Dioscorides which seems to imply that the art of granulating the juice by evaporation was practised in his time; for he describes sugar as having the appearance of salt, and of being brittle to the teeth,

Salis modo coactum est dentibus ut sal fragile.

Lucan, enumerating the eastern auxiliaries of Pompey, describes a people who used the cane-juice as a common drink,

Quique bibunt tenerâ dulces ab arundine succos.

Lafitau conjectures, however, that the plant itself was unknown in Christendom until the time of the Croisades. Its cultivation, and the method of expressing and purifying the juice, as practised by the inhabitants of Acra and Tripoli, are descri-

* Isaiah, c. xliii. v. 24. Jeremiah, c. vi. v. 20.

bed by *Albertus Aquensis*, a monkish writer, who observes, that the Christian soldiers in the Holy land frequently derived refreshments and support in a scarcity of provisions, by sucking the canes.* It flourished also in the Morea, and in the islands of Rhodes and Malta, and from thence was transported into Sicily; but the time is not precisely ascertained: Lafitau recites a donation of William, the second, king of Sicily, to the monastery of St. Bennet, of a mill for grinding sugar-canes, with all its rights, members, and appurtenances. This happened in 1166.

From Sicily, the Spaniards are said to have conveyed the cane to the Azores, Madeira, the Canary and Cape-de-Verd islands, soon after they were discovered in the 15th century; and from some one of those islands it has been supposed to have found its way, at an early period, to Brasil and the West Indies; “producing a commerce (says Lafitau) which has proved more valuable than the mines of Peru.”

Such is the commonly-received opinion respecting the history of this valuable production. Herrera positively asserts, that the sugar-cane was transplanted into Hispaniola from the Canary Islands, in the year 1506, by a Spaniard of the name of

* The same author in his account of the reign of Baldwin, relates, that the Crusaders took eleven camels laden with sugar, so that it must have been made in considerable quantities.

Aguilon;* but in this instance the respectable historian, however correct in general, is clearly mistaken; it appearing by the testimony of Peter Martyr, in the third book of his first decad, written during Columbus's second expedition, which began in 1493, and ended in 1495, that the sugar-cane was at that period, sufficiently known in Hispaniola.

The fact seems to have been, that Columbus himself carried it thither among other articles and productions which he conveyed from Old Spain and the Canary islands, in his second voyage. Martyr's account is as follows:—"Ad fœtus procreandos, equas, oves, juvencas, et plura alia cum sui generis masculis: legumina, triticum, hordeum, et reliqua ijs similia, non solùm alimenti, verum etiam seminandi gratiâ, præfectus apparat: vites et aliarum nostratium arborum plantaria, quibus terra illa caret ad eam important: nullas enim apud eas insulas notas arbores invenère præter pinus palmasque et eas altissimas, ac miræ duritiei et proceritatis ac rectitudinis, propter solis ubertatem; atque etiam ignotos fructus alias plures procreantes. Terram aiunt esse terrarum omnium quas ambiunt sidera, uberrimam." Although in this passage the sugar-cane is not expressly enumerated, it is evident that it was not considered by Columbus as a native of the country; for he could not possibly have been un-

* Her. vol. i, p. 320.

acquainted with this production, which grew in great perfection in Valencia, and other parts of Spain; yet he found, it seems, on his arrival, no trees or plants in the newly-discovered country, of which he had any previous knowledge, excepting only the pine and the palm. That the cane was then there, appears from a subsequent passage; in which, speaking of such vegetable productions as the Spaniards had sown or planted in an inclosed garden immediately after their arrival, Martyr has these words, which, combined with the former, are, as I conceive, decisive of the question.—
“*Melones cucurbitas, cucumeres et alia id genus, in diem sextum et trigesimum carpserunt. Sed nusquam se meliores unquam comedisse aiebant. Hæc hortensia, toto anno habent recentia. Cannarum radices ex quarum succo saccarum extorquet, sed non coagulatur succus, cubitales cannas intra quindecimum etiam diem emiserunt.*”

On the other hand, there are authors of great learning and industry, who maintain that the sugarcane is a native of both of the islands and the continent of America, within the tropicks. They assert, that it was found growing spontaneously in many parts of the New Hemisphere, when first explored by the Spanish invaders. P. Labat, who appears to have considered the question with a laborious attention, is decidedly of this opinion,* and he quotes, in support of it, among other authori-

* Tom. III. c. xv. p. 20.

ties, that of Thomas Gage, an Englishman, who went to New Spain in 1625, and of whom I have had occasion to speak in a former part of this work. Gage's voyage is now before me, and it is certain that he enumerates sugar-canes among the fruits and provisions supplied the crew of his ship by the Charaibes of Guadaloupe. "Now," observes Labat, "it is a fact that the Spaniards had never cultivated an inch of ground in the smaller Antilles. Their ships commonly touched at those islands indeed, for wood and water, and they left swine in the view of supplying with fresh provisions such of their countrymen as might call there in future; but it were absurd in the highest degree to suppose, that they would plant sugar-canes, and put hogs ashore at the same time to destroy them.

"Neither had the Spaniards any motive for bestowing this plant on islands which they considered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpose that has been mentioned; and to suppose that the Charaibes might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays a total ignorance of the Indian disposition and character.

"But," continues Labat, "we have surer testimony, and such as proves beyond all contradiction, that the sugar-cane is the natural production of America. For besides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a treatise on American plants, printed at Mexico, asserts, that the sugar-cane

grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary size, on the banks of the river Plate,* we are assured by Jean de Lery, a Protestant minister, who was chaplain in 1556, to the Dutch garrison in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himself found sugar-canes in great abundance in many places on the banks of that river, and in situations never visited by the Portuguese. Father Hennepen, and other voyagers, bear testimony in like manner to the growth of the cane near the mouth of the Mississippi; and Jean de Laet to its spontaneous production in the island of St. Vincent. It is not for the plant itself therefore, but for the secret of making sugar from it, that the West Indies are indebted to the Spaniards and Portuguese; and these to the nations of the east."

Such is the reasoning of Labat, which the learned Lafitau has pronounced incontrovertible; and it is greatly strengthened by recent discoveries; the sugar-cane having been found in many of the islands of the Pacific ocean, by our late illustrious navigator captain Cook.

In these accounts, however, there is no contradiction. The sugar-cane might have grown spontaneously in many parts of the New World; and Columbus, unapprised of the circumstance, might likewise have carried some of the plants to Hispa-

* Piso observes, "In provincia Rio de la Plate, Cannas Sacchari sponte enasci, adolescereque in arbori proceritatem, atque chrystalla sacchara metu solis exsudare, constat."

niola, and such I believe was the fact. But be this as it may, the industry with which the Spanish settlers applied themselves to its cultivation, affords a wonderful contrast to the manners of the present inhabitants; it appearing by the testimony of Oviedo, that no less than thirty *ingenios*, or sugar-mills, were established on that island so early as 1535.

The botanical name of the sugar-cane is *Arun-do Saccharifera*. It is a jointed reed terminating in leaves or blades, whose edges are finely and sharply serrated, the body of the cane is strong but brittle, and when ripe, of a fine straw colour inclinable to yellow; and it contains a soft pithy substance, which affords a copious supply of juice, of a sweetness the least cloying and most agreeable in nature. The intermediate distance between each joint of the cane varies according to the nature of the soil;—in general it is from one to three inches in length, and from half an inch to an inch in diameter. The length of the whole cane depends likewise upon circumstances. In strong lands, and lands richly manured, I have seen some that measured twelve feet from the stole to the upper joint. The general height however (the flag part excluded) is from three feet and a half to seven feet, and in very rich lands the stole or root has been known to put forth upwards of one hundred suckers or shoots.*

* The tops of canes sometimes shoot up in *arrows*, decorated at the top with a pinnacle, the glumes of which contain a whitish dust,

It may be supposed that a plant thus rank and succulent, requires a strong and deep soil to bring it to perfection, and, as far as my own observation has extended, I am of opinion, that no land can be too rich for that purpose.—When bad sugar is made from fat and fertile soils, properly situated, I am inclined to impute the blame, rather to mismanagement in the manufacturer than to the land. The very best soil, however, that I have seen or heard of, for the production of sugar of the finest quality, and in the largest proportion, is the ashy loam of St. Christopher's, of which an account has been given in the history of that island. Next to that, is the soil which in Jamaica is called *brick-mould*; not as resembling a brick in colour, but as containing such a due mixture of clay and sand, as is supposed to render it well adapted for the use of the kiln. It is a deep, warm and mellow, hazel earth, easily worked; and though its surface soon

or rather seed; yet these being sowed, never vegetate, as I have heard, in the West Indian islands; a circumstance which perhaps may be adduced as a proof that the cane is not the spontaneous production of this part of the world. In Abyssinia and other parts of the East it is easily raised from the seed; *vid. Bruce's Travels*. Since the first edition of this work was published Sir Joseph Banks has satisfied me, that there are several varieties existing in the cane with which we are wholly unacquainted in the West Indies. I have seen, in his possession, a dried specimen that was brought originally from the South Seas, by which, as far as can be judged by its present appearance, is of a far superior sort to the species cultivated in our islands. It is not only of greater length in the whole, but the distance between the joints is nearly twice as great as in the finest canes I ever beheld,

grows dry after rain, the under stratum retains a considerable degree of moisture in the driest weather;—with this advantage too, that even in the wettest season it seldom requires trenching. Plant-canes in this soil (which are those of the first growth) have been known in very fine seasons to yield two tons and a half of sugar per acre.* After this, may be reckoned the black mould, of several varieties. The best is the deep black earth of Barbadoes, Antigua, and some other of the Windward Islands: but there is a species of this mould in Jamaica that is but little, if any thing, inferior to it, which abounds with limestone and flint, on a substratum of soapy marle. Black mould on clay is more common, but as the mould is generally shallow, and the clay stiff and retentive of water, this last sort of land requires great labour, both in ploughing and trenching, to render it profitable. Properly pulverized and manured, it becomes very productive; and may be said to be inexhaustible. It were endless to attempt a minute description of all the other soils which are found in these islands. There is however a peculiar sort of land on the north side of Jamaica, chiefly in the parish of Trelawney, that cannot be passed over unnoticed, not only on account of its scarcity, but its value; few soils

* This species of soil abounds very generally in the French part of Hispaniola—which gives that noble island so great a superiority over most of our own sugar colonies. In Jamaica, it is confined to a few parishes only, and in those parishes to particular spots. In some places this sort of land is rather gravelly, but this circumstance, if the seasons are favourable, is of no great disadvantage.

producing finer sugars, or such (I have been told by sugar refiners) *as answer so well in the pan*—an expression, signifying, as I understand it, a greater return of refined sugar than common. The land alluded to is generally of a red colour; the shades of which, however, vary considerably, from a deep chocolate to a rich scarlet; in some places it approaches to a bright yellow, but it is every where remarkable, when first turned up, for a glossy or shining surface, and if wetted, stains the fingers like paint. I have selected specimens which are hardly distinguishable, by the eye or the touch, from the substance called gamboge. Earths of various shades of red and yellow, are found indeed in many other parts of the West Indies, but in none of them are observed the same glossy appearance and cohesion, as in the soil in question, which appears to me to consist of a native earth, or pure loam with a mixture of clay and sand. It is easily worked, and at the same time so tenacious, that a pond dug in this soil in a proper situation, with no other bottom than its own natural texture, holds water like the stiffest clay. It is remarkable however, that the same degree of ploughing or pulverization, which is absolutely necessary to render stiff and clayey lands productive, is here not only unnecessary but hurtful;—for though this soil is deep, it is at the same time far from being heavy; and it is naturally dry. As therefore, too much exposure to the scorching influence of a tropical sun, destroys its fertility, the system of husbandry on sugar plantations, in which this soil abounds, is to

depend chiefly on what are called *ratoon canes*.* Ratoons are the sprouts or suckers that spring from the roots, or stoles of the canes that have been previously cut for sugar, and are commonly ripe in twelve months.—Canes of the first growth, as hath been observed, are called plant-canes. They are the immediate produce of the original plants or gems placed in the ground, and require from fifteen to seventeen months to bring them to maturity. The first yearly returns from their roots are called *first ratoons*; the second year's growth, *second ratoons*; and so on, according to their age. In most parts of the West Indies it is usual to hole and plant a certain proportion of the cane land (commonly one-third) in annual succession. This, in the common mode of holing the ground by the hoe, is frequently attended with great and excessive labour to the negroes, which is saved altogether by the system we are treating of. By the latter method, the planter, instead of stocking up his ratoons, and holing and planting the land anew, suffers the stoles to continue in the ground, and contents himself, as his cane fields become thin and impoverished, by supplying the vacant spaces with fresh plants. By these means, and the aid of manure, the produce of sugar per acre, if not apparently equal to that from the best plant-canes in other soils, gives perhaps, in the long run, full as

* So called from being *rejettons* or sprouts, *rej'ttons*, *re'ttons*, *raisons*; or more probably from a corrupt pronunciation of the Spanish word *bratones*, which has the same signification.

great returns to the owner; considering the relative proportion of the labour and expense attending the different systems.—The common yielding of this land, on an average, is seven hogsheads of sixteen cwt. to ten acres, which are cut annually.

In the cultivation of other lands (in Jamaica especially) the plough has been introduced of late years, and in some few cases to great advantage; but it is not every soil or situation that will admit the use of the plough, some lands being much too stony, and others too steep; and I am sorry I have occasion to remark, that a practice commonly prevails in Jamaica, on properties where this auxiliary is used, which would exhaust the finest lands in the world. It is that of ploughing, then cross-ploughing, round-ridging, and harrowing the same lands from year to year, or at least every other year, without affording manure: accordingly, it is found, that this method is utterly destructive of the ratoon or second growth, and altogether ruinous. It is indeed astonishing that any planter of common reading or observation, should be passive under so pernicious a system. Some gentlemen however of late manage better: their practice is to break up stiff and clayey land, by one or two ploughings, early in the spring, and give it a summer's fallow. In the autumn following, being then mellow and more easily worked, it is holed and planted by manual labour, after the old method, which shall be presently described. But in truth, the only advantageous system of ploughing

in the West Indies, is to confine it to the simple operation of *holing*, which may certainly be performed with much greater facility and despatch by the plough than by the hoe; and the relief which, in the case of stiff and dry soils, is thus given to the negroes, exceeds all estimation, in the mind of a humane and provident owner. On this subject I speak from practical knowledge. At a plantation of my own, the greatest part of the land which is annually planted, is neatly and sufficiently laid into cane-holes, by the labour of one able man, three boys, and eight oxen, with the common single-wheeled plough. The plough-share indeed is somewhat wider than usual, but this is the only difference, and the method of ploughing is the simplest possible.—By returning the plough back along the furrow, the turf is alternately thrown to the right and to the left, forming a trench seven inches deep, about two feet and a half wide at the top, and one foot wide at the bottom. A space of eighteen or twenty inches is left between each trench, on which the mould being thrown by the share, the banks are properly formed, and the *holing* is complete. Thus the land is not exhausted by being too much exposed to the sun; and in this manner a field of twenty acres is holed with one plough, and with great ease, in thirteen days. The plants are afterwards placed in the trench as in the common method, which remains to be described.

The usual mode of *holing* by manual labour is this:—The quantity of land intended to be planted,

being cleared of weeds and other incumbrances, is divided into several plats of certain dimensions, commonly from fifteen to twenty acres each; the spaces between each plat or division are left wide enough for roads, for the conveniency of carting, Each plat is then sub-divided, by means of a line and wooden pegs, into small squares of about three feet and a half. Sometimes indeed the squares are a foot larger; but this circumstance makes but little difference. The negroes are then placed in a row in the first line, one negro to a square, and directed to dig out with their hoes the several squares, commonly to the depth of five or six inches. The mould which is dug up being formed into a bank at the lower side, the excavation or cane-hole seldom exceeds fifteen inches in width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at the top. The negroes then fall back to the next line, and proceed as before. Thus the several squares between each line are formed into a trench of much the same dimensions with that which is made by the plough. An able negro will dig from sixty to eighty of these holes for his day's work of ten hours; but if the land has been previously ploughed and lain fallow, the same negro will dig nearly double the number in the same time.*

* As the negroes work at this business very unequally, according to their different degrees of bodily strength, it is sometimes the practice to put two negroes to a single square; but if the land has not had the previous assistance of the plough, it commonly requires the labour of fifty or sixty able negroes for twenty days to hole twenty acres.

The cane holes or trench being now completed, whether by the plough or by the hoe, and the cuttings selected for planting, which are commonly the tops of the canes that have been ground for sugar, (each cutting containing five or six gems), two of them are sufficient for a cane hole of the dimensions described.* These being placed longi-

It is reckoned a tolerable day's work for forty negroes to hole an acre in the course of a day. In Jamaica, some gentlemen, to ease their own slaves, have this laborious part of the planting business performed by job work. The usual price for holing and planting is from eight to ten pounds currency per acre. The cost of falling and clearing heavy wood land is commonly as much more.

* It is a maxim with some people to plant *thin* on poor lands, and *thick* in rich; but it is a maxim founded in error. They suppose that the richer the soil is, the greater number of plants it will maintain; which is true enough; but they forget that the plant itself will, in such soils, put forth shoots in abundance; most of which, *if the lands are not over planted*, will come to perfection; whereas from thick planting in rich mould the shoots choke and destroy each other. On the other hand, in soils where the canes will not stock (*viz.* put out fresh shoots), the overseer must supply the greater number of plants in the first instance, or the produce will be little or nothing. To what has been said in the text concerning the method of holing, it may not be improper to add the following particulars:—A square acre contains 43,560 feet; therefore, to know the exact number of holes which an acre will admit, the rule is, to multiply the length of each hole by the breadth, as thus: Suppose you line four feet one way, and three feet the other, then *four* multiplied by *three*, makes twelve square feet, and 43,560 divided by 12, gives 3630 holes. These are large holes, and if the land is dry and stiff, an able negro will not be able to dig more than sixty such in his day's work. It will require, therefore, in such land, just 60 negroes to hole an acre in

tudinally in the bottom of the hole, are covered with mould about two inches deep; the rest of the bank being intended for future use. In twelve or fourteen days the young sprouts begin to appear, and, as soon as they rise a few inches above the ground, they are, or ought to be, carefully cleared of weeds, and furnished with an addition of mould from the banks. This is usually performed by the hand. At the end of four or five months the banks are wholly levelled, and the spaces between the rows carefully hoe-ploughed. Frequent cleanings, while the canes are young, are indeed so essentially necessary, that no other merit in an overseer can compensate for the want of attention in this particular.—A careful manager will remove at the same time, all the lateral shoots or suckers that spring up after the canes begin to joint, as they seldom come to maturity, and draw nourishment from the original plants.

The properest season, generally speaking, for planting, is unquestionably in the interval between August and the beginning of November. By having the advantage of the autumnal seasons, the young canes become sufficiently luxuriant to shade the ground before the dry weather sets in. Thus the roots are kept cool and the earth moist. By this means too, they are ripe for the mill in the be-

a day. The richer the land is, the wider you line, of course the fewer holes to an acre; four feet by four feet gives 2722 holes.

ginning of the second year, so as to enable the overseer or manager to finish his crop (except as to the few canes which are reserved to furnish cuttings or tops for planting) by the latter end of May. Canes planted in and after November lose the advantage of the autumnal rains, and it often happens, that dry weather in the beginning of the ensuing year retards their vegetation, until the vernal seasons, or May rains, set in; when they sprout both at the roots and the joints; so that by the time they are cut, the field is loaded with unripe suckers, instead of sugar-canes. A January plant however, commonly turns out well; but canes planted very late in the spring, though they have the benefit of the May rains, seldom answer expectation; for they generally come in unseasonably, and throw the ensuing crops out of regular rotation. They are therefore frequently cut before they are ripe; or, if the autumnal season sets in early, are cut in wet weather, which has probably occasioned them to spring afresh; in either case the effect is the same; the juice is unconcocted, and all the sap being in motion, the root is deprived of its natural nourishment, to the great injury of the ratoon. The chief objection to a fall plant is this; that the canes become rank and top heavy, at a period when violent rains and high winds are expected, and are therefore frequently lodged before they are fit to cut. The observation, when applied to canes planted in rich and new lands, is just; and on this account, some gentlemen have

introduced the following system: They plant in August and September, clean the young sprouts, and give them mould occasionally, until the beginning of January, when they cut the young plants close to the ground with knives, and level the bank; spreading the remainder of the mould over the roots; which soon afterwards send out a number of vigorous and luxuriant shoots all of an equal growth. It is alleged, that by this means the cane is not too rank in the stormy months, and nevertheless comes to perfection in good time in the succeeding spring.

On the whole it is a striking and just remark of colonel Martin, that there is not a greater error in the system of planting, than to make sugar, or to plant canes, in improper seasons of the year; for by mismanagement of this kind every succeeding crop is put out of regular order. A plantation, he observes, ought to be considered as a well-constructed machine, compounded of various wheels turning different ways, yet all contributing to the great end proposed: but if any one part runs too fast, or too slow, in proportion to the rest, the main purpose is defeated. It is in vain, continues he, to plead in excuse the want of hands or cattle; because these wants must either be supplied, or the planter must contract his views, and proportion them to his abilities; for the attempt to do more than can be attained, will lead into perpetual disorder, and terminate in poverty.

Unfortunately, however, neither prudence in the management, nor favourable soils, nor seasonable weather, will at all times exempt the planter from misfortunes. The sugar-cane is subject to a disease which no foresight can obviate, and for which human wisdom has hitherto, I fear attempted in vain to find a remedy.—This calamity is called the *blast*; it is the *Aphis* of Linnæus, and is distinguished into two kinds, the black and the yellow; of which the latter is the most destructive. It consists of myriads of little insects, invisible to the naked eye, whose proper food is the juice of the cane; in search of which they wound the tender blades, and consequently destroy the vessels. Hence the circulation being impeded, the growth of the plant is checked, until it withers, or dies, in proportion to the degree of the ravage.*

Over what appears to be thus irremediable, it is idle to lament; and I mention the circumstance, chiefly, to have an opportunity of repeating what I have heard frequently affirmed, that the *blast* never attacks those plantations, where colonies have been introduced of that wonderful little animal the

* In some of the Windward Islands, the cane, in very dry weather, is liable to be destroyed also by a species of grub, called the *borer*. This calamity is fortunately unknown, at least to any extent, in Jamaica; and never having seen it, I can give no certain description of it. I conceive the insect to be the *eruca minima e rubro fusca* of Sloane. In Tobago they have another destructive insect called the *Jumper Fly*.

carnivorous ant.* It is certain that these minute and busy creatures soon clear a sugar plantation of rats, (in some places a most destructive pest), and that insects and animalcula of all kinds seem to constitute their natural food. The fact therefore may be true; but having had no opportunity to verify it by ocular demonstration, I consign it over to future inquiry. If the information be just, the discovery is of importance.

Hitherto, I have said nothing of a very important branch in the sugar-planting, I mean the method of manuring the lands. The necessity of giving even the best soil occasional assistance is universally admitted, and the usual way of doing it in the West Indies is now to be described.

The manure generally used is a compost, formed,

* It is the *Formica omnivora* of Linnæus, and is called in Jamaica the *Raffles' ant*, having been introduced there, as is commonly believed, by one Thomas Raffles, from the Havanna, about the year 1762. —But I conceive it was known in the island from the earliest times, and that it is precisely described by Sloane, as the *Formica fusca minima, antennis longissimis*. It is probably the same which, in the introduction to his first volume, he relates, that the ancient Spanish inhabitants so much complained of. He says, that the Spaniards deserted the part of the country where they had first settled, *merely on account of these troublesome inmates*; declaring, *that they frequently eat out the eyes of their young children as they lay in their cradles*. If the reader has faith enough to credit this circumstance, he may believe some marvellous stories of the same kind, which are now-a-days related of the same insects by many venerable old gentlewomen in Jamaica.

1st. Of the coal and vegetable ashes, drawn from the fires of the boiling and still-houses.

2dly. Feculences discharged from the still-house, mixed up with rubbish of buildings, white-lime, &c.

3dly. Refuse, or field-trash, (i. e.) the decayed leaves and stems of the canes; so called in contradistinction to cane-trash, reserved for fuel, and hereafter to be described.

4thly. Dung obtained from the horse and mule stables, and from moveable pens, or small inclosures made by posts and rails, occasionally shifted upon the lands intended to be planted, and into which the cattle are turned at night.

5thly. Good mould, collected from *gullies* and other waste places, and thrown into the *cattle-pens*.

The first, (i. e.) *ashes*, is commonly supposed to be a manure of itself, well adapted for cold and stiff clays; and in some parts of Jamaica, it is the practice, in the fall of the year, to carry it out unmixed, in cart loads, to the lands where it is intended to be used. It is left there (or in some spot adjoining) in large heaps, until the land is holed; after which a basket full, containing commonly from fifteen to twenty pounds, is thrown into each cane-hole, and mixed with the mould at the time

the plants are put into the ground. It may be doubted, however, whether ashes applied in this manner, are of much advantage: I have been told that if the land is open five years afterwards, they will be found undissolved.* At other times, wain loads of the compost, or dunghill before-mentioned, are carried out and used in nearly the same manner as the ashes.

But the chief dependence of the Jamaica planter in manuring his lands, is on the moveable pens, or occasional inclosures before described; not so much for the quantity of dung collected by means of those inclosures, as for the advantage of the urine from the cattle, (the best of all manures), and the labour which is saved by this system. I believe indeed, there are a great many overseers who give their land no aid of any kind, other than that of shifting the cattle from one pen to another, on the spot intended for planting, during three or four months before it is ploughed or holed.†

* On wet lands, not easily trenched, ashes may be useful, in absorbing superfluous moisture, and may therefore sometimes prove a good top dressing.

† This, however, is by no means sufficient on plantations that have been much worn and exhausted by cultivation, and perhaps, there is no branch in the planting business, wherein attention and systematic arrangement, as saving both time and labour, are more necessary, than in collecting and preparing large quantities of dung from the sources and materials before described. In spreading the manure thus collected, the common allowance in the Windward Islands, (where this part of husbandry is best understood) is a square foot of dung to each

What has hitherto been said, however, relates solely to the method of preparing lands for plant-canes. Those who trust chiefly to *ratoons*, find it as necessary to give their cane-fields attention and assistance from the time the canes are cut, as it was before they were planted. It is the advice of colonel Martin, so soon as the canes are carried to the mill, to cut off by a sharp hoe, all the heads of the cane-stools, *three inches below the surface of the soil*, and then fill up the hole with fine mould; by which means, he thinks, that all the sprouts rising from below, will derive more nutriment, and grow more equally and vigorously than otherwise. I know not that this advice is adopted in any of the sugar islands. It is the practice, however, in many parts of Jamaica, to spread baskets full of dung round the stools, so soon after the canes have been cut as circumstances will admit, and the ground has been refreshed by rains: In dry and scorching weather it would be labour lost. The young sprouts are, at the same time, cleared of weeds; and the dung which is spread round them being covered with cane-trash that its virtues may not be exhaled by the sun, is found at

cane-hole; so that by knowing the number of holes in an acre of land, and the number of square feet in a dung-heap, the manure may be proportioned to the ground. Nothing is more easy than to ascertain the number of square feet in a dung-heap. Multiply the length by the breadth, and the produce by the height. Thus, 30 feet the length, multiplied by 30 feet the breadth, is 900 feet, which being again multiplied by four feet the height, gives 3600 feet, the full contents. This explanation is added for the use of the plain practical planter, who perhaps has had no great opportunity of studying arithmetical calculation.

the end of three or four months, to be soaked into and incorporated with the mould. At this period the ratoons are again well cleaned, and the spaces between the ranks effectually hoe-ploughed; after which very little care is thought requisite until the canes are fit for cutting; the ancient practice of *thrashing ratoons* (i. e.) stripping them of their outward leaves, being of late very generally and justly exploded.

Such is the general system of preparing and manuring the lands in Jamaica. I have been told that more attention is paid to this branch of husbandry, in some of the islands to windward; but I suspect that there is in all of them, very great room for improvement, by means of a judicious rotation of crops and artificial assistance. Why, for instance, are not the manures of lime and sea-sand, which abound in these islands, and have been found so exceedingly beneficial in Great Britain, brought into use? Limestone alone, even without burning, (the expense of which might perhaps be an objection), has been found to answer in cold, heavy and moist lands; no other trouble being requisite than merely to spread it over the ground, and break it into small pieces by sledge-hammers. Of this, the quantities are inexhaustible. Marle is another manure of vast and general utility in Great Britain. It enriches the poorest land, opens the stiffest, and sweetens and corrects the most rank. Lands have been raised by the use of this manure, from two shillings per acre to a guinea, annual rent. Now there is

no country under the sun, wherein a soft unctuous marle more abounds than in Jamaica. To the question, *why no trial has yet been made of it?* no better answer, I believe can be given, than that the planters in general have no leisure for experiments, and that it is difficult to make agents and servants (who have every thing to risk and nothing to gain), walk out of the sure and beaten track of daily practice. Every man's experience confirms this observation.

But it is not my province to propose systems, but to record facts;—to describe things *as they are*, rather than as I conceive *they ought to be*; and it is now time to conduct the reader from the field into the boiling-house, and convert the farmer into the manufacturer.

CHAPTER II.

Crop-time the season of health and festivity.—Mills for grinding the canes.—Of the cane-juice, and its component parts.—Process for obtaining raw or muscovado sugar.—Melasses, and its disposal.—Process of making clayed sugar.—Of rum.—Still-houses and stills.—Cisterns, and their ingredients.—Windward Island process.—Jamaica method of double distillation.—Due quantity of rum from a given quantity of sweets, ascertained and stated.

THE time of crop in the Sugar Islands, is the season of gladness and festivity to man and beast. So palatable, salutary, and nourishing is the juice of the cane, that every individual of the animal creation, drinking freely of it derives health and vigour from its use. The meagre and sickly among the negroes exhibit a surprising alteration in a few weeks after the mill is set in action. The labouring horses, oxen and mules, though almost constantly at work during this season, yet, being indulged with plenty of the green tops of this noble plant, and some of the scummings from the

boiling-house, improve more than at any other period of the year. Even the pigs and poultry fatten on the refuse. In short, on a well regulated plantation, under a humane and benevolent director, there is such an appearance during crop-time of health, plenty, and busy cheerfulness, as to soften, in a great measure, the hardships of slavery, and induce a spectator to hope, when the miseries of life are represented as insupportable, that they are sometimes exaggerated through the medium of fancy.*

* "He (says honest old Slard the physician) that undertakes to argue against *sweets* in general, takes upon him a very difficult task, for nature seems to have recommended this taste to all sorts of creatures; the birds of the air, the beasts of the field, many reptiles and flies seem to be pleased and delighted with the specific relish of all sweets, and to distaste its contrary. Now the sugar-cane, or sugar, I hold for the top and highest standard of vegetable sweets." Sugar is obtainable in some degree from most vegetables, and Dr. RUSH of PHILADELPHIA, among the many advantages attending the use of it in diet, enumerates the following:

"1st. Sugar affords the greatest quantity of nourishment in a given quantity of matter of any substance in nature. Used alone, it has fattened horses and cattle in St. Domingo for a period of several months, during the time that the exportation of sugar and the importation of grain were suspended from the want of ships.

"2dly. The plentiful use of sugar in diet is one of the best preventives that ever has been discovered of the diseases which are produced by worms. Nature seems to have implanted a love for this aliment in all children, as if it were on purpose to defend them from those diseases.

The great obstacle at this season to the progress of such of the planters as are not happily furnished with the means of grinding their canes by water, is the frequent failure or insufficiency of their mills; for though a sugar-mill, whether worked by water, wind, or cattle, is a very simple contrivance, great force is nevertheless requisite to make it overcome the resistance which it necessarily meets with. It consists principally of three upright iron-plated rollers, or cylinders, from thirty to forty inches in

“ 3dly. The plague has never been known in any country where sugar composes a material part of the diet of the inhabitants.

“ *N.B.* Dr. RUSH quotes this last observation from Sir John Pringle and adds his own opinion, that the frequency of malignant fevers of all kinds has been lessened by the use of sugar.

“ 4thly. In disorders of the breast, sugar is the basis of many agreeable remedies; and it is useful in weaknesses and acrid defluctions upon other parts of the body. The celebrated Dr. FRANKLIN had taken large quantities of *black berry jam* for the pain of the stone, and found benefit from it, but discovered at length, that the medicinal part of the jam resided wholly in the sugar. From half a pint of a syrup prepared by boiling brown sugar in water, and taken just before he went to bed, he declared, that he often found the same relief that he did from a dose of opium.

“ It has been said that sugar injures the teeth, but this opinion does not deserve a serious reflection.” Am. Phil. Trans. vol. 3.

Mr. Hughes, the historian of Barbadoes, observes, that there is a saponaceous quality in cane juice capable of resolving viscid concretions; to which he attributes, in a great measure, the surprising quick recovery of these sickly negroes who drink freely of it.

length, and from twenty to twenty-five inches in diameter; and the middle one, to which the moving power is applied, turns the other two by means of cogs. Between these rollers, the canes (being previously cut short, and tied into bundles), are twice compressed; for having passed through the first and second rollers, they are turned round the middle one by a circular piece of frame-work, or screen, called in Jamaica the *Dumb-returner*, and forced back through the second and third, an operation which squeezes them completely dry, and sometimes even reduces them to powder. The cane-juice is received in a leaden bed, and thence conveyed into a vessel called the receiver. The refuse, or macerated rind of the cane, (which is called *cane-trash*, in contradistinction to field-trash, described in the preceding chapter), serves for fuel to boil the liquor.*

* Since the first edition of this work was published, I have obtained the elevation and plan of a sugar-mill (several of which have been erected within these few years in Jamaica) after a model originally designed by Edward Woollery, Esq. surveyor of the public works in that island;—The relative proportions in the size of the different rollers or cylinders, vary from Mr. Woollery's first design; but the great improvement, the addition to the middle roller of a lantern-wheel, with trundles or wallowers was purely his own. These act as so many friction-wheels, and their utility and importance are best demonstrated by their effect. A cattle or mule-mill on the old model was thought to perform exceedingly well if it pressed sufficient canes in an hour to yield from 300 to 350 gallons of juice.—The common return of a mill on Mr. Woollery's construction is from 4 to 500 gallons. I have authority to say, that one of these mills in particular, which is worked with ten mules, produces hourly 500 gallons; at this rate,

The juice from the mill ordinarily contains eight parts of pure water, one part of sugar, and one part made of gross oil and mucilaginous gum, with a portion of essential oil. The proportions are taken at a medium; for some juice has been so rich as to make a hogshead of sugar from thirteen hundred gallons, and some so watery as to require more than double that quantity. By a hogshead I mean sixteen hundred weight. The richer the juice is, the more free it is found from redundant oil and gum; so that an exact analysis of any one quantity of juice, would convey very little knowledge of the contents of any other quantity.*

The above component parts are natural to, and are found in, all cane-juice; besides which, the following matters are usually contained in it. Some of the bands or green tops, which serve to tie the canes in bundles, are frequently ground in, and yielded a raw acid juice exceedingly disposed to

allowing four hours out of the twenty-four for loss of time, the return *per diem* is 10,000 gallons; being equal to 36 hogsheads of sugar of 16 cwt. for every week during the crop, exclusive of Sundays.—Few water mills can exceed this. The iron-work of the mill in question, as well as of most of those which have been made on Mr. Woollery's model, was prepared at the foundery of Mr. Thomas Goulding, of the Bank Side, Southwark, to whom I owe it in justice to declare, that his work is executed with such truth and accuracy, as reflect the highest credit on his manufactory.

* A pound of sugar from a gallon of raw liquor, is reckoned in Jamaica very good yielding. Sugar, chemically analysed, yields phlegm, acid, oil, and spongy glossy charcoal.

ferment, and render the whole liquor sour. Some pieces of the trash or ligneous part of the cane; some dirt; and lastly, a substance of some importance, which, as it has no name, I will call *the crust*. The crust is a thin black coat of matter that surrounds the cane between the joints, beginning at each joint and gradually growing thinner the farther from the joint upwards, till the upper part between the joints appears entirely free from it, and resumes its bright yellow colour. It is frequently thick enough to be scaled off by the point of a penknife. It is a fine black powder that mixes with the clammy exudations perspired from the cane, and is most probably produced by *animalcula*. As the fairness of the sugar is one of the marks of its goodness, a small quantity of such a substance must considerably prejudice the commodity.

The process for obtaining the sugar is thus conducted. The juice or liquor runs from the receiver to the boiling house, along a wooden gutter lined with lead. In the boiling house it is received (according to the modern improved system which almost universally prevails in Jamaica) into one of the copper pans or cauldrons called clarifiers. Of these, there are commonly three: and their dimensions are generally determined by the power of supplying them with liquor. There are water-mills that will grind with great ease canes sufficient for thirty hogsheads of sugar in a week. On planta-

tions thus happily provided, the means of quick boiling are indispensably requisite, or the caneliquor will unavoidably become tainted before it can be exposed to the fire. The purest cane-juice will not remain twenty minutes in the receiver without fermenting.* Clarifiers, therefore, are sometimes seen of one thousand gallons each. But as powers of the extent described are uncommon, I shall rather confine myself to such properties as fall within the reach of daily observation; to plantations, for instance, that make on a medium during crop-time, from fifteen to twenty hogsheads of sugar a week. On such estates, three clarifiers of three or four hundred gallons each, are sufficient. With pans of this size, the liquor, when clarified, may be drawn off *at once*, and there is leisure to cleanse the vessels every time they are used. Each

* As cane juice is so very liable to ferment, it is necessary also that the canes should be ground as soon as possible after they are cut, and great care taken to throw aside those which are tainted, which may afterwards be ground for the still-house.

Perhaps it is not an extravagant hope that the time will come, when the salt of the cane which we call sugar, will be made to crystallize, by the action of fire on the juice of the cane, in as pure and transparent a form, as the salt of sea water is frequently made to do in these climates, by the action of the sun's rays. The brown colour of muscovado sugar, seems to me to be derived chiefly from the effect of fire, operating on the gummy parts or mucilage of the raw juice; to destroy or separate which, in the first clarifier, is the great desideratum. If this could be accomplished, the more watery particles might afterwards be evaporated without injuring the colour of the essential salt, which would then strike into crystals nearly transparent.

clarifier is provided either with a syphon or cock for drawing off the liquor. It has a flat bottom, and is hung to a separate fire, each chimney having an iron slider, which being shut the fire goes out for want of air. These circumstances are indispensable, and the advantages of them will presently be shewn*.

The stream then from the receiver having filled the clarifier with fresh liquor, and the fire being lighted, the *temper*, which is commonly Bristol white-lime in powder, is stirred into it. One great intention of this is to neutralize the superabundant acid, and which to get properly rid of, is the great difficulty in sugar-making. This is generally effected by the *Alkali* or lime; part of which, at the same time, becomes the basis of the sugar. The quantity necessary for this purpose, must of course vary with the quality both of the lime and of the cane-liquor.—Some planters allow a pint of Bristol lime to every hundred gallons of liquor; but this proportion I believe is generally found too large.

* The clarifiers are commonly placed in the middle or at one end of the boiling house. If at one end the boiler called the *teache* is placed at the other, and several boilers (generally three) are ranged between them. The *teache* is ordinarily from 70 to 100 gallons, and the boilers between the clarifiers and *teache* diminish in size from the first to the last. Where the clarifiers are in the middle, there is usually a set of three boilers of each side, which constitute in effect a double boiling-house. On very large estates this arrangement is found useful and necessary. The objection to so great a number is the expense of fuel, to obviate which in some degree, the three boilers on each side of the clarifiers are commonly hung to one fire.

The lime is perceptible in the sugar both to the smell and taste, and precipitates in the copper pans a black insoluble calx, which scorches the bottom of the vessels, and is not detached without difficulty. I conceive therefore, that little more than half the quantity mentioned above, is a better medium proportion, and, in order that less of it may be precipitated to the bottom, an inconveniency attending the use of dry lime, Mr. Bousie's method of dissolving it in boiling water, previous to mixing it with the cane-juice, appears to me to be highly judicious.*

* This gentleman (Mr. Bousie) to whom the assembly of Jamaica gave £.1000 for his improvements in the art of sugar-boiling, in a paper distributed by him among the members recommends the use of a vegetable alkali, or ashes of wood calcinated, such as pimento-tree, dumb-cane, fern-tree, cashew, or logwood, as affording a better temper than quick-lime; but he was afterwards sensible that sugar formed on the basis of fixed alkaline salts never stands the sea, unless some earth is joined with the salts. Such earth as approaches nearest to that which is the basis of alum, would perhaps be most proper. As sugar on a vegetable alkaline basis, is generally as much superior in colour, as that on lime is in grain; how far a judicious mixture of vegetable alkaline salts and lime might prove a better temper than either lime or alkaline salts alone, is an inquiry that ought to be pursued. If there were no redundant acid in cane-liquor, lime and any other alkali would be hurtful, as may be shewn by adding a few grains of lime or alkali to a clear solution of refined sugar: a precipitation will ensue. In some parts of Jamaica, where the cane-liquor was exceedingly rich, Mr. Bousie made very good sugar without a particle of temper. I have said, that too much temper is perceptible in the sugar, both to the smell and taste; it might be added, *and also to the sight*. It tinges the liquor first yellow, and if in excess turns it to a dark red. Too much temper likewise

As the fire increases in force, and the liquor grows hot, a scum is thrown up, which is formed of the mucilage or gummy matter of the cane, with some of the oil, and such impurities as the mucilage is capable of entangling. The heat is now suffered gradually to increase, until it rises to within a few degrees of the heat of boiling water. The liquor must by no means be suffered to boil: it is known to be sufficiently heated when the scum begins to rise into blisters, which break into white froth, and appear in general in about forty minutes. The damper is then applied, and the fire extinguished; after which, the liquor is suffered to remain a full hour, if circumstances will admit, undisturbed; during this interval great part of the feculencies and impurities will attract each other, and rise in the scum. The liquor is now carefully drawn off, either by a syphon, which draws up a pure defecated stream through the scum, or by means of a cock at the bottom. In either case the scum sinks down unbroken as the liquor flows, its tenacity preventing any admixture. The liquor is received into a gutter or channel, which conveys it to the evaporating boiler, commonly called the *grand copper*, and, if originally produced from good and untainted canes, will now appear almost, if not perfectly, transparent.*

prevents the mellasses from separating from the sugar when it is potted or put into the hogshead.

* The merit of introducing into Jamaica, the clarifiers at present in use, with syphons and dampers, was claimed by Mr. Samuel

The advantage of clarifying the liquor in this manner, instead of forcing an immediate ebullition, as practised formerly, is visible to the most inattentive observer. The labour which it saves in scumming is wonderful. Neither can scumming properly cleanse the subject; for when the liquor boils violently, the whole body of it circulates with such rapidity, as to carry down again the very impurities that had come up to the surface, and with a less violent heat would have staid there.

In the grand or evaporating copper, which should be large enough to receive the net contents of one of the clarifiers, the liquor is suffered to boil; and as the scum rises, it is continually taken off by large scummers, until the liquor grows finer and somewhat thicker. This labour is continued until, from the scumming and evaporation, the subject is sufficiently reduced in quantity to be contained in the next or second copper, into which it is then laded. The liquor is now nearly of the colour of Madeira wine. In the second copper the boiling and scumming are continued; and if the subject is not so clean as expected, lime-water is thrown into it. This addition is intended, not merely to give more temper, but also to dilute the liquor, which sometimes thickens too fast to permit the feculencies to run together and rise in the scum. Liquor is said to have a good appearance in the second copper,

Sainthill, and an exclusive patent, to secure his claim, was granted to him in 1778 by an act of the assembly.

when the froth in boiling rises in large bubbles, and is but little discoloured. When, from such scumming and evaporation, the liquor is again sufficiently reduced to be contained in the third copper, it is laded into it, and so on to the last copper, which is called the *teache*. This arrangement supposes four boilers or coppers, exclusive of the three clarifiers.

In the *teache* the subject is still further evaporated, till it is judged sufficiently boiled to be removed from the fire. This operation is usually called *striking*; (i. e.) lading the liquor, now exceedingly thick, into the cooler.

The cooler, of which there are commonly six, is a shallow wooden vessel, about eleven inches deep, seven feet in length, and from five to six feet wide. A cooler of this size holds a hogshead of sugar. Here the sugar grains; (i. e.) as it cools it runs into a coarse irregular mass of semiformed crystals, separating itself from the mellasses. From the cooler it is carried to the curing-house, where the mellasses drains from it.*

* It may be proper in this place to observe, that, in order to obtain a large-grained sugar, it must be suffered to cool *slowly and gradually*. If the coolers are too shallow, the grain is injured in a surprising manner. Any person may be convinced of this, by pouring some of the hot syrup, when fit for striking, into a pewter plate. He will immediately find it will have a very small grain.

But, before we follow it into the curing-house, it may be proper to notice the rule for judging when the subject is sufficiently evaporated for *striking*, or become fit for being laded from the teache to the cooler. Many of the negro boilers guess solely by the eye, (which by long habit they do with great accuracy), judging by the appearance of the grain on the back of the ladle; but the practice most in use is to judge by what is called *the touch*; (i. e.) taking up with the thumb a small portion of the hot liquor from the ladle; and, as the heat diminishes, drawing with the forefinger the liquid into a thread. This thread will suddenly break, and shrink from the thumb to the suspended finger, in different lengths, according as the liquor is more or less boiled. The proper boiling height for strong muscovado sugar, is generally determined by a thread of a quarter of an inch long. It is evident that certainty in this experiment can be attained only by long habit, and that no verbal precepts will furnish any degree of skill in a matter depending wholly on constant practice.*

* It is probable, that from this practice of trying by the *touch* (*tactio*), the vessel called the teache derives its name. A method more certain and scientific was recommended some years ago to the public, by my learned friend John Proculus Baker, Esq. Barrister at Law, in the island of Jamaica, in a treatise published by him in 1775, intituled, *An Essay on the Art of making Muscovado Sugar*. It is as follows:—
“ Provide a small thin pane of clear crown glass, set in a frame,
“ which I would call a *tryer*; on this drop two or three drops of the
“ subject, one on the other, and carry your tryer out of the boiling
“ house into the air. Observe your subject, and more particularly
“ whether it grains freely, and whether a small edge of mellasses se-

I now return to the curing-house, which is a large airy building, provided with a capacious mellasses cistern, the sides of which are sloped and lined with terras, or boards. Over this cistern there is a frame of massy joist-work without boarding. On the joists of this frame, empty hogsheads, without headings, are ranged. In the bottoms of these hogsheads eight or ten holes are bored, through each of which the stalk of a plantain leaf is thrust, six or eight inches below the joists, and is long enough to stand upright above the top of the hogshead. Into these hogsheads the mass from the cooler is put, which is called *potting*; and the mellasses drains through the spongy stalk, and drops into the cistern, from whence it is occasionally taken for distillation. The sugar in about

“parates at the bottom. I am well satisfied that a little experience will enable you to judge what appearance the whole skip will put on *wben cold*, by this specimen, which is also *cold*. This method is used by chemists, to try evaporated solutions of all other salts; it may seem, therefore, somewhat strange, it has not been long adopted in the boiling-house.”—I cannot mention Mr. Baker’s Treatise, without observing, that I am considerably indebted to it in the course of this chapter, having adopted (with some small variations, founded on late improvements), his account of the process of boiling sugar. But the inhabitants of the sugar islands are under still greater obligations to Mr. Baker;—for it appears to me, that the present improved system of clarifying the cane-liquor, by means of vessels hung to *repe-ate* fires, and provided with dampers to prevent ebullition, was first suggested to Mr. Sainthill (who three years afterwards claimed the merit of the invention) by the treatise in question; a performance that, for useful knowledge, lucid order, and elegance, both in arrangement and composition, would have done honour to the first writer of the age.

three weeks grows tolerably dry and fair. It is then said to be cured, and the process is finished.*

Sugar, thus obtained, is called *muscovado*, and is the raw material from whence the British sugar-bakers chiefly make their loaf, or refined lump. There is another sort, which was formerly much approved in Great Britain for domestic purposes, and was generally known by the name of Lisbon sugar. It is fair, but of a soft texture, and in the West Indies is called *clayed* sugar; the process is conducted as follows;—

A quantity of sugar from the cooler is put into conical pots or pans, called by the French *formes*, with the points downwards, having a hole about half an inch in diameter at the bottom, for the mellites to drain through, but which at first is closed with a plug. When the sugar in these pots is cool, and becomes a fixed body, which is discoverable by the middle of the top falling in, (generally about twelve hours from the first potting of the hot sugar), the plug is taken out, and the pot placed over a large jar, intended to receive the syrup or mellites that drains from it. In this state it is left as long as the mellites continues to drop, which it will do from twelve to twenty-four hours, when a stratum of clay is spread on the sugar, and moistened with water, which oozing imperceptibly

* The curing-house should be close and warm—as warmth contributes to free the sugar from the mellites.

through the pores of the clay, unites intimately with, and dilutes the mellasses, consequently more of it comes away than from sugar cured in the hogshead, and the sugar of course becomes so much the whiter and purer. The process, according to Sloane, was first discovered in Brasil, by accident; "a hen," says he, "having her feet dirty, going over a pot of sugar, it was found under her tread to be whiter than elsewhere." The reason assigned why this process is not universally adopted in the British sugar islands, is this, that the water which dilutes and carries away the mellasses, dissolves and carries with it so much of the sugar, that the difference in quality does not pay for the difference in quantity. The French planters probably think otherwise, upwards of four hundred of the plantations of St. Domingo having the necessary apparatus for claying, and actually carrying on the system.*

* The loss in weight by claying is about *one-third*; thus a pot of 60lbs. is reduced to 40lbs. but if the mellasses which is drawn off in this practice be reboiled, it will give near 40 per cent. of sugar; so that the real loss is little more than *one-sixth*; but the distillery in that case will suffer for want of the mellasses, and on the whole I believe, that the usage of the English planters in shipping *Muscovado* sugar, and distilling the mellasses, is more generally profitable than the system of *claying*.

OF RUM.

HAVING now furnished the reader with the best account I am able to give of the art of making sugar from the cane juice, I shall proceed to a subsequent process, to which this invaluable plant hath given birth; I mean that of extracting from it by fermentation and distillation, one of the purest, most fragrant, and salutary spirits in the world; a process of far greater curiosity than the former, and of almost equal importance in point of value, considering that the spirit procured by its means, is obtained from the very dregs and feculencies of the plant.

The still-houses on the sugar-plantations in the British West Indies, vary greatly in point of size and expense, according to the fancy of the proprietor, or the magnitude of the property. In general, however, they are built in a substantial manner of stone, and are commonly equal in extent to both the boiling and curing-houses together. Large stills, by which I mean such as contain from to three thousand gallons, have this advantage over small ones; that they are purchased at first at a less proportionate expense. A still of two thousand gallons, with freight and charges, will cost but little more than one of one thousand five hundred gallons, and is besides worked with but little more fuel. But as it is not every propri-

etor that has the means of employing stills of that magnitude, I shall consider such as are fitting for a plantation making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen hundred weight, and proceed to describe, according to the best of my observation and experience, the mode of conducting such an apparatus on such a property, in making rum to the greatest advantage.

For a plantation of that description, I conceive that two copper stills, the one of one thousand two hundred, and the other of six hundred gallons, wine measure, with proportionate pewter worms, are sufficient. The size of the tanks (or tubs) for containing the cold water in which the worms are immersed, must depend on circumstances: if the advantage can be obtained of a running stream, the water may be kept abundantly cool in a vessel barely large enough to contain the worm. If the plantation has no other dependance than that of pond water, a stone tank is infinitely superior to a tub, as being longer in heating, and if it can be made to contain from twenty to thirty thousand gallons, the worms of both the stills may be placed in the same body of water, and kept cool enough for condensing the spirit, by occasional supplies of fresh water.

For working these stills it is necessary to provide, first, a dunder-cistern, of at least three thousand gallons; secondly, a cistern for the scummings; lastly, twelve fermenting vats or cisterns,

each of them of the contents of the largest still, viz. one thousand two hundred gallons. In Jamaica, cisterns are made of plank, fixed in clay; and are universally preferred to vats, or moveable vessels, for the purpose of fermenting. They are not so easily effected by the changes of the weather, nor so liable to leak as vats, and they last much longer. But in the British distilleries, fermenting cisterns are, I believe, unknown. To complete the apparatus, it is necessary to add two or more copper pumps, for conveying the liquor from the cisterns, and pumping up the dunder, and also butts or other vessels for securing the spirit when obtained; and it is usual to build a rum store adjoining the still-house.

The ingredients or materials that set the various apparatus I have described into action, consist of,

1st. Mellasses, or treacle drained from the sugar, as already described.

2dly. Scummings of the hot cane-juice, from the boiling-house, or sometimes raw cane liquor, from canes expressed for the purpose.

3dly. Lees, or, as it is called in Jamaica, *dunder*.*

4thly. Water.

The use of dunder in the making of rum, answers the purpose of yeast in the fermentation of

* From *redunder*, Spanish—the same as *redundans* in Latin.

flour. It is the lees or feculencies of former distillations; and some few planters preserve it for use, from one crop to another; but this is a bad practice. Some fermented liquor, therefore, composed of sweets and water alone, ought to be distilled in the first instance, that fresh dunder may be obtained. It is a dissolvent menstruum, and certainly occasions the sweets with which it is combined, whether mellasses or scummings, to yield a far greater proportion of spirit than can be obtained without its assistance. The water which is added, acts in some degree in the same manner by dilution.

In the Windward Islands the process, according to Colonel Martin, is conducted as follows:

Scummings one-third.

Lees, or dunder one-third.

Water one-third.

When these ingredients are well mixed in the fermenting cisterns, and are pretty cool, the fermentation will rise, in twenty-four hours, to a proper height for admitting the first charge of mellasses, of which six gallons* for every hundred gallons of the fermenting liquor, is the general proportion to be given at twice, viz. three per cent. at

* This quantity of mellasses, added to a third of scummings, gives eleven and a half per cent. of sweets, six gallons of scummings being reckoned equal to one gallon of mellasses.

the first charge, and the other three per cent. a day or two afterwards, when the liquor is in a high state of fermentation; the heat of which, however, should not in general be suffered to exceed from ninety to ninety-four degrees on Fahrenheit's thermometer.*

When the fermentation falls by easy degrees from the fifth to the seventh or eighth day,† so as then to grow fine, and throw up slowly a few clear beads or air globules, it is ripe for distillation; and the liquor or wash being conveyed into the largest still, which must not be filled higher than within eight or ten inches of the brim, lest the head should fly, a steady and regular fire must be kept up until it boils, after which a little fuel will serve. In about two hours the vapour or spirit, being condensed by the ambient fluid, will force its way through the worm in the shape of a stream, as clear and transparent as crystal; and it is suffered to run until it is no longer inflammable.

The spirit which is thus obtained goes by the appellation of *low-wines*. To make it rum of the Jamaica proof, it undergoes a second distillation, of which I shall presently speak; but previously there-

* The infusion of hot water will raise, and of cold water abate the fermentation.

† When the liquor is first set at the beginning of the crop, (the house being cold, and the cisterns not saturated), it will not be fit for distillation under ten or twelve days.

to, I shall point out some little variation between the practice of the Jamaica distillers and those of the Windward islands, observable in the first process. This consists chiefly in a more copious use of dunder.* The following being a very general, and, I believe an improved method, in Jamaica, of compounding the several ingredients, viz.

* As the use of dunder is to dissolve the tendency of the saccharine matter, it should be proportioned not only to the quantity, but also to the nature of the sweets. Thus, when the sweets in the fermenting cistern consists of mellites alone, as generally happens after the business of sugar boiling is finished, when no scummings are to be had, a greater portion of dunder is necessary; because mellites is a body of greater tenacity than cane-liquor, and is rendered so viscous and indurated by the action of the fire, as to be unfit for fermentation without the most powerful saline and acid stimulators. For the same reason, at the beginning of the crop when no mellites is to be had, and the sweets consist of cane-juice or scummings alone, very little dunder is necessary. In such case I should not recommend above twenty per cent. at the utmost. Dunder in a large quantity, certainly injures the flavour, although it may increase the quantity of the spirit. We are informed by Dr. Shaw, that the distillers in England add many things to the fermenting liquor, or wash, in order to augment the vinosity of the spirit, or give it a particular flavour. He observes, that a little tartar, nitre, or common salt, is sometimes thrown in at the beginning of the operation, or in their stead a little of the vegetable or finer mineral acid. These are thought to be of great use in the fermenting of solutions of treacle, honey, and the like sweet and rich vegetable juices, which contain a small proportion of acid. I have heard, that a similar practice prevails among the distillers in St. Christopher's; some of whom consider an addition of sea water to the fermenting liquor (in what proportion I cannot say) as a real and great improvement. Shaw recommends the juice of Seville oranges, lemons, and tamarinds, or other very acid fruits, and, above all other thing, an aqueous solution of tartar; but I conceive that dun-

Dunder one half or	50 gallons		
Sweets	}	Mellasses	6 gallons
12 per cent.		Scummings	36 gallons
		(equal to 6 galls. more of mellasses)	
Water		8	gallons
		—	
		100 gallons.	
		—	

Of this mixture (or *wash*, as it is sometimes called), one thousand two hundred gallons ought to produce three hundred gallons of low wines; and

der alone answers every purpose. He likewise recommends to the distiller, to introduce into the fermenting cistern a few gallons of the rectified spirit, which he says will come back, with a large addition to the quantity of spirit that would otherwise have arisen from the distillation. As I have tried none of these experiments, I can say nothing in their favour of my own knowledge; but I believe, that a small quantity of vegetable ashes thrown into the rum still will be found serviceable. The alkaline salts are supposed to attenuate the spirit and keep back the gross and fetid oil, which the distillers call the *faints*; but if used in too great a quantity, they may keep back also a proportion of the fine essential oil, on which the flavour of the rum wholly depends. Perhaps the most important object of attention, in the making rum of a good flavour, is cleanliness; for all adventitious or foreign substances destroy or change the peculiar flavour of the spirit. In truth, it should be a constant rule with the manager or distiller to see that the cisterns are scalded, and even cleansed with strong lime-water, each time they are used; not merely on account of the rum, but also, because it has frequently happened, that the vapour of a foul cistern has instantly killed the first person that has entered it without due precaution.

the still may be twice charged and drawn off in one day. The method of adding all the mellasses at once, which is done soon after the fermentation commences, renders the process safe and expeditious; whereas by charging the mellasses at different times, the fermentation is checked, and the process delayed.

Let us now complete the process according to the Jamaica method. The low-wines obtained as above, are drawn off into a butt or vessel, and as opportunity serves, are conveyed into the second still of six hundred gallons, to undergo a further distillation. The steam begins to run in about one hour and a half, and will give, in the course of the day, two hundred and twenty gallons, or two puncheons, of oil-proof rum, (i. e.) of spirit in which olive oil will sink; and thus the manufacture, if it may be so called, is complete. There will remain in the still a considerable quantity of weaker spirit, commonly about seventy gallons, which is returned to the low-wine butt. Thus, two hundred and twenty gallons of proof rum are, in fact, made from five hundred and thirty gallons of low-wines; or about one hundred and thirteen of rum from one thousand two hundred of wash.*

*Proof spirit of any kind weighs seven pound twelve ounces per gallon. According to the English hydrostatical table, the cubic inch of proof spirit weighs 9 p. wt. 19.73 gr. troy, or 8.62 dr. avoirdupois. But it has been found, that a cubic inch of good brandy is ten grains heavier in winter than in summer, and that 32 gallons of spirits in winter will make 33 in summer.

By means of the apparatus and process which I have thus described, the Jamaica distiller may fill weekly, working only by day-light, (a necessary precaution in this employment), and at a small expense of labour and fuel, twelve puncheons of rum, containing each one hundred and ten gallons of the Jamaica standard. The proportion of the whole rum to the crop of sugar, is commonly estimated in Jamaica as three to four. Thus a plantation of the above description, is supposed to supply annually, one hundred and fifty puncheons of rum of one hundred and ten gallons each; or eighty-two gallons of Jamaica proof to each hogshead of sugar; and this return, I do believe, is sometimes fairly made from canes planted in rich and moist lands; but on a general estimate I think it too great an allowance, and that two hundred gallons of rum to three hogsheads of sugar, which is in the proportion of about two thirds rum to the crop of sugar, is nearer the truth.*

* This will be better understood by attending to the following particulars:—The general supply of scummings to the still-house is seven gallons out of every hundred gallons of cane-liquor. Supposing, therefore, that two thousand gallons of cane juice is required for each hogshead of sugar of sixteen hundred weight, the scummings, on a plantation making two hundred hogsheads per annum, will be twenty-eight thousand gallons, equal to

4,666 gallons of mellasses.

Add the mellasses from the curing-house, which, if the sugar is of a good quality, will seldom exceed sixty gallons per hogshead.	}	12,000 gallons.
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Total of sweets 16,666 gallons,

The reader will please to recollect, that in this, and the preceding chapter, the observations which I have made, both concerning the cultivation of the sugar-cane in the field, and the subsequent processes of the boiling house and distillery; have been drawn chiefly from the practice of Jamaica. Some selection was necessary, and I could refer to no mode of conducting a sugar plantation, with such propriety, as to that with which I am myself practically acquainted.—My next inquiries will relate to the particulars of the first cost of this species of property, to the current expenses attending it, and to the returns which may be reasonably ex-

This distilled at and after the rate of twelve per cent. sweets in the fermenting cistern, will give 34,720 gallons of low-wines, which ought to produce 14,412 gallons of good proof rum, or one hundred and thirty-one puncheons of a hundred and ten gallons each. When a greater proportion than this is made, one or other of these circumstances must exist, either the sugar discharges an unusual quantity of mellasses, or the boiling house is defrauded of the cane-liquor by improper scummings. This latter circumstance frequently happens.

It should also be observed, that it is the practice of late, with many planters, to raise the proof of rum; thus gaining in strength of spirit, what is lost in quantity: and there are managers who make it a rule to return the scummings to the clarifiers, instead of sending them to the still house. This last mentioned practice reduces the crop of rum more than one-third; but it is supposed to yield in sugar more than is lost in rum; and if the price of sugar is very high, and that of rum very low, it may be prudent to adopt this method.

pected from a capital thus employed; and here again my estimates will refer chiefly to Jamaica. That there is a considerable variation in some of the Windward Islands, I have no doubt. In St. Christopher's, for instance, some of the lands are certainly more valuable than the very best in Jamaica; but, on the other hand, Jamaica is exempted from the duty of *four and a half* per cent. and has other advantages, which probably make the scale even.



CHAPTER III.

Capital necessary in the settlement or purchase of a sugar plantation of a given extent.—The lands, buildings, and stock separately considered.—Particulars and cost.—Gross returns from the property.—Annual disbursements.—Net profits.—Various contingent charges not taken into the account.—Difference not commonly attended to, in the mode of estimating the profits of an English estate, and one in the West Indies.—Insurance of West India estates in time of war, and other occasional deductions.—The question, why the cultivation of the Sugar Islands has increased under so many discouragements, considered and discussed.

A SUGAR plantation consists of three great parts; the lands, the buildings, and the stock: but before I proceed to discriminate their relative proportions and value, it may be proper to observe, that the business of sugar planting is a sort of adventure in which the man that engages must engage deeply.—There is no medium, and very seldom the possibility of retreat. A British country gentleman, who is content to jog on without risk

on the moderate profits of his own moderate farm, will startle to hear, that it requires a capital of no less than thirty thousand pounds sterling to embark in this employment with a fair prospect of advantage. To elucidate this position, it must be understood, that the annual contingencies of a small or moderate plantation, are very nearly equal to those of an estate of three times the magnitude. A property, for instance, producing annually one hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. has occasion for similar white servants, and for buildings and utensils of nearly the same extent and number, as a plantation yielding from two to three hundred such hogsheads, with rum in proportion. In speaking of capital, I mean either money, or a solid well established credit; for there is this essential difference attending loans obtained on landed estates in Great Britain, and those which are advanced on the credit of West Indian plantations, that an English mortgage is a marketable security which a West Indian mortgage is not. In England, if a mortgagee calls for his money, other persons are ready to advance it: now this seldom happens in regard to property in the West Indies. The credit obtained by the sugar planter is commonly given by men in trade, on the prospect of speedy returns and considerable advantage; but as men in trade seldom find it convenient to place their money out of their reach for any length of time, the credit which they give is oftentimes suddenly withdrawn, and the ill-fated planter compelled, on this account, to sell his property at much less than half its first

cost. The credit therefore of which I speak, considered as a capital, must not only be extensive but permanent.

Having premised thus much, the application of which will hereafter be seen, I shall employ my present inquiries in ascertaining the fair and well-established prices at which a sugar estate may at this time be purchased or created, and the profits which may honestly and reasonably be expected from a given capital so employed; founding my estimate on a plantation producing, one year with another, two hundred hogsheads of sugar of sixteen cwt. and one hundred and thirty puncheons of rum of one hundred and ten gallons each: an estate of less magnitude, I conceive, for the reasons before given, to be comparatively a losing concern. Afterwards I shall endeavour to account for the eagerness which has been shewn by many persons to adventure in this line of cultivation.—I begin then with the

LANDS.

On a survey of the general run of the sugar estates in Jamaica, it is found, that the land in canes commonly constitutes one-third of the plantation; another third is appropriated to pasturage and the cultivation of provisions, such as plantains, (a hearty and wholesome food), eddoés, yams, potatoes, cassada, corn, and other vegetable esculents peculiar to the country and climate; and which, with salted fish, supplied the negroes weekly, and small stock, as pigs and poultry, of their own raising, make their chief support, and in general it is ample. The remaining third is reserved in native woods, for the purpose of furnishing timbers for repairing the various buildings, and supplying fire-wood for the boiling and distilling-houses, in addition to the cane-trash, and for burning lime and bricks.—As therefore a plantation yielding, *on an average*, two hundred hogsheads of sugar annually, requires, as I conceive, not less than three hundred acres to be planted in canes, the whole extent of such a property must be reckoned at nine hundred acres. I am persuaded that the sugar plantations in Jamaica making those returns, commonly exceed, rather than fall short of this estimate; not, as hath been ignorantly asserted, from a fond and avaricious propensity in the proprietors to engross more land than is necessary; but be-

cause, from the nature of the soil, and rugged surface of the country, the lands vary greatly in quality, and it is seldom that even three hundred acres of soil in contiguity, fit for the production of sugar, can be procured. A purchaser therefore must take the bad with the good. Nevertheless, as it is my intention to give as precise an idea as I can of the profits to be made in the sugar-planting business, *under the most favourable circumstances*, I will allow nothing for a dead capital vested in unproductive woodland, but fix on six hundred acres, as sufficient for all the purposes that have been mentioned; appropriating one-half of the whole, instead of one-third, to the culture of the cane.

The price of woodland in Jamaica depends chiefly on its situation. In seasonable parts of the country, and in the vicinity of the sea, I conceive it would be difficult to purchase a quantity of a sugar land sufficient for a good estate, unless at a very high price. On the north side, in a fertile and seasonable parish, I have lately known a tract of eight hundred acres, with a fine river running through it, sell for ten pounds currency per acre, but it was at the distance of ten miles from the sea; and the purchaser had a new and difficult road to make for three miles of the way. Such another territory, without the inconveniencies to which this was subject, would as lands sell in Jamaica, be well worth, and easily obtain, fourteen pounds

currency, or ten pounds sterling, per acre. Six hundred acres at this price is £.8,400 currency. The cost of clearing one-half, and planting it in canes, including four cleanings, would be £.12 currency per acre, or £.3,600. Clearing and planting 100 acres in provisions, would be £.7 an acre, or £.700; the same for clearing and planting 100 acres in Guinea grass. Inclosing and fencing the whole would cost, on a moderate estimate, £.700 more.—Total £.14,100 currency, being equal to £.10,071 sterling.

BUILDINGS.

The buildings which will be found necessary on a plantation of the magnitude described are,

- 1st. A water-mill, (if water can be obtained), the cost of which, ^{Jamaica} Currency considering that a great extent of stone guttering is commonly requisite, may be stated, on a very low estimate, at £.1000 sterling. In case no water-mill can be erected, I do not conceive that a single mill, whether worked by cattle, mules, or wind, is sufficient to take off the crop in due time, a most important object, on which the future success of the plantation depends. I allow, therefore, for a wind-mill and one cattle-mill, or for two cattle-mills without a wind mill, a sum equal to the cost of a water-mill, or - - - 1,400
- 2d. A boiling-house, 45 by 22 feet, to contain 3 copper clarifiers, of 350 gallons each, and four other pans or boilers, including the cost of the same, and other utensils. - 1,000

- | | | |
|--|---------------------|-----|
| 3d. A curing-house, adjoining to the boiling-house, calculated to hold one half the crop, with strong joists of solid timbers instead of a floor, having a terrassed or boarded platform underneath, leading to a mellasses cistern, lined with terras, sufficient to contain 6000 gallons. | Jamaica
Currency | 800 |
| 4th. A distilling-house, 70 feet by 30; the distillery part to contain 2 stills of 1200 and 600 gallons, with worms proportionate; also a stone tank or cistern, to hold 30,000 gallons of water; the fermenting part to contain two, or more, vats, or cisterns, for the dunder and skimmings; also 12 cisterns of solid plank fixed in the earth, of 1200 gallons each, with copper pumps, and other necessary apparatus: together also with a rum store under the same roof | 1,600 | |
| 5th. A dwelling-house for the overseer | 600 | |
| 6th. Two trash-houses, each 120 feet by 30; the foundation stone, the sides open, the roof supported by stone pillars, and covered by shingles, £.300 each | 600 | |

7th. A hospital for the sick negroes, containing also a room for lying-in women, a room for confining disorderly negroes, a shop for the doctor, and one or more store rooms for securing the plantation utensils and provisions	Jamaica <u>Currency</u> 300
8th. A mule stable, for 60 mules, with a corn loft above	150
9th. Shops for the different tradesmen, viz. carpenters, coopers, wheelwright, and smith	150
10th. Sheds for waggons, wains, carts, &c.	50
Add extra expenses, such as the cost of the wains, utensils for the smith's shop, household furniture, &c. &c.	350

The total is £.5,000 sterling ———
 being equal to, currency, £.7,000
 ———

STOCK.

The stock on a plantation of the magnitude described, cannot prudently consist of less than two hundred and fifty negroes, eighty steers, and sixty mules. It is not sufficient to object, that two hundred hogsheads of sugar have been produced by the labour of a less number of negroes than is here allowed: I am treating of an estate which produces that quantity *on a medium*; consequently, as, from droughts and unfavourable seasons, the crops will sometimes fall short of, at other times they must greatly exceed the numbers prescribed; and under these circumstances, I do not believe a plantation will easily be named that possesses (*or employs, in job work and otherwise*) a less number of negroes annually. If such an estate there is, I hesitate not to pronounce, that it is in improvident hands; for what management can be worse than that which, by over-working the negroes, sacrifices the capital for the sake of a temporary augmented income?—The cost of the stock, therefore, may be stated as follows:

	Jamaica Currency.
250 Negroes, at £.70 each	17,500
80 Steers, at £.15	1,200
60 Mules, at £.28	1,680
	<hr/>
Total in currency (equal to £14,557 ster.)	£20,380

Let us now bring the whole into one point of view.

	Jamaica Currency.
Lands, - - - - -	14,100
Buildings, - - - - -	7,000
Stock, - - - - -	20,380

Total in currency, £.41,480

Which is only £.520 short of £.42,000 Jamaica currency, or £.30,000 sterling, the sum first mentioned; and I am further of opinion, that if the owner of such a property were to sell it by appraisement, the valuation would amount to nearly the sum expended. It would therefore be more advisable, undoubtedly, to purchase a plantation ready settled, rather than attempt to create a new one from uncleared lands; inasmuch, as the labour and risk of the undertaking would be thereby avoided;—but however this may be, it must be considered as a fixed and well established fact, that a sugar plantation of the extent and returns which have been supposed, whether acquired by purchase, or by the risk and labour of clearing the lands, will unavoidably cost (the necessary buildings and stock included) £.30,000 sterling, before any adequate interest can be received from the capital.

The produce of such a plantation has been stated at 200 hogsheads of sugar, of 16 cwt. and 130 puncheons of rum, of 110 gallons, *communibus*

annis; the value of which, according to the average prices at the London market for ten years previous to 1791, may be reckoned as follows:

200 Hogsheads of sugar, at £.15 sterling per hogshead	- - -	3,000
130 Puncheons of rum, £.10 sterling per puncheon	- - -	1,300
		<hr/>
Gross returns		£.4,300

But the reader is not to imagine that all this, or even the sugar alone, is so much clear profit. The annual disbursements are first to be deducted, and very heavy they are; nor is any opinion more erroneous than that which supposes they are provided for by the rum. If such indeed were the fact, the capital would yield precisely an annual interest of ten per cent. but a reference to the several items which I have particularized in a note,* will

• ANNUAL SUPPLIES FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

1st. NEGRO CLOTHING; viz.

- 1,500 Yards of Osnaburg cloth or German linen.
- 650 Yards of blue baize, or pennistones, for a warm frock for each negro.
- 350 Yards of striped linseys for the women.
- 250 Yards of coarse check for shirts for the boilers, tradesmen, domestics, and children.
- 3 Dozen of coarse blankets for lying-in women, and sick negroes.
- 18 Dozen of coarse hats.

demonstrate the fallacy of this too common mode of calculation. They amount at a very moderate esti-

2d. TOOLS.

For the carpenters and coopers, to the amount of £.25 sterling, including 2 or 3 dozen of falling-axes.

3d. MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

- 160,000 Nails of different sizes.
- 2,500 Puncheon rivets.
- 6 Cattle chains.
- 6 Dozen of hoes.
- 6 Dozen of bills.
- 20 Dozen of small clasp knives for the negroes.
- 4 Dozen of ox bows.
- 50 bundles of iron hoops.
- 2 Sets of puncheon truss hoops.
- 2 Sets of hogshead ditto.
- 80 Gallons of train oil for lamps.
- 2 Barrels of tar.
- 2 Boxes of short tobacco pipes for the negroes.
- 180 Bundles of wood hoops.
- 2 Sheets of lead.
- 6 Large copper ladles } for the boilers.
- 6 Ditto skimmers }
- 8 Dozen of small iron pots for the negroes.
- 2 Puncheons of Bristol lime for temper.
- 4 Grindstones.

PROVISIONS, &c. chiefly from Ireland.

- 80 Barrels of herrings, or salted cod equal thereto.
- 6 Barrels of salted beef.
- 2 Barrels of salted pork.
- 4 Firkins of salted butter.
- 2 Boxes of soap.
- 2 Boxes of candles.
- 2 Hogsheads of salt.
- 6 Barrels of flour.
- 6 Kegs of pease.
- 3 Jugs of groats.

mate, (including freight, charges, and merchants commissions, and adding a proportional part of the cost of many expensive articles, such as coppers, stills, wain-tyre, grating-bars, &c. which would perhaps be wanted once in five years) to the sum of £.850 sterling. To this sum are to be added the following very heavy

Charges within the Island; viz.

	<u>Currency.</u>
Overseer's or manager's salary - - -	200
Distiller's ditto - - - -	70
Two other white servants, £.60 each	120
A white carpenter's wages - - -	100
Maintenance of five white servants, exclusive of their allowance of salted provisions, £.40 each - - -	200
Medical care of the negroes, (at 6s. per annum for each negro), and extra cases which are paid for separately -	100
Mill-wright's, coppersmith's, plumber's, and smith's bills, annually - - -	250
Colonial taxes, public and parochial -	200
Annual supply of mules and steers -	300
Wharfage and storage of goods landed and shipped - - - -	100
American staves and heading, for hogsheds and puncheons, - - - -	150
A variety of small occasional supplies of different kinds, supposed - - -	50
	<hr/>
Equal to £.1,300 sterling; currency	£.1.840

The total amount, therefore, of the annual contingent charges of all kinds, is £.2,150 sterling, which is precisely one-half the gross returns; leaving the other moiety, or £.2,150 sterling, and no more, clear profit to the planter, being seven per cent. on his capital, and £.50 over, without charging, however, a shilling for making good the decrease of the negroes, or for the wear and tear of the buildings, or making any allowance for dead capital, and supposing too, that the proprietor resides on the spot; for if he is absent, he is subject, in Jamaica, to an annual tax of six pounds per cent. on the gross value of the sugar and rum, for legal commissions to his agent. With these, and other drawbacks, (to say nothing of the devastations which are sometimes occasioned by fires and hurricanes, destroying in a few hours the labour of years), it is not wonderful, that the profits should frequently dwindle to nothing; or rather, that a sugar estate, with all its boasted advantages, should sometimes prove a mill-stone about the neck of its unfortunate proprietor, which is dragging him to destruction!*

Admitting even that his prudence, or good fortune, may be such as to exempt him from most of the losses and calamities that have been enumerated, it must nevertheless be remembered, that the

* In Jamaica, the usual mode of calculating in a general way, the average profits of a sugar estate, is to allow £.10 sterling per annum for every negro, young and old, employed in this line of cultivation.

sugar planter is at once both landlord and tenant on his property. In contrasting the profits of a West India plantation with those of a landed estate in Great Britain, this circumstance is commonly overlooked; yet nothing is more certain than that an English proprietor, in stating the income that he receives from his capital, includes not in his estimate the profits made by his tenants. These constitute a distinct object, and are usually reckoned equal to the clear annual rent which is paid to the proprietor. Thus a farm in England, producing an income of three and a half per cent. to the owner, is in fact proportionably equal to a sugar plantation yielding double the profit to the planter; and possesses besides, all that stability, certainty, and security, the want of which is the great drawback on the latter. An English gentleman, when either extreme of dry or wet weather injures the crop on his lands, has no other concern in the calamity than such as the mere feelings of humanity may dictate: Nor is he under the disagreeable necessity in time of war, of paying large premiums for insuring his estate from capture by a foreign enemy. This is another tax, which the unfortunate West Indian, resident in Great Britain, must add to his expenses; or submit to the disagreeable alternative of passing many an uneasy day and sleepless night, in dreadful anxiety for the fate of his possessions, and the future subsistence of his family;—harrassed, perhaps, at the same time, by creditors, whose importunity increases as their security becomes endangered.

But there is a question, naturally arising from the premises, to which it is proper that I should, in this place give an answer; and it is this: Seeing that a capital is wanted which few men can command, and considering withal, that the returns are in general but small, and at best uncertain, how has it happened, that the Sugar Islands have been so rapidly settled, and many a great estate purchased in the mother country, from the profits that have accrued from their cultivation? It were to be wished that those who make such inquiries would inquire on the other hand, how many unhappy persons have been totally and irretrievably ruined, by adventuring in the cultivation of these islands, without possessing any adequate means to support them in such great undertakings? On the failure of some of these unfortunate men, vast estates have indeed been raised by persons who have had money at command: men there are who, reflecting on the advantages to be derived from this circumstance, behold a sugar planter struggling in distress, with the same emotions as are felt by the Cornish peasants in contemplating a shipwreck on the coast, and hasten with equal rapaciousness to participate in the spoil. Like them too, they sometimes hold out false lights to lead the unwary adventurer to destruction; more especially, if he has any thing considerable of his own to set out with. Money is advanced, and encouragement given, to a certain point; but a skillful practitioner well knows where to stop: he is aware what very large

sums must be expended in the purchase of the freehold, and in the first operations of clearing and planting the lands, and erecting the buildings, before any return can be made. One-third of the money thus expended, he has perhaps furnished; but the time soon arrives when a further advance is requisite to give life and activity to the system, by the addition of the negroes and the stock. Now then is the moment for oppression, aided by the letter of the law and the process of office, to reap a golden harvest. If the property answers expectation, and the lands promise great returns, the sagacious creditor, instead of giving further aid, or leaving his too confident debtor to make the best of his way by his own exertions, pleads a sudden and unexpected emergency; and insists on immediate repayment of the sum already lent. The law on this occasion, is far from being chargeable with delay; and avarice is inexorable. A sale is hurried on, and no bidders appear but the creditor himself. Ready money is required in payment, and every one sees that a further sum will be wanting to make the estate productive. Few therefore have the means, who have even the wish, efficaciously to assist the devoted victim. Thus, the creditor gets the estate at his own price, commonly for his first advance, while the miserable debtor has reason to thank his stars if, consoling himself with only the loss of his own original capital, and his labour for a series of years, he escapes a prison for life.

That this is no creation of the fancy, nor even an exaggerated picture, the records of the courts of law, in all or most of our islands, (Jamaica especially), and the recollection of every inhabitant, furnish incontestible proof. At the same time it cannot justly be denied, that there are creditors, especially among the British merchants, of a very different character from those that have been described, who, having advanced their money to resident planters, not in view of deriving undue advantages from their labours and necessities, but solely on the fair and honourable ground of reciprocal benefit, have been compelled, much against their inclination, to become planters themselves; being obliged to receive unprofitable West Indian estates in payment, or lose their money altogether. I have known plantations transferred in this manner, which are a burthen instead of a benefit to the holder; and are kept up solely in the hope, that favourable crops and an advance in the prices of West Indian produce, may some time or other, invite purchasers. Thus oppression in one class of creditors, and gross injustice towards another, contribute equally to keep up cultivation in a country, where, if the risques and losses are great, the gains are sometimes commensurate; for sugar estates there are, undoubtedly, from which, instead of the returns that I have estimated as the average interest on the capital, double that profit has been obtained. It is indeed true, that such instances are extremely rare; but perhaps to that very circumstance, which to a philosopher specu-

lating in his closet, would seem sufficient to deter a wise man from adventuring in this line of cultivation, it is chiefly owing, that so much money has been expended in it: I mean the fluctuating nature of its returns. The quality of sugar varies occasionally to so great a degree, as to create a difference in its marketable value of upwards of ten shillings sterling in the hundred weight, the whole of which is clear profit, the duties and charges being precisely the same on Muscovado sugar, of whatever quality. Thus, fine sugar has been known to yield a clear profit to the planter of no less than £.1,500 sterling on 200 hogsheads of the usual magnitude, beyond what the same number, where the commodity is inferior in quality, would have obtained at the same market. To aver that this difference is imputable wholly to soil and seasons in the West Indies, or to the state of the British market, is to contradict common observation and experience. Much, undoubtedly, depends on skill in the manufacture; and the process being apparently simple, the beholder (from a propensity natural to the busy and inquisitive part of mankind) feels an almost irresistible propensity to engage in it. In this, therefore, as in all other enterprises, whose success depends in any degree on human sagacity and prudence, though perhaps not more than one man in fifty comes away fortunate, every sanguine adventurer takes for granted that he shall be that *one*. Thus his system of life becomes a course of experiments, and if ruin should be the consequence of his rashness, he imputes his misfortunes to any

cause, rather than to his own want of capacity or foresight.

That the reasons thus given, are the only ones that can be adduced in answer to the question that has been stated, I presume not to affirm. Other causes, of more powerful efficacy, may perhaps be assigned by men of wider views and better information. The facts however which I have detailed, are too striking and notorious to be controverted or concealed.

Having now, I believe, sufficiently treated of the growth, cultivation, and manufacture of sugar, &c. and pointed out with a minuteness (tedious perhaps, but) suited, as I conceive, to the importance of the subject, the first cost and current contingencies attending the establishment and profitable maintenance of a sugar plantation, together with the risque and gains eventually arising from this species of property, I shall proceed, in the following chapter, to furnish my readers with such information as I have been able to collect concerning the minor staples, especially those important ones of cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, pimento, and ginger, which, with sugar and rum, principally constitute the bulky freight that gives employment to an extent of shipping, nearly equal to the whole commercial tonnage of England at the beginning of the present century.



CHAPTER IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities; viz. COTTON, its growth and various species.—Mode of cultivation and risques attending it.—Import of this article into Great Britain, and profits accruing from the manufactures produced by it.—INDIGO, its cultivation and manufacture.—Opulence of the first Indigo planters in Jamaica, and, reflections concerning the decline of this branch of cultivation in that island.—COFFEE, whether that of the West Indies equal to the Mocha?—Situation and soil.—Exorbitant duty to which it was subject in Great Britain.—Approved method of cultivating the plant and curing the berry.—Estimate of the annual expenses and returns of a Coffee plantation.—CACAO, GINGER, ARNOTTO, ALOES, and PIMENTO; brief account of each.

COTTON.

THAT beautiful vegetable wool, or substance called cotton, is the spontaneous production of three parts of the earth. It is found growing naturally in all the tropical regions of Asia, Africa, and America; and may justly be comprehended

among the most valuable gifts of a bountiful Creator, superintending and providing for the necessities of man.

The cotton-wool, which is manufactured into cloth (for there is a species in the West Indies, called silk or wild cotton, unfit for the loom) consists of two distinct kinds, known to the planters by the names of GREEN-SEED COTTON, and SHRUB COTTON; and these again have subordinate marks of difference, with which the cultivator ought to be well acquainted if he means to apply his labours to the greatest advantage.

GREEN-SEED cotton is of two species; of one of which the wool is so firmly attached to the seed, that no method has hitherto been found of separating them, except by the hand; an operation so tedious and troublesome, that the value of the commodity is not proportionate to the pains that are requisite in preparing it for market. This sort therefore is at present cultivated principally for supplying wick for the lamps that are used in sugar-boiling, and for domestic purposes; but the staple being exceedingly good, and its colour perfectly white, it would doubtless be a valuable acquisition to the muslin manufactory, could means be found of detaching it easily from the seed.

The other sort has larger seeds, of a duller green than the former, and the wool is not of equal fineness; though much finer than the cotton-

wool in general cultivation ; and it is easily separated from the seed by the common method, hereafter to be described, I have been told that this species of the green-seed cotton is not sufficiently known to the planters in general, (being usually confounded with the former), or that probably it would be in high estimation.

Both the species above-mentioned, though they produce pods at an early stage, when they are mere shrubs, will, if suffered to spread, grow into trees of considerable magnitude, and yield annual crops, according to the season, without any kind of cultivation. The blossoms put forth in succession from October to January, and the pods begin to open fit for gathering from February to June. I come now to the

SHRUB COTTON, properly so called. The shrub itself very nearly resembles an European Corinth bush, and may be subdivided into several varieties, all of which however very nearly resemble each other.* These varieties (such of them at least as have come to my knowledge) are,

* The flowers are composed of five large yellow leaves, each stained at the bottom with a purple spot. They are beautiful, but devoid of fragrance. The pistil is strong and large, surrounded at and near the top with a yellow farinaceous dust, which, when ripe, falls into the matrix of the pistil. This is likewise surrounded, when the petals of the flowers drop, with a capsular pod, supported by three triangular green leaves deeply jagged at their ends. The inclosed pod

1st. The *Common Jamaica*; the seeds of which are oblong, perfectly smooth, and have no beard at the smaller end. The staple is coarse, but strong. Its greatest defect is, that the seeds are so brittle it is scarce possible to render it perfectly clean; on which account it is the lowest priced cotton at the British market. Such however is the obstinacy of habit, that few of the British cotton planters give themselves the trouble to select a better sort, or seem indeed to wish for it.

2d. *Brown Bearded*.—This is generally cultivated with the species last mentioned, but the staple is somewhat finer, and the pods, though fewer in number, produce a greater quantity of wool. The shrub gives likewise a better ratoon. It is therefore the interest of the cotton planter to cultivate it separately. The only disadvantage attending it is, that it is not so easily detached from the seed as the other, and therefore a negro will clear a few pounds less in his day's work.

3d. *Nankeen*.—This differs but little in the seeds or otherwise from the species last mentioned, except in the colour of the wool, which is that of the cloth called Nankeen. It is not so much in demand as the white.

opens, when ripe, into three or four partitions, discovering the cotton is as many white locks as there are partitions in the pod. In these locks are interspersed the seeds, which are commonly small and black.

4th. *French, or Small-seed*, with a whitish beard. This is the cotton in general cultivation in Hispaniola. Its staple is finer, and its produce equal to either of the three species last mentioned, as the shrub is supposed to bear a greater number of pods than the Jamaica, or the Brown Bearded, but is less hardy than either.

5th. *Kidney Cotton*, so called from the seeds being conglomerated or adhering firmly to each other in the pod. In all the other sorts they are separated. It is likewise called *Chain Cotton*, and, I believe, is the true Cotton of Brasil.—The staple is good, the pod large, and the produce considerable. A single negro may clear with ease sixty-five pounds in a day, besides which, it leaves the seeds behind unbroken, and comes perfectly clean from the rollers. It is therefore improvident, in the highest degree, to mix this species with any other.

On the whole, the most profitable sorts for general cultivation seem to be, the second of the Green-seed, the French or small seed, and the Brazilian. The mode of culture is the same with all the different species, and there is this advantage attending them all, that they will flourish in the driest and most rocky soils, *provided such lands have not been exhausted by former cultivation*. Dryness, both in respect of the soil and atmosphere, is indeed essentially necessary in all its stages; for if the land is moist, the plant expends itself in branches and leaves, and if the rains

are heavy, either when the plant is in blossom, or when the pods are beginning to unfold, the crop is lost. Perhaps, however, these observations apply more immediately to the French cotton than to any other.

The plant is raised from the seed, the land requiring no other preparation than to be cleared of its native incumbrances; and the season for putting the seed into the ground is from May to September, both months inclusive. This is usually done in ranks or rows, leaving a space between each, of six or eight feet, the holes in each row being commonly four feet apart.—It is the practice to put eight or ten of the seeds into each hole, because some of them are commonly devoured by a grub or worm, and others rot in the ground. The young sprouts make their appearance in about a fortnight, but they are of slow growth for the first six weeks, at which period it is necessary to clean the ground and draw the supernumerary plants, leaving two or three only of the strongest in each hole. One plant alone would be sufficient to leave, if there was any certainty of its coming to maturity; but many of the tender sprouts are devoured by the grub. At the age of three or four months, the plants are cleaned a second time; and both the stem and branches pruned, or, as it is called, *topp'd*, an inch (or more if the plants are luxuriant) being broke off from the end of each shoot; which is done in order to make the stems throw out a greater number of lateral branches.

This operation, if the growth be over luxuriant, is sometimes performed a second, and even a third time. At the end of five months, the plant begins to blossom and put forth its beautiful yellow flowers, and in two months more, the pod is formed. From the seventh to the tenth month the pods ripen in succession; when they burst open in three partitions, displaying their white and glossy down to the sight. The wool is now gathered, the seeds being enveloped in it; from which it is afterwards extricated by a machine resembling a turner's lathe. It is called a *gin*, and is composed of two small rollers placed close and parallel to each other in a frame, and turned in opposite directions by different wheels, which are moved by the foot.* The cotton being put by the hand to these rollers as they move round, readily passes between them, leaving the seeds, which are too large for the interspace, behind. The wool is afterwards hand-picked, that it may be properly cleared of decayed leaves, broken seeds, and wool which has been stained and damaged in the pod.† It is then packed into bags of about two hundred pounds weight, and sent to market.

* It is a very slight and simple instrument, and costs only from two to three guineas.

† The cotton manufactory of England, since the year 1780, hath made a rapid improvement, owing to the large spinning machines which are worked by water. These require the cleanest cotton, as the smallest particle of a broken seed breaks the thread in this mode of spinning.

The finest grained and most perfectly cleaned cotton, which is brought to the English market, is, I believe, that of the Dutch plantations of Berbice, Demerara and Surinam, and of the island of Cayenne; but before the year 1780 England had no fine manufactories. In the latter end of that year, however, cotton wool of all kinds found a ready sale at the following prices:

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
Berbice	2	1	per lb.
Demerara	1	11	to 2 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i>
Surinam	2	0	
Cayenne	2	0	
St. Domingo	1	10	
Tobago	1	9	
Jamaica	1	7	

Since that time the prices have indeed varied, but the relative value has continued nearly the same; that is, the difference of price between the cotton of Berbice and that of Jamaica has been from 25 to 30 per cent. in favour of the former; a circumstance which alone should convince the most bigoted planter of the British West Indies that, if he wishes to turn his labours to account, the choice of a better species of cotton, at least of a sort more easily cleaned than that in general cultivation, is indispensably requisite.

I shall now bring into one point of view the several particulars attending the first cost and settle-

ment of a plantation in this sort of husbandry, and the returns which may reasonably be expected from a small capital thus employed. I fix on a small capital; because I conceive that a cotton plantation may be established on a more moderate fund than any other; and it is for the interest of the community that men of small fortunes should be instructed how to employ their time and labours to the best advantage; since it is to such men, chiefly, that the West Indies are to look for safety in the hour of danger.

It is presumed the land proper for the growth of cotton, situated near the sea, may be purchased, in many parts of the West Indies (Jamaica especially), at £.5 Jamaica currency per acre; and as it is prudent, in most cases to change the soil after the third crop, by replanting fresh land,* I will allot fifty acres for the first purchase,

* If the land is extraordinary good, four and even five annual crops are sometimes gathered from the same original plants; after which, instead of replanting, it is not uncommon to cut the cotton bushes down to within three or four inches of the ground, and mould the stems in the May rains, and treat them afterwards in the same manner as plants. Some labour is undoubtedly saved by this practice, but, in nine cases out of ten, it will be found more profitable to resort to fresh land, every third or fourth year. I consider at the same time, land to be fresh enough which has lain fallow, or been used in a different line of culture for three or four years together, the great intention of changing the land being to get rid of that peculiar sort of grub or worm which preys on the cotton plants.

in order that the planter may have room for that purpose. Supposing, therefore, that one half only is planted in cotton at the same time, the capital will be invested as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Cost of fifty acres of land, at £.5 currency per acre - - - - -	250	0	0
Expense of cleaning, fencing, and planting 25 acres, at £.7 per acre	175	0	0
Purchase of 12 negroes, at £.70 each - - - - -	840	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,265	0	0
One year's interest, at 6 per cent.	75	18	0
One year's maintenance, clothing, and medical care of the negroes	120	0	0
	<hr/>		
Total expenditure in Jamaica cur- rency (equal to £,1.040 sterling)	1,460	18	0

The returns are now to be considered:—In Jamaica it is commonly reckoned, that one acre of cotton will yield annually 150 pounds weight, and in some years nearly twice as much; but I am afraid that, on an average of any considerable number of successive crops, even the former is too great an allowance. By accounts which I have procured from the Bahama Islands, it appears, that in 1785, 1786, and 1787, (all of which years were considered as favourable), the produce of the cot-

ton-lands, on an average, did not exceed one hundred and twelve pounds per acre; viz.

In 1785 - - -	2,476	}	acres	}	produced	}	2,480	Cwt. of	
1786 - - -	3,050						3,000		Cotton.
1787 - - -	4,500						4,380		

The price in the Bahamas and Jamaica was the same, viz. 1s. 3d. sterling per pound.—Allowing therefore the average produce per acre to be one hundred weight, the returns are these; viz.

	Sterling.	
25 cwt. at 1s. 3d. sterling per pound - - -	£.175	
Deduct incidental expenses, as ma-	}	
terials for bagging, colonial taxes,		25
&c.* - - - - -		—
Remains in sterling money - - - -	£.150	

Which gives an interest of upwards of fourteen per cent. on the capital; arising too from the lowest-priced cotton. If the same calculation be applied to cotton-wool, of two shillings per pound value, (the present price of the cotton-wool of St. Domingo), the profit on the capital is twenty-four per cent.

* The maintenance, &c. of the negroes, after the first year, is not charged, because it is conceived, that the land in cotton not being sufficient to find them in full employment, they may raise corn and other articles on the remaining twenty-five acres, more than sufficient to pay for their cloathing and support. It is usual even to raise corn, potatoes, &c. between the ranks of the cotton bushes.

From this display, the rapid progress which the Dutch and French planters have made in the culture of this commodity, cannot be thought extraordinary; but there remain some circumstances of a less favourable nature to be taken into the account. Of all the productions to which labour is applied, the cotton-plant is perhaps the most precarious. In its first stage, it is attacked by the grub; it is devoured by caterpillars in the second; it is sometimes withered by the blast; and rains frequently destroy it both in the blossom and the pod. The Bahama islands afforded a melancholy instance of the uncertainty of this production in 1788; no less than 280 tons on a moderate estimate, having been devoured by the worm, between September and March, in that year. After this the reader will hardly suspect me of having rated the average produce of this plant, for a series of years, too low.*

With every disadvantage, however, the demand for cotton-wool, for the British manufactories, increases with such rapidity, that it cannot be doubted the cultivation of it, with the cautions recommended, will be found highly profitable; the British dominions not supplying at present, much more than one fourth part the home demand. If after a careful selection and trials of the different species of the seeds already in our possession, the cotton-wool of the British West Indies shall still be found inferior

* It has been suggested, that the ravages of the worm or grub might be prevented *by raising the plant from slips, or layers.* ; ..

to that of the Dutch, no difficulty can occur in obtaining from them a better sort. It is evident that the French cotton loses its superiority in our islands, by being sown promiscuously with an inferior species.

I shall conclude the subject, with presenting to my readers the following tables, drawn from authentic sources; which cannot fail to furnish abundant encouragement for speculation and adventure.

An account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, in British Ships.

Years.	lbs.
1784	1,135,750
1785	1,398,500
1786	1,346,386
1787	1,158,000

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the British West Indies, under the Free-port Act.

Years.	lbs.
1784	2,169,000
1785	1,573,280
1786	1,962,500
1787	1,943,000

*An Account of Cotton-wool, British and Foreign,
imported from the British West Indies into Great
Britain.*

Years.	lbs.
1784	6,893,959
1785	8,204,611
1786	7,830,734
1787	9,396,921

*An Account of Cotton-wool imported into Great
Britain from all Parts.*

Years.	lbs.	Supposed Value in Manufactures.
1784 . . .	11,280,338 . . .	£.3,950,000 sterl.
1785 . . .	17,992,888	6,000,000
1786 . . .	19,151,867	6,500,000
1787 . . .	22,600,000*	7,500,000

* Of the following growths; viz.

British sugar islands - - - - -	6,600,000
French and Spanish settlements - - -	6,000,000
Dutch settlements - - - - -	1,700,000
Portuguese settlements - - - - -	2,500,000
East Indies - - - - -	100,000
Smyrna or Turkey - - - - -	5,700,000
	<hr/>
	22,600,000
	<hr/>

*Machinery established in Great Britain, 1787, for
the Cotton Manufactory.*

143 Water-mills, which cost...	£.715,000
20,500 Hand-mills, or jennies, for spinning the shute, for the twist- ed yarn spun by the water-mills, (including buildings and auxiliary machinery)	285,000
	<hr/>
Total	£.1,000,000
	<hr/>

The water-mills work 286,000 spindles, and the jennies 1,665,100—Total of spindles, 1,951,100.—And it has been asserted, that a pound of raw cotton-wool from Demerara, has been spun into 356 hanks, each hank being 840 yards; so that the thread would have extended 169 miles.

On the whole it is computed that not less than three hundred and fifty thousand people in Great Britain find full employment in the cotton manufactory. In point of importance, therefore, even the produce and manufacture of the great staple commodity of this kingdom, *wool*, does not exceed it in a twofold proportion. According to the information of a very able and diligent inquirer, there are from ten to twelve millions of sheep in England. The value of their wool may, one year with another, amount to £.3,000,000; the expense of manufacturing this is probably £.9,000,000, and the total value £. 12,000,000.

INDIGO.

THE plant which yields the valuable commodity called Indigo, (probably so named from India, where it was first known to be manufactured),* grows spontaneously in all the West Indies. In the British Sugar Islands, they reckon three distinct species: the Wild, Guatimala, and French. The first is said to be the hardiest, and the dye extracted from it is supposed to be of the best quality both in colour and closeness of grain; but one of the other two species is commonly preferred by the planter as yielding a greater return; and of those, the French surpasses the Guatimala in quantity; but yields to it in fineness of grain and beauty of colour.†

* L'Abbé Raynal by a gross mistake asserts, that the plant itself was originally carried to the West Indies from the East. It was found growing spontaneously in all parts of St. Domingo, by Columbus himself, on the first discovery of the West Indies; and was indigenous also in Mexico, and other parts of the continent, as appears from the testimony of Pet. Martyr and all the early Spanish writers, not one of whom does it seem that L'Abbé Raynal ever read.

† The *wild* indigo (*indigofera argentea*) has short crooked pods and black seeds: the *Guatimala* is distinguished by the redness of the stalk, and the colour of the seeds, which are green. This is the *indigofera dispermea* of Linnæus. The *French* is a short bushy plant, with roundish leaves. It has long crooked pods, and its seeds are yellow. The French call it *Indigo Franc.* It is the *indigofera tinctoria* of Linnæus.

That the richest soil produces the most luxuriant plant, and that good seasons accelerate its growth, cannot I think, be doubted; but, observing its long tap-root, and spontaneous growth in almost every dry and barren savannah, I am convinced it will thrive on soils that are fit for nothing else. The longest dry weather will not totally kill it; though much water will have that effect, if suffered to remain long on the plant.

The cultivation and manufacture are conducted in the following manner:

The land being properly cleared of weeds, &c. is hoed into small trenches of two or three inches in depth, and twelve or fourteen inches asunder; in the bottom of which, the seeds are strewed by the hand, and covered lightly with mould; but as the plants shoot, the field must be frequently weeded and kept constantly clean, until they rise and spread sufficiently to cover the ground. A bushel of seed is sufficient for four or five acres of land.

In the West Indies, the best season for planting is supposed to be the month of March, but the plant will flourish at any other period; and if sown in new land, will come to full blossom (and it is then in perfection) in about three calendar months. In the southern provinces of America, the season for planting depends greatly on the nature of the spring, which varies much in those countries. If

the plants appear above ground by the first day of March, they will be fit for cutting about the twentieth of August; and are sometimes equal to the best in the West Indies.

There is this difference, however, between the two countries; that in the West Indies, in seasonable situations, they have sometimes four cuttings in the year from the same roots, whereas in North America they have never more than two, and not often more than one. The plant is a child of the sun, and can be cultivated, I doubt, with great advantage, no where but within the tropics.*

But that sun which thus improves and invigorates the plant, propagates at the same time an insect destructive to it. This is a species of grub or worm, which becomes a fly, and preys on the leaves, and never fails, in the West Indies, to disappoint the planter's expectations the second year upon the same land: the only remedy is to *change the soil every year*. The want of due attention to this important circumstance, has probably been one of the causes that so many persons have failed of late years in their attempts to revive the culture of this valuable commodity.

* The ratoons, or subsequent growths from the same plants, ripen in six or eight weeks; but the produce diminishes fast after the second cutting, so that it is absolutely necessary to sow the seeds anew every year.

If this destructive pest be happily prevented, or greatly mitigated, the produce per acre of the first cutting, will be about eighty pounds weight of what the French call *pigeon's-neck*; or about sixty pounds of a quality equal to the Guatemala! The produce in North America is sometimes nearly as much; but when Fahrenheit's thermometer falls to 60 degrees, the returns there are very uncertain, both in quality and quantity: a greater heat being absolutely necessary both for vegetation and maceration. The yielding for the subsequent cuttings somewhat diminishes; but in Jamaica and St. Domingo, if the land is new, about 300 lbs. per acre of the second quality may be expected annually, from all the cuttings together, and four negroes are sufficient to carry on the cultivation of five acres, besides doing other occasional work, sufficient to reimburse the expenses of their maintenance and clothing.

The process for obtaining the dye is generally conducted in two cisterns, which are placed like two steps, the one ascending to the other. The highest (which is also the longest) is called the *steep-er*; and its dimensions are about sixteen feet square, and two feet and a half in depth. There is an aperture near the bottom for discharging the fluid into the second, which is called the *battery*, and is commonly about twelve feet square, and four and a half in depth. Cisterns of these dimensions are proper for about seven acres of the plant: but if stone work cannot easily be erected for want of

materials, vats of strong timber, well secured from leakage will answer as well.*

The plants are cut with reap-hooks or sickles, a few inches above the root,† and placed by *strata* in the steeper, until it is about three parts full. They are then strongly pressed down by boards or planks, which are wedged or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and as much water is admitted as the weed will imbibe, until it is covered four or five inches deep, and in this state it is left to ferment, until the pulp is extracted; but the utmost attention and nice management are now required; for, if the fluid is drawn off too soon, much of the pulp is left behind; and if the fermentation is too long continued, the tender tops

* There is also required a lime-vat, six by eight feet square, and four feet deep; and it may be proper to observe, that the tap or plug hole ought to be placed at least eight inches from the bottom, to leave sufficient room for the lime to subside, before the lime-water is drawn off into the battery.

† Some persons are of opinion, that the plants should not be cut nearer the ground than six inches, and that a few branches should be left on the stem.—This practice, they say, will draw up the sap better, and produce a more luxuriant ratoon than when a naked stalk only is left. During the first cutting it is usual to leave some of the most flourishing stalks for seed, which ought not to be gathered until it is well hardened in the pod—It generally requires ten bushels of the pod to produce a single bushel of clean dry seed fit for sowing. It may also be observed, that many indigo planters have a notion that the plant yields the greatest quantity of the dye, when cut at the full of the moon.—Of this fact I can assert nothing, of my own knowledge.

of the weeds occasion putrefaction, by which all the dye is destroyed.

To obtain a certain knowledge therefore of the proper degree of fermentation, has hitherto been the grand *desideratum* of the cultivator. Repeated experiments for this purpose, were made some years ago in the island of Hispaniola, under the sanction and encouragement of the Chamber of Agriculture, and instructions (which were said to be practised with great success by Messrs. Dangdale and Mongon, indigo planters in that island) were published by authority, to this effect:

“ After the indigo has been steeped in the cistern eight or nine hours, draw off a little of the water, and with a pen dipped into it, make a few strokes upon white paper. The first will probably be high coloured, in which case the indigo is not sufficiently fermented; this operation is to be repeated every quarter of an hour, until it loses its colour; when it is arrived at the true point of fermentation.”

It is astonishing that an experiment so simple in itself, if it answers, should have been for so many years unknown to the indigo planters in general; and I confess, that, although I have had no opportunity of giving it a trial, I am myself somewhat doubtful of its efficacy. The following method, which I give on the authority of Mr. Lediard, is, I conceive, attended with much greater certainty:

“ Let a small hole be made in the steeper, six or eight inches from the bottom, exclusive of the opening or aperture for drawing off the impregnated water; let this hole likewise be stopped with a plug, yet not so firmly but that a small stream may be permitted to ooze through it. After the plants have been steeped some hours, the fluid oozing out will appear beautifully green, and at the lower edge of the cistern from whence it drops into the battery, it will turn of a copperish colour. This copperish hue, as the fermentation continues, will gradually ascend upwards to the plug, and when that circumstance is perceived it is proper to stop the fermentation.

“ During the progress of this part of the business, particular attention should be paid to the smell of the liquor which weeps from the aperture; for should it discover any sourness, it will be necessary to let the fermented liquor run immediately into the battery, and lime water of sufficient strength must be added to it, until it has lost its sourness. As it is running off, it will appear green, mixed with a bright yellow, or straw colour, but in the battery it will be of a most beautiful green.”

The tincture being thus discharged into the battery, it is there churned or agitated, until the dye begins to granulate, or float in little flakes on the water. This was formerly done in Jamaica with manual labour, by means of paddles, and, in the French islands, by buckets or cylinders fixed to

long poles;—but far more convenient machines are now constructed, in which the levers are worked by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horse or mule. When the fluid has, by such means, been well churned for the space of fifteen or twenty minutes, and, being tried in a cup or plate, appears curdled or coagulated, a strong impregnation of lime-water is gradually added, not only to promote a separation, but likewise to fix the colour and preserve it from putrefaction. But the planters (as Brown observes) “ must carefully distinguish the different stages of this part of the operation also, and attentively examine the appearance and colour as the work advances, for the grain passes gradually from a greenish to a fine purple, which is the proper colour when the liquor is sufficiently worked; too small a degree of agitation leaving the indigo green and coarse; while too vigorous an action brings it to be almost black.”

The liquor being properly and sufficiently worked, and the pulp granulated, it is left undisturbed until the flakes, or *flocule*, settle at the bottom, when the incumbent water is drawn off, and the indigo distributed into small linen bags to drain, after which it is carefully put into little square boxes or moulds, and suffered to dry gradually in the shade; and this finishes the manufacture.*

* The following observations of Dr. Roxburgh of Bengal, concerning the first process, seem to have been made with great accuracy: “ When the indigo plant is committed to cold water in the steeping vat, the following appearances take place: in a few hours a slight

To what has been said above of the nature of the plant, suiting itself to every soil, and producing four cuttings in the year, if we add the cheapness of the buildings, apparatus and labour, and the great value of the commodity, there will seem but little cause for wonder at the splendid accounts which are transmitted down to us concerning the great opulence of the first indigo planters. Allowing the produce of an acre to be 300 lbs. and the produce no more than 4s. sterling per pound, the gross profits of twenty acres will be £.1,200 produced by the labour of only sixteen negroes, on a capital in land and buildings scarce deserving consideration.

Such, without doubt, will be the reader's first reflections. Unhappily, however, the golden hopes

motion begins to shew itself throughout the body of liquor—the bulk increases considerably, with some additional heat; air bubbles are generated, some of which remain on the surface, and gradually collect into patches of froth—a thin violet or copper-coloured pellicle or cream makes its appearance between the patches of froth, and soon after, the thin film which forms the covering of the bubbles composing the froth begins to be deeply tinged with a fine blue: the liquor from the beginning will have been acquiring a green colour, and now it will appear, when viewed falling from one vessel to another, of a bright yellowish green, and will readily pass the closest filter, until the action of the air makes it turbid, a proof that the base of the colour is now perfectly dissolved in the watery menstruum. This is the time for letting off the vat—the fermentation however continues, and large quantities of froth are formed. The smell now becomes very offensive," &c. &c.

Bancroft on Permanent colours, Appendix 432.

which speculations like these have raised in the minds of thousands, have vanished on actual experiment, like the visions of the morning. I think I have myself, in the course of eighteen years residence in the West Indies, known at least twenty persons commence Indigo planters, not one of whom has left a trace by which I can now point out where his plantation was situated, except perhaps the remains of a ruined cistern covered by weeds, and defiled by reptiles. Many of them too were men of knowledge, foresight, and property. That they failed is certain, but of the causes of their failure, I confess I can give no satisfactory account. I was told that disappointment trod close at their heels at every step. At one time the fermentation was too long continued; at another, the liquor was drawn off too soon. Now the pulp was not duly granulated, and now it was worked too much. To these inconveniencies, for which practice would doubtless have found a remedy, were added others of a much greater magnitude: the mortality of the negroes from the vapour of the fermented liquor, (an alarming circumstance, that, as I am informed, both by the French and English planters, constantly attends the process), the failure of the seasons and the ravages of the worm.—These, or some of these evils, drove them at length to other pursuits, where industry might find a surer recompense.

Their history, however, furnishes a new illustration to a very trite but important remark, that a

manufacture once destroyed, scarce ever takes root again in the same country. Of the causes from which the general culture and manufacture of indigo, was relinquished in Jamaica, enough has been said by other writers: yet the same arguments which induced the British government to burthen this commodity with duties under which it sunk, are still urged in the case of other colonial products, and will continue to be urged, until the same fate attends many of them as attended indigo. Of the monstrous folly and impolicy of loading with high duties an article so essentially necessary to the British woolen manufactory, (putting colonial considerations out of the question) the mother country is, I believe, at length sufficiently convinced, the quantity of indigo annually imported into Great Britain, from all parts of the world, being, I believe, one million and a half of pounds, of which five parts in seven are purchased with ready money of strangers and rivals!*

* Soon after the second edition of this work was printed, my learned friend, Dr. Edward Bancroft. F. R. S. favoured the public with his "Experimental Researches concerning the Philosophy of Permanent Colours," a work of infinite research and merit; in an Appendix to which, he gives an abstract of a botanical description, by Dr. Roxburgh of Bengal, of a new species of *nerium* (rose bay) found in the East Indies, the leaves of which yield excellent indigo. This account, however, is chiefly interesting to the planters of the West Indies, as containing some experiments and opinions which lead to an improved method of extracting the common indigo by means of a boiling process; for it being found that the leaves of the *nerium* would not yield their colour except to boiling water, it was judged by analogy, that the scalding process might be advantageously applied also to the

COFFEE.

So many treatises have been written on the history of coffee; its introduction into the West Indies has been so fully traced by some writers, and its properties so ably investigated by others, (above all, by my learned friend Dr. Benjamin Moseley), as hardly to leave me the possibility of offering any thing new on those subjects. The few observations therefore which I shall present to my readers concerning this berry, will relate principally to its culture; and these being chiefly founded on actual experience, may perhaps afford some useful information.

common indigo plant, and the result has exceeded expectation: "by the scalding process (observes Dr. Roxburgh) I have always, on a small scale, made from the common indigo plant, better indigo than I could by fermentation, and in one fourth of the time; and what is also of great importance, without the smallest degree of the pernicious effluvia which attends the manufacture of indigo by fermentation; and moreover, the twigs and leaves themselves of the indigo plant burn fiercely, after having been well dried, and will carry on the operation without requiring any great addition of other fuel."

In another place Dr. Roxburgh observes, "that the Hindoos throughout the northern provinces or circars make *all* their indigo by means of hot water, and precipitate with a cold infusion of the bark of the *jambalong* tree, yet, notwithstanding the inferiority of this bark as an astringent, when its effects are compared with those of lime-water, I have always found their indigo to be of a very excellent quality, and very light; a cubic inch weighing

The admirers of coffee have long lamented the inferiority of the West Indian to that of the Mocha. That many of the complaints with which the public are amused on this subject, arise from affectation, I have not a doubt. At the same time it must be admitted, that the charge is not entirely without foundation, inasmuch, as the West Indian coffee is frequently drank within twelve months after it has been gathered from the tree; and that the flavour improves by age, there is not a coffee planter in the West Indies so bigotted to his own possessions, as wholly to deny.

But the notion that the coffee itself is naturally inferior to that of the East, as being the production of a coarser and less valuable species of the tree, needs no other refutation than the circum-

“ only about 110 grains, and being of a blue violet colour. The superior quality of this indigo must alone be imputed to the nature of the process, by which the colour, or rather base of the colour, is extracted from the plant; for their apparatus is very inconvenient.”

“ Besides the superior quality of the indigo obtained by the scalding process, the quantity is generally increased by it; moreover the health of the labourer in this way is not endangered, as in the fermenting process, by constant and copious exhalations of putrid miasma; the heat employed expels most of the fixed air during the scalding, which renders a very small degree of agitation, and very little of the precipitant necessary. The operation can also be performed two or three times a day upon a large scale; and lastly, the indigo itself dries quickly, without acquiring any bad smell, or putrid unwholesome tendency.”

Surely these observations deserve the most serious attention of the planters in the British West Indies!

stance related by the celebrated gardener, Mr. Miller, "that from plants brought from the West Indies, and raised in English hot-houses, coffee berries have been produced which at a proper age, were found to surpass the very best Mocha that could be procured in Great Britain." It is evident therefore that the whole difference depends on the soil and climate, mode of curing, and age.

It appears, on the authority of Le Roque, and other writers, that the Arabian coffee is produced in a very dry climate; and flourishes most on a sandy soil, or on mountainous slopes, which give an easy conveyance to the rains. The propriety of choosing similar situations in the West Indies (if a small berry, best suited for the English market, is expected) is justified by the experience of every coffee planter.

A rich deep soil, frequently meliorated by showers, will produce a luxuriant tree, and a great crop; but the beans which are large, and of a dingy green, prove, for many years, rank and vapid. It is singular, however, that the North Americans prefer this sort to any other, and as they have hitherto been the best customers at the West Indian markets; the planters naturally enough have applied their labours to that cultivation which turned to the best account.

Happily for the coffee planters of the British West Indies, the English market, by a prudent

concession of Government in 1783, was rendered more open to them. Before that period, the duties and excise on the importation and consumption of British Plantation coffee in Great Britain were no less than 480 per cent. on its then marketable value. Under such exactions, its cultivation in our Sugar Islands must (but for the American market) have shared the same fate as that of Indigo. The great and important reduction of one shilling a pound from the excise duties, created an immediate and wonderful change; and while it promoted the interest of the planter, it even augmented the revenue of the state; more than double the quantity of coffee having been brought to entry in 1784 than was entered in the year preceding; increasing the sum total of the duties (though reduced two thirds) from £.2,869 10s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d; to £.7,200 15s. 9d; an important proof among others, how frequently heavy taxation defeats its own purpose!

As the British demand has thus increased, so, on the other hand, the American has declined, having as I conceive been transferred in a great measure to the foreign islands. It is now therefore become the interest of the planter to change his system, by suiting the nature of his commodity to the taste of his new customers.

This it is true, is not within the power of every man, whose plantation is already settled, to accomplish; but assuredly it is a very important object to

such persons as may have it in contemplation to adventure in this line of cultivation, (in a country, where every species of soil, and choice of situation, may be found), to know beforehand, how to employ their money and labour to the greatest advantage.

Coffee indeed will thrive in every soil in the West Indies; a cold stiff clay, and a shallow mould on a hot marle, excepted. In both which, the leaves turn yellow, and the trees perish, or produce nothing; but the best and highest-flavoured fruit is unquestionably the growth of either a warm gravelly mould, a sandy loam, or the dry red hills which are found in almost every island of the West Indies, Jamaica especially. Frequent showers of rain, however, are friendly to its growth, but if water remains long about the roots, the tree will decay and perish.

If the land be fresh and naturally good, coffee plants may be set out at all seasons of the year, even in dry weather, and they will thrive in any situation, provided it be screened from the north winds, which often destroy the blossom; and sometimes, in the after part of the year when those winds prevail most, entirely strip the tree of both fruit and leaves; blasting in a moment all the hopes of the planter.

The usual mode of planting is to line out the land into squares of eight feet: in other words to

sow the seeds, or set out the young plants, eight feet distant from each other on all sides, which gives six hundred and eighty trees to each acre; and, where young plants are easily procured, they are preferred to berries. The plants which are intended to be set out are generally selected of about two feet in height. They are cut off ten inches above the surface of the ground, and care is taken to dig them up with the roots as entire as possible. The holes in which they are set, are made large enough to hold the lower part of the stem and all the roots, and the upper fibres are buried about two inches under the surface. But, although eight feet be the usual distance of setting out the plants in all soils, it is frequently found, in rich lands, that the trees, as they grow to maturity, become from their luxuriance, so closely intermingled together, as to impede the free passage of the air: In such cases it is thought adviseable to cut down every second row, within ten or twelve inches of the ground, and by well moulding the stumps, they will furnish a succession of healthy young trees, while the rows which are left will bear much better for the room which is given them. Old plantations (or walks as they are called) cut down in this manner, not dug up and replanted, will give a tolerable crop the second year; and the operation may be frequently repeated.

In the cultivation of a young walk, the general and most approved system is to keep the trees perfectly clear of suckers, and to rear one stem only

from one root. If therefore, a healthy shoot springs near the ground, all the original plant is cut off close above it, by which means, when the plant is moulded, the root becomes well covered. At the height of five or six feet, which the plants generally attain the third year, the trees are topped. At this height a single stem gives from thirty-six to forty-two bearing branches, and the pruning required annually, is to leave nothing but those branches.

From what has been said concerning the effect of a difference of seasons, it must be difficult to fix on the average produce of a coffee plantation by the acre. In rich and spongy soils a single tree has been known to yield from six to eight pounds of coffee : I mean when pulped and dried. In a different situation, a pound and a quarter from each tree, on an average, is great yielding ; but then the coffee is infinitely better in point of flavour. The following is, I believe on a medium, as accurate a calculation as the subject will admit. Coffee trees raised from old trees, in lands neither very poor nor very rich, bear the second year from the new growth 300 pounds weight per acre, 500 pounds the third year, and from 6 to 700 pounds the fourth. If the trees are raised from young plants, no produce is to be expected until the third year from the planting ; when they will yield very little ; the fourth year about 700 pounds. The average annual produce per acre after that period, if the walk

is properly attended to, may be reckoned at 750 pounds; and one negro is well able to take proper care of an acre and a half.

We are now come to the most important business of the coffee planter, (i. e.) the gathering in his crop, and the mode of curing it for market. The practice in Arabia according to Le Roque, is as follows: —“When the planters perceive that the fruit is come to maturity, they spread cloths under the trees, which they shake from time to time, and the ripe fruit drops off. The berries thus collected are afterwards spread upon mats, and exposed to the sun with the pulp on the berries, until they are perfectly dry, which requires a considerable time; after which, the beans are extricated from its outward incumbrance by the pressure of a large and heavy stone roller, when they are again dried in the sun; for the planters consider, that, unless coffee be thoroughly dry, there is danger of its heating. It is then winnowed with a large fan, and packed for sale.”

It cannot be denied that this simple method must be infinitely superior to any other for preserving the genuine flavour of the berry; but it may well be doubted, whether the additional price which the planter might obtain at the British market for coffee thus gathered and prepared, would be adequate to the value of the time and labour which so tedious a method would necessarily require. The

usual practice in the British West Indies is as follows:—

As soon as the berries acquire the colour of a black red on the trees, they are supposed to be sufficiently ripe for picking. The negroes employed in this business are provided each with a canvas bag, with a hoop in the mouth to keep it open. It is hung about the neck of the picker, who empties it occasionally into a basket, and if he be industrious, he may pick three bushels in a day. But it is not very provident to urge him on too fast, as probably a great deal of unripe fruit will in that case be mixed with the ripe. The usual practice is to pick the trees at three different stages of ripeness. One hundred bushels in the pulp, fresh from the tree, will give about one thousand pounds weight of merchantable coffee.

There are two methods in use of curing or drying the bean: The one, is to spread the fresh coffee in the sun in layers about five inches deep, on a sloping terras, or platform of boards; *with the pulp on the berry*, which in a few days ferments, and discharges itself in a strong acidulous moisture, and in this state the coffee is left, until it is perfectly dry, which, if the weather is favourable, it will be in about three weeks. The husks are afterwards separated from the seeds by a grinding mill hereafter to be described, or frequently by pounding them with pestles in troughs or large wooden

mortars. Coffee thus cured, weighs four per cent. heavier than if cured without the pulp.

The other mode is to *remove the pulp* immediately as it comes from the tree. This is done by means of a pulping mill, consisting of a horizontal fluted roller, about eighteen inches long, and eight inches in diameter. This roller is turned by a crank or handle, and acts against a moveable breast-board, which being fitted close to the grooves of the roller, prevents the berries from passing whole. The mill is fed by a sloping trough, and the aperture of the trough, from which the berries drop into the mill, is regulated by a vertical sliding board. By this simple machine a negro will pulp a bushel in a minute. The pulp and the bean (in its parchment skin) fall promiscuously together. The whole is then washed in wire sieves, to separate the pulp from the seeds, and these are immediately spread open to the sun to dry.

There prevails great difference of opinion among the coffee planters on the subject of these two different methods of curing raw coffee. The latter is perhaps the most profitable, as being more expeditious; but I have no doubt that the former would give the best flavoured coffee, provided the fermentation, which always takes place when the raw fruit is placed in heaps on the platform, could be prevented, which might easily be done at the expense of a little more room. The blue dingy green, which to the American is the test of good

coffee, is considered by the London dealer as a proof that it has not been sufficiently cured. From both methods, however, the coffee may prove very good with the powerful assistance of its great improver, age.

Hitherto, I have described the pulping mill only. There yet remains the operation of grinding off the parchment skin, or membrane which immediately envelopes the bean, and is left after the pulp is removed. It is done by a machine which will also separate, at the same time, the dried pulp (if the former mode of curing has been adopted) much more expeditiously than the pestle and mortar.

The grinding mill consists of a perpendicular axis, surrounded at some distance by a circular trough, into which the coffee is thrown, and about a foot above the level of the surface of the trough, there are commonly four horizontal arms or sweeps, tenanted into the axis, and stretching some feet beyond the trough, and on them are four rollers, fitted to run in the trough on the arms being turned round with the axis, which is done by mules yoked to the extremity. The rollers, which are generally of considerable weight, moving round in the trough, bruise the skins of the coffee, so as to render them separable by the fan, though there is always a proportion left untouched. When it appears sufficiently bruised, it is taken out of the trough and put to the fan, which clears the coffee

from the chaff, and the seeds remaining unground are separated by sieves and returned to the mill; which will clear 1,500 pounds of coffee in a day.

There is still another mode of curing coffee, both with and without the pulp, and that is by means of stoves. But it is practised by very few planters; it requiring an expensive apparatus in the first place, and in the second, it is said that the smoke of the fire gives a disagreeable smell and taste to the berry. I know not if this assertion be true: it is certain, however, that nothing imbibes the smell or taste of any thing near it, sooner than coffee.

For the same reason it is a matter of great consequence that proper care should be taken, in shipping it for Europe, that it be not put into parts of the ship where it may receive the effluvia of other freight. "Coffee berries (says Dr. Mosely) are remarkably disposed to imbibe exhalations from other bodies, and thereby acquire an adventitious and disagreeable flavour. Rum, placed near to coffee, will in a short time so impregnate the berries, as to injure the taste in a high degree, and it is related by Mr. Miller, that a few bags of pepper on board a ship from India, some years since, spoiled a whole cargo of coffee."

The few preceding observations are all that occur to me concerning the mode of cultivating, and preparing for market, this far-famed berry. I shall

conclude the subject by offering a short estimate of the expenses and returns attending its culture, which I conceive tends more to the encouragement of industry, and of course to the increase of white population in the West Indian islands, than that of any other of their staple commodities; its produce being more equal and certain than that of any plant in cultivation, and its average profits more considerable in proportion to the capital employed.

It will be urged, perhaps, that if such were the fact, its culture would have been more general in the British West Indies. This objection has been anticipated and answered by what has been related of the heavy excise duties on this commodity in Great Britain previous to 1783. To say (as is commonly said in the case of all duties on goods imported) that they fall on the consumer, and not on the planter, proves nothing; for if the price, in consequence of the duties, becomes so high as that the consumer ceases to purchase, the effect is equally ruinous to the cultivator, as if they fell immediately on himself. Nothing more clearly demonstrates that the cultivation of this article was greatly affected by the British duties, than the comparative quantities imported into France and England; the whole annual import into Great Britain, on an average of five years (1783 to 1787), not exceeding five million six hundred thousand pounds weight; whereas the island of Hispaniola alone has produced an annual supply of seventy million of pounds and upwards.

It is likewise apparent, that since the reduction of the duties in 1783, the cultivation of coffee in the British West Indies, in Jamaica especially, has made a more rapid progress than in thirty years preceding. Yet, (as Dr. Mosely has observed), even the present duty of six-pence per pound is too high to admit the general use of this fragrant beverage among all classes of people. What then must be thought of the former exaction of three times that duty, which continued for fifty-one years? So little has the science of colonial commerce been understood or adverted to!

Estimate of the Expense and Return of a Coffee Plantation in the mountains of Jamaica, fourteen miles from the sea, calculated in the currency of that island, being forty per cent. worse than sterling; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
First cost of 300 acres of mountain land, of which one half is reserved for provisions and pasturage, at £.3 per acre	900	0	0
Ditto, of 100 negroes, at £.70 per head	7,000	0	0
Ditto, of 20 mules, at £.28	560	0	0
Buildings and utensils, mills, and negro tools	2,000	0	0
Expense of maintaining the negroes the first year, before provisions can be raised (exclusive of other annual expenses charged below) £.5 each	500	0	0
	<hr/>		
	10,960	0	0
Compound interest for three years, before any return can be expected, at 6 per cent	2,093	0	0
	<hr/>		
Carried over	£.13,053	0	0
	<hr/>		

Brought over £.13,053 0 0

ANNUAL EXPENSES, viz.

White overseer and maintenance	£.	200	
One other white servant		70	
Medical attendance on the negroes		25	
Negro supplies, viz. cloathing, tools, salted fish, and other provisions, exclusive of the produce of their own grounds		200	
Colonial taxes		100	
		<hr/>	
		595	
		3	
		<hr/>	
Total for three years, before any return can be expected		1785	
Compound interest, as it arises in the several years		221	
		<hr/>	
			2,006 0 0
			<hr/>
Total expense	£.		15,059 0 0
			<hr/>

Returns the fourth year, at £.4 per cwt. being the average price of Coffee for five years previous to 1792; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
From 150 acres of young coffee may be expected the fourth year 45,000 lbs.			
	1,800	0	0
Deduct annual charges for the fourth year	595		
Sacks and saddles	40		
	<hr/>		
	635	0	0
Clear profit (being equal to £.7 } 14s. per cent. on the capital.) }	<hr/>		
	£.1,165	0	0

Returns the fifth and subsequent years; viz.

	£.	s.	d.
150 acres, yielding 750 lbs. per acre, 112,500 lbs. at £.4 . . .			
	4,500	0	0
Deduct annual charges, as before	595		
Sacks and saddles	80		
Repairs of mills, &c.	100		
	<hr/>		
	775	0	0
Clear profit (being equal to $24\frac{3}{7}$ per cent. on the capital) . . .	<hr/>		
	£.3,725	0	0

*** *It ought to have been observed in the first edition of this work, that I am indebted for the estimates in this and the two preceding pages, to my worthy friend Samuel Vaughan, Esq. of St. James's parish, Jamaica, member of the assembly of that island, who has directed his attention to the cultivation of coffee with great assiduity and success. He has since favoured me with the following interesting observations, which I have great pleasure in laying before the public:*

*Observations concerning the cultivation of COFFEE
in St. Domingo, and its probable increase in Ja-
maica, if the Slave trade shall not be abolished
by act of Parliament.*

The French part of St. Domingo, in 1770, exported only five millions of pounds of coffee, but in 1784, a bounty of 40 livres per ton having been allowed to slave vessels arriving from Africa, and in 1786, a further bounty of 200 livres per head on slaves imported, the import of negroes increased annually from 12 and 15,000, to 25 and 30,000; and the effect in that colony of this augmentation of African labourers was a very rapid progress in every species of cultivation; but that of coffee almost exceeds belief; for the export of this article in 1789 had increased to above seventy six millions of pounds, which, valued at the present price, (ninety shillings per cwt.), is equal to £.3,420,000 sterling! Of this enlarged export, no less than twenty-five millions of pounds (worth £.1,250,000 sterling) were produced between the years 1786 and 1789; and it was supposed that the crop of 1792 (if the troubles had not intervened) would have been eighty millions, so little had the depreciation at market, from the additional quantity brought to sale, affected the cultivation. It seems

probable, that the excessive price of the Mocha and Eastern coffee had formerly the effect of a prohibition of the use of this beverage among the middling and lower classes of people in Europe; for the quantity raised in this single island of St. Domingo was so great, the increase of its cultivation so rapid, and the price of West Indian coffee, though two shillings and three-pence per pound less than that of Mocha, still continuing, at the time of the greatest export, at a profitable height for the cultivator; that it is difficult to account for these facts, but by supposing the consumers to be augmented by new and numerous people. On this supposition, it is impossible to foresee the extent to which the cultivation of this article in the West Indies may be carried. It is not enough to say it will equal that of sugar, nor is it likely, as in the case of sugar, to be checked by importation from the East, inasmuch as it has risen to its present wonderful importance in the West Indies, notwithstanding the rivalry of both the East Indies and the Levant.—The diminution of the quantity of coffee produced in St. Domingo (upwards of one thousand coffee plantations having been destroyed) will most certainly be felt in a remarkable manner for some years to come: many persons from thence are of opinion, that the exportation will be reduced at least one half (that is forty millions of pounds), supposing even that the present rebellion was to terminate without further devastation. The export from the whole British Colonies in 1787 did not amount to four millions of pounds; and therefore, excepting by

new cultivation, they cannot supply the deficiency occasioned by the troubles in St. Domingo, nor is the rest of the West Indies able to make it up; for since these troubles, the price has augmented near one fourth, viz. from seventy shillings to ninety shillings. This advance of price will, if not (as in former times) checked by additional duties, be a premium to all West India islands where there are mountains; and as cultivation cannot be carried on in St. Domingo, for some time, to its former extent, for various reasons, it is likely to be a premium of some degree of permanency. Let us now turn to Jamaica: the export of coffee from thence, before 1783, never exceeded 850,000 lbs. notwithstanding the several measures that were taken by the assembly to encourage its cultivation. The reduction took place in 1783, of the excise, to six-pence half-penny per pound, and this seems to have had an immediate influence; for at the fourth year from this event, when we should naturally expect the first appearance of an effect, there was a considerable increase of export; and in three years more, the produce was nearly trebled, it exceeding $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions. In this situation we stood when the disturbances took place at St. Domingo: it is now sixteen months since the commencement of that rebellion, and by the returns just made from the several parishes, it appears, that 21,011 negroes are employed in the cultivation of coffee in Jamaica. I will suppose however, that one-fourth of these may be engaged in other objects connected with coffee, still there will remain 15,759 ne-

groes employed solely in raising of this article; who, according to common calculation, when the plants are all at full growth (viz. in 1797) should make a return of about sixteen millions of pounds; that is above eighteen times as much as was produced before 1783, and seven times as much as was produced last year. It may be added that the lowlands of Jamaica are already settled; the highlands, generally speaking, are improper for sugar, but proper for coffee; they are new, they are equal to near two-thirds of Jamaica: the island is now well intersected with roads, &c. &c. In short, the country is prepared, and the time is proper for it.

From all these circumstances, taken together, it is reasonable to conclude, that if labourers shall continue to be procured from Africa at moderate prices, and every advantage be made of the present moment, we shall establish in Jamaica a most extensive cultivation of coffee, which as an export staple, will be of the utmost consequence to Great Britain, perhaps, exceeding in value the staple of sugar. But this new and important commerce is entirely dependant on a continued importation of labourers. The increase of the cultivation of coffee to the extent here suggested is, in the present times, of peculiar consequence in two other points of view: First, it will augment the number of that middle class of Whites who, though not rich enough to live in a distant country, are sufficiently opulent and independent to support their families

in comfort and competence in a residence on their own estates; secondly, mountain settlements in general increase in negro population, being more healthy than the low lands. The first circumstance will add to our security, so necessary at present, and which at all periods, we have in vain attempted, by other means, to effect. The second opens a prospect of an abolition of the slave trade, and that at no distant period of time, by natural causes, which will gradually take place without giving reason for complaint to any body of men.

Jamaica, 1793.

HAVING thus copiously treated of the cultivation of those products which chiefly give value and importance to the British colonies in the West Indies, and contribute, in a very eminent degree, to the wealth, commerce, and navigation of the parent state, it is the less necessary for me to dwell at great length on minor staples; yet these cannot be wholly overlooked in a comprehensive survey of the tropical kingdom; neither indeed are they to be considered as unimportant, except by comparison with those rich and profitable commodities, of which so much has been said in this and the preceding chapters. The remaining classes, of which I shall briefly treat, are *cacao*, *ginger*, *arnotto*, *aloes*, and *piemento*. As my observations will be few, they will be chiefly practical and commercial; a systematical description of each being to be found in Sloane, Brown, Hughes, and other writers.

CACAO.

THE Cacao or chocolate nut, a production equally delicate, wholesome and nutritive, is a native of South America, and is said to have been originally conveyed to Hispaniola from some of the pro-

vinces of New Spain ; where besides affording to the natives an article of nourishment, it served the purpose of money ; and was used by them as a medium in barter ; one hundred and fifty of the nuts being considered of much the same value as a *royal* by the Spaniards. From this circumstance it seems probable, that if the ancient inhabitants of South America were emigrants from Europe or Asia, they must have detached themselves at an early period, before metals were converted into coins, or from some society which had made but moderate advances in civilization.

Among the Spaniards, with whom the cacao still forms a considerable article of commerce, its cultivation is conducted in the following manner. Having chosen a spot of level land, (a deep black mould is preferred), sheltered round with a thick wood, so as to be well screened from the wind, especially the north, and caused it to be cleared from all manner of stumps and weeds, the planter digs a number of holes at eighteen or twenty feet distance, each hole being about a foot in length and width, and six or eight inches deep. In the mean time, having selected the largest and fairest pods of the cacao when full ripe, he takes out the grains and puts them into a vessel of water. Such of them as swim are rejected ; the others, being washed clean from the pulp and skinned, are suffered to remain in the water till they begin to sprout, at which time they are fit for planting. The owner then takes the banana, or some other large leaves,

and places one leaf within the circumference of each hole, so as to line it round; leaving however the sides of the leaf some inches above the ground, after which he rubs in the mould, very lightly, till the hole is filled. He then selects three nuts for each hole, and plants them triangularly, by making a small opening for each with his finger, about two inches deep, into which he puts the nuts, with that end downward from which the sprout issues, and having lightly covered them with mould, he folds over the leaf, and places a small stone on the top to prevent its opening. In this manner he plants his whole walk or orchard. At the end of eight or ten days, the plants will generally be found to rise above the earth. The leaves are then opened, that their growth may not be impeded; but, in order to shelter them from the sun, other leaves or branches are placed round the hole; for which purpose those of the palm kind are generally chosen, (for having a strong stem, they are easily fixed in the earth), and they are changed as often as they decay, for the space of five or six months. It is also thought advisable to plant some other tree (the erythrina or bean-tree is generally chosen for this purpose) to the south-west of the cacao plant, which may grow up with it, and serve it for shelter;—but it must always be remembered, that young cacao trees will flourish only in the shade.

If all the three nuts placed in each hole spring up, it is thought necessary, when the plants are

eighteen or twenty inches high, to cut one of them down. The other two, if they spread different ways, are sometimes suffered to remain; but it seldom happens that all the nuts, or even more than one of them, will take root, which is the reason of planting three in a hole.

The fifth year the tree begins to bear, and the eighth attains its full perfection. It then produces in general two crops of fruit in the year, yielding at each, from ten to twenty pounds weight, according to the soil and seasons; and it will sometimes continue bearing for twenty years; but the same delicacy of stamina which marks its infancy, is visible in all the stages of its growth. It is obnoxious to blights, and shrinks from the first appearance of drought. It has happened that the greatest part of a whole plantation of cacao trees have perished in a single night, without any visible cause. Circumstances of this nature, in early times, gave rise to many superstitious notions concerning this tree, and, among others, the appearance of a comet was always considered as fatal to the cacao plantations.

In spite however of the influence of comets, and notwithstanding the care and precaution that are requisite in the first establishment of a cacao plantation, it is certain that the cultivation of this plant was both extensive and successful in the British sugar islands, for many years after they had be-

come subject to the British government. Blome, who published a short account of Jamaica in 1672, speaks of cacao as being at that time one of the chief articles of export: "there are, says he, in this island, at this time, about sixty cacao walks, (plantations), and many more now planting." At present I believe there is not a single cacao plantation from one end of Jamaica to the other. A few scattered trees, here and there, are all that remain of those flourishing and beautiful groves which were once the pride and boast of the country. They have withered, with the indigo manufacture, under the heavy hand of ministerial exaction. The excise on cacao when made into cakes, rose to no less than twelve pounds twelve shillings per cwt. exclusive of eleven shillings and eleven pence half-penny, paid at the custom-house; amounting together to upwards of four hundred and eighty per cent. on its marketable value!

It is to be hoped, that the error of imposing such heavy impositions on our own colonial growths, is at length become sufficiently manifest.

After all, there is reason to apprehend, that our sugar islands can never again enter into competition with the Spanish Americans in the cultivation of the article of which I treat. At present the only cacao plantations of any account, in our colonies, are in Grenada and Dominica; and the quantity annually exported from both those islands can-

not, I believe, be estimated on an average at more than four thousand bags of one hundred weight each, which may be worth, at the London market, between ten and eleven thousand pounds sterling.*

* The cacao tree, both in size and shape, somewhat resembles a young *black-heart cherry*. The flower is of a saffron colour, extremely beautiful, and the pods, which in a green state are much like a cucumber, proceed immediately from all parts of the body and larger branches. As they ripen, they change their colour, and turn to a fine bluish red, almost purple, with pink coloured veins. This is the common sort; but there is a larger species, which produces pods of a delicate yellow or lemon colour. Each pod may contain from twenty to thirty nuts or kernels, not unlike almonds, which are again enclosed in a white pulpy substance, soft and sweet, and immediately enveloped in a parchment shell. These nuts, being first simply dried in the sun, are packed for market, and require very little preparation, after removing the shell, to be made into good chocolate. The cakes which are generally used under this name in England, appear to me to be composed of not more than one half of genuine cacao; the remainder I take to be *flour*, and *Castile soap*. Considered medicinally, chocolate is said to be too heavy for weak and relaxed stomachs; but in the West Indies, experience abundantly demonstrates that it is in the highest degree balsamic and restorative.—Colonel Montague James of Jamaica, who was the first white person born after the conquest of the island by the English, lived to the great age of one hundred and four, and for the last thirty years of his life used scarce any other food than chocolate.

GINGER.

THIS grateful aromatic root had a very early introduction into Hispaniola, and I should not have supposed it an exotic, but that Acosta relates, it was conveyed from the East Indies to New Spain by a person named Francisco de Mendoza.

If such was the fact, the Spanish Americans must have entertained very high expectations of profit from its culture, and carried it to a great extent in a very short space of time; it appearing from the same author, that no less than 22,053 cwt. were exported by them to Old Spain in the year 1547.

Ginger is distinguished into two sorts, the black and the white; but the difference arises wholly from the mode of curing; the former being rendered fit for preservation by means of boiling water, the latter by insolation; and as it is found necessary to select the fairest and soundest roots for exposure to the sun, white ginger is commonly one third dearer than black in the market.

In the cultivation of this root no greater skill or care is required than in the propagation of potatoes in Great Britain, and it is planted much in the same manner; but is fit for digging only once a

year, unless for the purpose of preserving it in syrup. In that case, it must be taken up at the end of three or four months, while its fibres are tender and full of sap. Ginger thus prepared makes an admirable sweetmeat; but it is too well known to require description.

It seems to me that this commodity is growing greatly out of use in Europe, and its cultivation in the West Indies decreases in consequence. The average quantity exported annually from the British islands may be stated at ten thousand bags of one cwt. of which 6000 are the produce of Barbadoes, and the remainder (except a very small part from Dominica) is raised in Jamaica. Its medium price at the London market, is forty shillings the hundred weight.*

* Jamaica alone, in 1738, exported 20,933 bags, of one cwt. each, and 8,864 lbs. in casks.—An acre of fresh land, with favourable seasons, will yield about 140 lbs. annually.

ARNATTO.

THIS production is indigenous, and was called by one class of Indians Roucou, and by another Achiotte. Of its present name I know not the derivation. Its botanical name is *Bixa orellana*. It is a shrub which rises to the height of seven or eight feet, and produces oblong hairy pods, somewhat resembling those of a chesnut. Within these are thirty or forty irregularly figured seeds, which are enveloped in a pulp of a bright red colour, and unpleasant smell, in appearance like the sort of paint called red lead when mixed up with oil; and as paint it was used by some tribes of the Indians, in the same manner as woad by the ancient Britons.

Of the cultivation of this plant I know nothing, because most of the arnatto, shipped at present from our own islands, is, I believe, gathered from trees growing spontaneously. The method of extracting the pulp, and preparing it for market, is simply by boiling the seeds in clear water, till they are perfectly extricated; after which the seeds are taken out, and the water left undisturbed for the pulp to subside. It is then drawn off, and the sediment distributed into shallow vessels, and dried gradually in the shade.

Arnatto thus prepared is mixed up by the Spanish Americans with their chocolate; to which it gives (in their opinion) an elegant tincture, and great medicinal virtue. They suppose that it strengthens the stomach, stops fluxes, and abates febrile symptoms; but its principal consumption, I believe, is among painters and dyers.* I am informed that it is sometimes used by the Dutch farmers, to give a richness of colour to their butter, and very small quantities of it are said to be applied in the same manner* in English dairies. On the whole, however, it is an object of no great commercial importance, and the demand for it is not sufficient to encourage much attention to its cultivation.

* The liquid sold in London by the name of "Scott's nankeen dye." is said to be arnatto dissolved in water by means of pot-ash.

Bancroft's Philosophy of Colours.

ALOEES.

THE most valuable species of aloes is that of the island of Socotora in the East Indies, the introduction of which in our West Indian colonies, has hitherto been unaccountably neglected. The species called the hepatic, is the only sort known to our planters, and even of this, the cultivation in the British dominions is, I believe, at present, wholly confined to the island of Barbadoes, where it is said to have been originally introduced from Bermudas. It is propagated by suckers, and will thrive in soils the most dry and barren. The mode of extracting and preparing the juice is as follows:

The plant is pulled up by the roots, and carefully cleansed from the earth, or other impurities. It is then sliced, and cut in pieces, into small hand-baskets or nets. These nets or baskets are put into large iron boilers or cauldrons with water, and boiled for ten minutes, when they are taken out, and fresh parcels supplied, till the liquor is strong and black.

At this period the liquor is thrown through a strainer into a deep vat, narrow at bottom, where

it is left to cool, and to deposite its feculent parts. Next day the clear liquor is drawn off by a cock, and again committed to the large iron vessel. At first it is boiled briskly, but towards the end the evaporation is slow, and requires constant stirring to prevent burning. When it becomes of the consistence of honey, it is poured into gourds, or calabashes, for sale, and hardens by age.

PIEMENTO, OR ALLSPICE.

I CLOSE my catalogue with one of the most elegant productions in nature ; a production which rivals the most valuable species of the East, combining the flavour and properties of many of those spices ; and forming (as its popular name denotes) an admirable substitute and succedaneum for them all.

The piemento tree grows spontaneously, and in great abundance, in many parts of Jamaica, but more particularly on hilly situations near the sea, on the northern side of that island ; where they form the most delicious groves that can possibly be imagined ; filling the air with fragrance, and giving reality, though in a very distant part of the globe, to our great poet's description of those balmy gales, which convey to the delighted voyager

“ Sabean odours from the spicy shore

“ Of Araby the blest.———

“ Cheer'd with the grateful smell, Old Ocean smiles.”

This tree is purely a child of nature, and seems to mock all the labours of man in his endeavours

to extend or improve its growth: not one attempt in fifty to propagate the young plants, or to raise them from the seeds, in parts of the country where it is not found growing spontaneously, having succeeded. The usual method of forming a new piemento plantation, (in Jamaica it is called a *walk*), is nothing more than to appropriate a piece of woodland, in the neighbourhood of a plantation already existing, or in a country where the scattered trees are found in a native state, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are suffered to remain on the ground, till they become rotten and perish. In the course of twelve months after the first season, abundance of young piemento plants will be found growing vigorously in all parts of the land, being, without doubt, produced from ripe berries scattered there by the birds, while the fallen trees, &c. afford them both shelter and shade. At the end of two years it will be proper to give the land a thorough cleansing, leaving such only of the piemento trees as have a good appearance, which will then soon form such groves as those I have described, and, except perhaps for the first four or five years, require very little attention afterwards.

I do not believe there is, in all the vegetable creation, a tree of greater beauty than a young piemento. The trunk, which is of a grey colour, smooth and shining, and altogether free of bark, rises to the height of fifteen or twenty feet. It

then branches out on all sides, richly clothed with leaves of a deep green, somewhat like those of the bay tree; and these, in the months of July and August, are beautifully contrasted and relieved by an exuberance of white flowers. It is remarkable, that the leaves are equally fragrant with the fruit, and I am told, yield in distillation a delicate odoriferous oil, which is very commonly used in the medicinal dispensaries of Europe, for oil of cloves.

Soon after the trees are in blossom the berries become fit for gathering; the fruit not being suffered to ripen on the tree, as the pulp in that state, being moist and glutinous, is difficult to cure, and, when dry, becomes black and tasteless. It is impossible however to prevent some of the ripe berries from mixing with the rest; but if the proportion of them be great, the price of the commodity is considerably injured.

It is gathered by the hand;—one labourer on the tree, employed in gathering the small branches, will give employment to three below, (who are generally women and children), in picking the berries; and an industrious picker will fill a bag of 70 lbs. in the day. It is then spread on a terrace, and exposed to the sun for about seven days, in the course of which it loses its green colour, and becomes of a reddish brown, and when perfectly dry it is fit for market.

The returns from a piemento walk in a favourable season are prodigious. A single tree has been known to yield 150 lbs. of the raw fruit, or one cwt. of the dried spice; there being commonly a loss in weight of one-third in curing; but this, like many other of the minor productions, is exceedingly uncertain, and, perhaps, a very plenteous crop occurs but once in five years. The price in the British market, as may be supposed, fluctuates accordingly, but I believe its average, for some years past, may be put at ten-pence the pound, including the duty which is three-pence.

This, though certainly a much greater price than the commodity bore in former years, gives however so little profit to the owner, compared with that of some other productions, that the growth of piemento decreases every year; many beautiful walks being daily cut down, and the land appropriated to the cultivation of sugar. Its annual export from Jamaica (the only one of our colonies which produces piemento) is about six thousand bags of one hundred and twelve pounds each.



I HAVE now finished all that I proposed to offer on West Indian productions and agriculture. The subject is naturally dry and forbidding, and having wearied myself, I have no doubt, that I have exhausted the patience of others. Let it not be forgotten, however, that I have had to conduct my readers through a path—not strewed with roses, but—perplexed with briars, and hitherto almost untrodden. In such a pursuit I may, perhaps, be content to give up all pretensions to the happy talent of blending pleasure with instruction, satisfied with the homely praise of being useful to the most useful part of the community.*

* To the productions of the British West Indies, imported into Great Britain, might be added *turmeric, cinnamon, and cloves*. Plantations of each are established; but they are yet in their infancy. enough however has been produced of each of those commodities, and the quality such, as to demonstrate, that they can be raised in our sugar islands, in as great plenty and perfection as in any part of the world.



APPENDIX TO BOOK V.

CONTAINING

Some Account of the Cultivation of the CLOVE TREE, in the Island of Dominica, by William Urban Buee, Esq. of that Island; from a Memoir presented by him in 1796, to the Lords of the Committee of Council for the Affairs of Trade and Plantation.

ABOUT the month of July 1789, a friend of mine in Cayenne sent me, as a present, a clove tree about six inches high, having six or eight leaves, and accompanied with a printed paper respecting the cultivation of it. It was required by my friend's paper, that the tree should be planted in a rich soil, and in a moist and cool situation, and in the shade of some trees round it. It was also observed, by my friend, that the tree would thrive best, if it were planted between four plantain trees. The continent of Cayenne being free from hurricanes, and the island of Dominica being on the contrary, exposed to them, I thought that the plantain trees were of too tender a nature to afford a sufficient shade; because, with the least gust of wind they might fall on the clove tree and destroy it: in consequence, I selected one of the richest spots on my estate, being a rich black soil, where I had sixteen thousand coffee trees growing most luxuriantly; between four of those coffee trees I planted my clove tree with great care; I surrounded it with sticks to prevent it from being trod upon;

the coffee trees served as a shade, and my intention was, when the clove tree should extend itself, to lop or cut down the coffee tree nearest to it. Every possible care was taken of this plant; it was kept clean, and every time I went on my estate I visited it; knowing of what consequence it would be to the public in general, and to me in particular, if I could bring this experiment to succeed. It may be easily supposed with what anxiety I viewed the growth of the plant; but, alas! what was my grief, when I found the clove tree hardly vegetating, losing its old leaves as new ones sprung at the top; and in the long space of near six months, not gaining an inch in height: disappointed in my hopes, I informed my friend of the little success I had had, and intreated his assistance in procuring other trees, if possible. In the month of December 1789, two more trees were sent to me. From my first disappointment, I wished to plant these new trees nearer to my house, and in a place that would be convenient for watching and promoting their growth. My dwelling house is situated on a hill, to the eastward, which hill is composed of a stiff, red-clay soil; at the foot of this hill, and on the east side, is situated my garden; to obtain a flat of about one hundred and twenty feet square, one part of that hill has been dug and levelled, which in some parts has made a bank of nearly eleven feet high; the ground was spread over in order to fill up the inequalities of the surface: it will readily be observed how poor some parts of that surface must be, particularly on that side, where eleven feet were cut from the hill. Here I planted the above mentioned two trees, but, at the same time, took care to place them as far as I could from that side of the hill which had been pared down, as I had observed its soil was a stiff, red-clay; I therefore dug two holes at about twelve feet from each other, of about eighteen inches diameter, and two feet deep: finding the substratum to be of a yellow, strong, gravelly nature, I

filled up these two holes with some good mould, and in each of them I planted a clove tree; they grew fast and with luxuriance; which induced me to transplant the first clove tree I had received into the same garden, observing the same treatment; but whilst that tree was growing to my satisfaction, an insect destroyed the top of it; and occasioned its death.

In the month of November 1791, being at Martinico, I visited the different gardens in and about the town of Saint Pierre: as I was walking in the garden belonging to the Dominican friars, I remarked several young clove trees, each in a separate basket; they were the property of a gardener from Cayenne, and were to be disposed of, I purchased the whole of them, consisting of fourteen trees: after collecting, from the generosity of my friends, different other plants; I returned to Dominica, rich with my new acquisition of clove trees, and determined to try different soils. Holes were dug in several parts of my garden, from twelve to fourteen feet distance, and of about the same dimensions as those mentioned before: on examining the soil I found some of a stiff gravelly nature; in other parts, the substratum was of a yellow sandy kind; in some holes, after taking out about six inches of the surface I found a stiff red-clay. Mixing some black mould with the different earths taken out of these holes, I filled them up, and planted in them ten out of the fourteen trees, reserving four trees for that part of the garden nearer the foot of the hill, where ten or eleven feet had been cut from the surface; there I dug no more than was necessary to plant my trees: the ground was a close, compact, stiff, red clay. In order to make an experiment, I mixed no mould, dung, sand, or other soil, with design to open the pores of the clay, but planted these last four trees in that clay, without the assistance of any thing whatever; abandoning their fate to na-

ture, being resolved to run the risk of losing them, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the clove tree required a rich soil or not. At the moment I now write (October 1793) twenty-three months have elapsed, since the planting of these last fourteen trees; and it is with satisfaction I can assert, that the four trees which were planted in the clay, have grown with at least as much, if not more luxuriance, than the other ten: they are from five to six feet high, growing with vigour, fully furnished with branches at the bottom, and terminating in a point at the top, like a pyramid: out of those fourteen trees, six of them were planted in a row, in the flattest part of the garden; the ground with which the holes had been filled up having sunk a little below the surface, a hollow round three of these trees was formed, and the water not having a sufficient current, collected round them: one tree died; the other two appearing to be in a declining state I raised them above six inches, that they might be rather above the surface of the ground. Although these trees were planted with the others in November 1791, one of the two declining trees is not above six inches high, and the other twelve inches, whilst the other trees are three feet in height; this is a sufficient proof, that the clove tree requires a dry situation, and dreads a springy damp soil; though a certain degree of moisture will promote its growth.

In the month of January 1793, with much trouble and expense, (I say trouble, because the exportation from the French islands is prohibited), I procured two boxes of *mother of cloves*:* the berries were packed, some in sand, others in loose earth: upon receiving them, I ordered beds to be prepared in my garden, and in different parts of my estate, for the conveniency of transplanting, and of saving distance, when the nurseries should be fit for that purpose.

* Berries of the clove tree ripe and fit for vegetation.

I planted these seeds at about six inches distance, covering them with about one inch of earth. I had been previously told, that the clove tree, when young, requires to be sheltered from the sun; but reflecting on the latitudes of Cayenne, and of the Moluccas, which are under the fourth and fifth degrees, the one north, the other south, and the latitude of Dominica, which is between the fifteenth and sixteenth degrees north, I knew that ten degrees would make a material difference in the climate, particularly on Montpellier estate, which is situated on an elevated situation, and about three miles distant from the sea. I thought, that if I could rear those seeds without the assistance of any shade, they would, from their infancy, be inured to the sun and air, would be more hardy, and consequently, would bear transplanting with less risk and danger; but in this I was deceived. The mother of clove, on its first visible vegetation, appears like a small strait red dart; when it comes to two inches high, two small red leaves are seen on its top; on the first appearance of these leaves, when hardly perceptible to the naked eye, I found, that on the sun shining with any degree of heat the plants drooped and perished; whereby many seeds were lost; I therefore caused small frames to be erected over all the beds, about three feet high from the ground, and I spread on them plantain leaves, in order to shade the young plants: I kept supplying those leaves for near nine months; after which I suffered the leaves to decay gradually, that the sun might be admitted to the plants, as they acquired strength; and in the space of twelve months, they were fit to be transplanted. Out of six thousand mother of cloves, I saved from fifteen to sixteen hundred trees, which I began to transplant in January 1794, in the open field, at sixteen feet distance. They are growing very luxuriantly: I have lost but few, and none but such as were in places where the water collected. They are now fifteen months old, from the day

they were transplanted, and most of them are between three and four feet high, apparently very healthy. The ground wherein they are planted, had been under coffee for forty years; the coffee trees had decayed, which I tried in vain to replace, but they would not grow. Being disappointed, I turned it into a pasture, which, from neglect, was covered with guava bushes, a plant very prejudicial to any soil; I then resolved to clear it, and plant my clove trees in it. This pasture ground, on the whole, is of a compact, strong, gravelly soil; in some parts is of a clayey nature; but the trees grow well in both.

As Abbé Raynal has been very exact in his description of the clove, I shall adopt the same from his history. “*The flowers of the clove tree are disposed in a corymbus terminalis; they have each of them a long quadrified calix, which bears as many petals, and a great number of stamina; the pistil, inclosed at the bottom of this calix, becomes along with it an oviform fruit, filled up with a single kernel, and known by the name of mother of clove; this same calix, gathered before the unfolding of the petals and the fecundation of the pistil, is the clove as sold in the shops. The clove is fit to be gathered when it has acquired a reddish cast, and a certain degree of firmness.*” The two clove trees, which I planted in December 1789, appeared with clove buds, on or about the 20th of January 1795, some of the cloves were fit to be gathered in May and June following; and such of the cloves as were left on the trees for the purpose of obtaining the mother of cloves, for seeds, acquired a proper degree of maturity, in July and August: so that allowing those two trees to be about one year old when they came to me, from the seeds which I planted I judge they were of that age; I think the clove tree becomes productive in the course of little more than six years, instead of nine years, as mentioned by Abbé Raynal.

I have this year (1795) but two clove trees that are bearing; in the year 1796, I shall have twenty-four more; and in the year 1799, I shall have from fifteen to sixteen hundred trees, in a state of production. Such of the trees, as are situated in flat grounds, I shall leave to their natural growth, by which more profit will be got, and shady walks obtained, an object of consideration in a warm climate; and those trees that are placed on a declivity, I shall top at eight or nine feet, for the convenience of gathering. Having few cloves to gather this year (1795), they were picked with the hand. In the Moluccas, the planters either spread cloths on the ground, or sweep the ground clean under and about the trees, and with the assistance of reeds they cause the cloves to fall down; after which they expose them, for a few days, to smoke upon hurdles, which are covered with large leaves; and this fumigation is followed by drying the cloves in the sun.

In order to ascertain the best mode of rendering the cloves merchantable, I tried several ways of desiccating them when gathered. The first that I cured, in the shade, and in a warm room, were a fortnight before they appeared dry; and on breaking them with the nail, the ball, which is on the top of the clove, I found in the inside to be mouldy; and on chewing the clove, they had a musty taste: I from these circumstances found, that this mode of curing the cloves would not answer.

The second gathering of cloves, I desiccated entirely by the heat of the sun. When dried, they appeared of a blacker hue than the East India cloves, but of a stronger and more pungent taste.

The third trial, after gathering the cloves, on a very rainy day, I put them in a stove which I had constructed

for that purpose, and left for two nights and a day: the heat was rather strong, and the rainy weather having prevented me from going to town, hindered me from getting a thermometer to ascertain the degree of heat of the stove. At the end of the second night, I took the cloves from the stove, and completed the desiccation by the sun; which operation, when perfected, gave the cloves a brownish hue, a good pungent taste, but not so strong a flavour, as those that had been desiccated by the sun only.

The fourth desiccation was nevertheless done in the same way; but, having got a thermometer, I observed this difference: After putting my green cloves in the stove, I took care that the heat was more moderate than that of the third trial; I left the cloves in the stove for only one night, and half a day, until they were faded, and had acquired a brown colour. I hung my thermometer in the stove, and found the heat to vary from 120 to 130 degrees: this done I took out the thermometer, and let the heat decrease to the usual degree of my estate, which was on that day, seventy six degrees; after this, from one o'clock to two, I exposed the thermometer to the sun; the day was fair; and the thermometer getting up to 128 degrees this shewed the heat of the stove to be nearly equal to that of the sun. After taking the cloves out of the stove the rest of the desiccation was done by the sun. I found these cloves when perfectly dry to be of a brownish hue, not so strong in taste as those desiccated by the sun only, but stronger than those that had been, for two nights and a day, exposed in the stove to a greater heat than these last. Having set aside the first curing by the shade, I have numbered the cloves that underwent the three last desiccations, No. 1, 2, and 3: the persons, to whose judgment these specimens will be submitted, will decide on the best quality amongst the three sorts; all of which are far superior in their strength, and pungen-

cy, to those that come from the East Indies, and appear to me to contain a great deal more essential oil : for when exposed to heat, on pressing the nail on a clove, the essential oil is perceived to come out of it; which is not the case with the East India cloves, at least such as I have bought in this island, for the purpose of comparing them with mine.

In curing the clove, I find it indispensable to have a stove, for the following reasons. After gathering cloves, I perceived that if they were not, within a short time after such gathering, faded either by the heat of the sun, or by that of a stove, that the greatest part of the cloves, on being dried afterwards, acquired a light brownish hue, lost their firmness, strength, or pungency; and many appeared as damaged cloves, and as the weather is exceedingly variable in this part of the world, and the air, in general, damp, particularly in the country, it will be absolutely necessary to have a stove heated to the degree before mentioned, and to leave the cloves in it till they are faded, I mean, until they have acquired a brown hue; after which the rest of the desiccation may be done at ease, by the heat of the sun, or by exposure in a dry airy room.

The annual production of a clove tree in the Molucca Islands, according to the Abbé Raynal's account, is about three pounds for each tree. There they are topped at from eight to nine feet, for the conveniency of gathering; but, in Cayenne, where they are left without topping, and where there are clove trees larger than our orange trees, it is reported, they produce from forty to fifty pounds each tree.

The two trees, which, under my management, have produced cloves this year, on the Montpellier estate, have

netted me four pounds and a half of cured cloves, besides two pounds, at least, of cloves which I have left on the trees, to obtain mother of cloves, for the multiplication of that spice: and besides this, I have about half a pound of cloves, which having fallen on the ground before their degree of maturity, have been dried, and are very good for domestic use: these last are strong, but small; so that these two trees have produced more than seven pounds of cloves. As this is the first time of their production, and they are young, it may be reasonably expected, that when older, they will acquire more strength, and more branches; and consequently, will be a great deal more productive.

To the preceding Extract it is thought necessary to add the following letter to the Earl of Liverpool.

SOHO SQUARE, August 11, 1796.

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to acquaint your lordship, that I have read with attention the paper on the successful culture of the clove tree in Dominica, which your lordship did me the honour of referring to me, and am of opinion, that it ought to be printed for the information of His Majesty's subject's in the West Indies, and other intertropical colonies.

Mr. Buée, is, as far as I know, the first person who has observed, that the pimento tree prospers best in those sterile soils, where trees whose wood is of a hard texture abound, and that sugar cannot be cultivated to advantage in such places; also, on the other hand, that where trees whose wood is soft, are naturally found, pimento trees rarely are met with, and sugar plantations will succeed; on such sterile soils he has tried clove trees, and found them congenial to its nature.

These observations open to the cultivators of hot climates a new source of wealth, which will not probably be confined to the growth of cloves; other spices may also prosper best in the barren soils of the West Indies, as lavender, thyme, and other aromatic plants, are known to do in those of Europe.

I have the honour of sending to your lordship, with this, a paper containing samples of cloves received by me from Mr. Buée some months ago: Numbers 1 and 2, mentioned by him p. 19, (381.), are mixed: No. 3, his best sort, are separate. Your lordship may, if you think fit, order a comparison to be made, by some dealers in spice, between these and the cloves we usually receive from the Dutch: I shall only add, that when I applied for information on the same subject to an eminent wholesale dealer in that article, the only answer I obtained was, that he thought me grievously deceived in supposing the cloves to be the produce of the West Indies, he being absolutely certain they came from the East.

I have the honour to be,

With infinite regard and esteem,

Your lordship's obedient humble servant,

JOSEPH BANKS.

Earl of Liverpool.

THE HISTORY,
CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,
OF THE
BRITISH COLONIES
IN THE
WEST INDIES.

BOOK VI.
GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

CHAPTER I.

Colonial Establishments.—Of the Captain General or Chief Governor; his powers and privileges.—Some reflections on the usual choice of persons for this high office.—Lieutenant General, Lieutenant Governor, and President.—Of the Council, their Office and Functions.—Origin of their claim to a share in the Legislature.—Its necessity, propriety, and legality considered.—Some corrections in the constitution of this body proposed.

THE British establishments in the West Indies are commonly termed *king's* governments, in contradistinction to the *proprietary* and *charter* governments which were known in North America; and, from what has been stated in some preceding parts of this work, the reader must have observed, how very nearly their internal constitutions conform

to that of the mother-country. Their different orders of judicature are exactly like those of England; and their legislatures, in general, respectively consist of three distinct branches, (i. e.) a governor representing the crown, a council or upper house, and a body of delegates representing the people at large. The two first are necessarily imperfect, because they are not independent; but the members of the last are more fairly and equally chosen by their constituents, than those of the British House of Commons by the people of Great Britain. Of the powers and privileges claimed and exercised by these several branches respectively, in their own little system, and whence derived, I shall now briefly treat. And first of the

GOVERNOR.

Every chief governor in the British West Indies is appointed by letters patent under the great seal of Great Britain. He receives through courtesy the title of excellency, and is vested with the following powers :

First, as captain-general and commander in chief, he has the actual command of all the land forces within his government, (except only when a general officer is employed on the staff), and he commissions all officers of the militia. He appoints the judges of all the different courts of common law, and even these gentlemen, in all the islands

I believe, (Jamaica excepted*), hold their seats during the governors's good pleasure. He nominates, and supersedes at will, the custodes of the several parishes, justices of the peace, and other subordinate civil officers; and although in respect to some of the above appointments and dismissions, he is directed to ask the advice of his council, this direction is of little avail, inasmuch as the members of this body are themselves liable to be suspended by the governor, on the most frivolous pretences, or even without any cause assigned; a circumstance, by the way, which not unfrequently happens; and having thus reduced the board under a number limited by his instructions, he can fill up the vacancies *instantly*, with such persons as will be *properly obedient*. He has authority, with the advice of his council, to summon general assemblies; he appoints the place of their meeting, and when met, he possesses a negative voice in the legislature, for without his consent, no bill passes into a law; and he may, from time to time, as he alone shall judge needful, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve all such general assemblies. He has the

* By an act passed in Jamaica in 1781, intituled "An act to make the places of the judges, &c. more permanent and respectable," it is declared, that no judges shall be removed but by the king's pleasure, signified under his majesty's sign manual. It is provided, however, that the governor, with the consent of five of his council, may suspend until the king's pleasure be known, accounting to his majesty for, and delivering to the party suspended a copy of his reasons in writing, for such suspension. This proviso seems to me to render this act in a great measure nugatory.

disposal of all such civil employments as the crown does not dispose of; and with respect to such offices as are usually filled up by the British government, if vacancies happen, the governor appoints *pro tempore*, and the persons so appointed are entitled to all the emoluments, until they are superseded at home, and until the persons nominated to supersede them, arrive in the colony. The governor claims the privilege also, in extraordinary cases, and has been known frequently to exercise it, of suspending such civil officers even as act immediately under the king's authority, or by commission from the boards of treasury and admiralty, in high and lucrative employments, as the attorney and advocate-general, the collectors of the customs, &c. and of nominating other persons to act in their room, until the king's pleasure shall be known therein. To all which is added authority, when he shall judge any offender in criminal matters a fit object of mercy, to extend the king's gracious pardon towards him, except only in cases of murder and high treason; and even in these cases, the governor is permitted to reprieve until the signification of the royal pleasure.

Secondly: The governor has the custody of the great seal, and, in most of the colonies, presides solely in the high court of chancery. Indeed, in some of the Windward Islands, as we have seen, the council sit as judges in the court of chancery with the governor: Process however is issued by the governor alone, and tested in his name; and in

general the governor exercises within his jurisdiction, the same extensive powers as are possessed by the lord high chancellor of Great Britain.

Thirdly: The governor is ordinary, and collates to all vacant church benefices. He hath also the power of granting probate of wills, and administration of the effects of persons dying intestate. He grants licenses for marriages, and licenses for schools, &c. and is sole judge in all matters relating to the consistorial or ecclesiastical law.

Fourthly: The governor presides in the court of error, of which he and the council are judges, to hear and determine all appeals, in the nature of writs of error, from the superior courts of common law.

Fifthly: The governor is also vice-admiral within the extent of his government. As such, he is entitled to the rights of *jetsan*, *flotsam*, &c. and in time of war he issues his warrant to the judge of the court of vice-admiralty, to grant commissions to privateers.*

* It may not be improper to observe in this place, that the court of vice admiralty in the colonies, by the iv. of Geo. III. chap. 15, is invested with a concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of record, in cases of forfeitures and penalties incurred by the breach of any act of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the British colonies in America; and in prosecutions in this court, all questions, as well of fact as of law, are decided by the judge alone, without the interven-

Lastly, a colony governor, besides various emoluments arising from fees, fines, forfeitures, and escheats, has an honourable annual provision settled upon him, by act of assembly, for the whole term of his administration in the colony. For, in order that he may not be tempted to prostitute the dignity of his station by improper condescensions to leading men in the assembly, he is restrained by his instructions from accepting any salary, unless the same be settled upon him by law, within the space of one year after his entrance into the government, and expressly made irrevocable during the whole term of his residence in the administration. And this, in my opinion, is a wise and most necessary restriction.

Armed with such various authorities, and possessing such transcendent pre-eminence and privileges as I have described, it is not to be expected, from the common fallibility of human nature, that every colony governor (placed at so great a distance from the mother country) should on every occasion, *bear his faculties meekly*. Great caution is therefore undoubtedly necessary, on the part of a British minister, in the choice of persons for a trust of so great weight and dignity; the powers with which our plantation governors are invested being more extensive than those which the laws of Eng-

tion of a jury. The judge is nominated by the crown. The colonists complain with great reason of this law, as a direct violation and infringement of their best and dearest constitutional rights.

land allows to the sovereign himself. It is however a melancholy truth, that party merit and connections, are commonly the most forcible recommendations with which a candidate for a distant government can present himself; and that persons equally devoid of character, ability, and fortune, have sometimes been sent to preside in our most important settlements, as if justice and public virtue were best administered and promoted by men most distinguished for ignorance and profligacy, and that they would prove the best protectors of other peoples fortunes, who by vice and profusion had dissipated their own!

In nominating to an office which is a constituent part of the legislature, which has power to control the administration of executive justice, and, in most cases, has the sole exercise of the vast and extensive jurisdiction appertaining to a court of equity, it might be supposed that a prudent minister, among other qualifications in the person selected, would consider, that some little knowledge of the laws and constitution of England is indispensably requisite. It is remarkable, however, that the military professions (which certainly are not eminent for such kind of knowledge) are found to supply most of the gentlemen who are elevated to this high station. It were unjust, at the same time, not to allow, that some of these have acquitted themselves in the civil department with extraordinary reputation and honour. Both the late Sir William Trelawney and Sir Basil Keith, who suc-

cessively administered the government of Jamaica, were educated from early youth in the navy; yet possessing sound judgments and upright intentions, their conduct as governors gave abundant satisfaction to the people of the colony, without incurring the disapprobation of the crown; and their names will be remembered there with reverence, so long as worthy governors shall be numbered among the benefactors of mankind.* But these are rare in-

* Soon after the above was written, the inhabitants of Jamaica had the misfortune to lose, in an untimely grave, their highly valued and most lamented governor, Thomas Earl of Effingham, who was appointed captain-general of that island in the beginning of 1790, and died in his government in October 1791. This nobleman was educated in the army; and, with the frankness and firmness of the soldier, possessed very extraordinary talents for civil employment.—His merit as chancellor surpassed all that the warmest of his friends had predicted. He displayed a calmness of temper, and a clearness of conception which the captious and subtle perplexities of forensick argument could not disturb or elude. His mind was strong, quick, penetrating, sound, and decisive; but the prominent feature of his character, which displayed itself in all cases and on every occasion, was a manly and unshaken intrepidity. He neither courted nor dreaded any man living; proceeding strait forward in the plain path of his duty, without fear, favour or affection.—At his first entrance into the government, his manners were thought ungracious; but his talents and virtues were soon happily experienced, and he then became the most popular of all governors. The Roman people displayed not greater affliction at the death of Germanicus, than was manifested by the inhabitants of Jamaica for the loss of lord Effingham. The assembly voted a magnificent funeral for the remains of his lordship, as they had for those of the countess of Effingham, who died a short time before him. They likewise ordered a monument to be erected to perpetuate the memory of their virtues, and the author of this work had the honour of drawing up the inscription thereon; which is as follows:

stances; and it must generally be admitted, that the appointment to high civil offices of men

To the Memory of

THOMAS, Earl of EFFINGHAM, Baron Howard,
Captain-General and Chief Governor of this Island,
in the years 1790 and 1791;

And of KATHERINE his Wife.

The latter, departed this life on the 13th day of October, 1791,
In a voyage undertaken for the benefit of her health,
in His Majesty's ship Diana :

The former, on the 19th of the following month,
The third week after the melancholy return of the Diana
with the remains of his beloved Consort,
whom he seemed unwilling to survive,
And with whom he was deposited in the same grave.

Thus, united in their lives
by the most tender and exalted ties,—
He—the fond and indulgent Husband,—
She—the cheerful and obedient Wife,—
In their deaths they were not divided!

To perpetuate the remembrance
of so illustrious a pattern of conjugal affection :
To manifest the public sense
of the many public and private virtues of their respected Governor ;
And to record, for the benefit of posterity,
The clearness of that sagacity,
The extent of that knowledge,
And the purity and firmness of that integrity,
which rendered his administration
The boast and security of a grateful people,
The ASSEMBLY of JAMAICA,
having caused the remains of this noble and
lamented pair to be interred with funeral honours
at the public expense, the whole House
attending each procession as Mourners,
As a farther testimony of merited esteem
Inscribe this Monument.

whose education and past pursuits have not given them opportunities of acquiring much acquaintance with the principles of our limited government, is a very dangerous experiment. Persons of this class, with the purest intentions, are easily misled by selfish and interested men, whom the consciousness of their own deficiencies compels them to consult.—Even while actuated by honest and laudable motives, they may violate irreparably the first principles of law and a free constitution, by establishing fatal precedents which no integrity of intention can sanctify. Mr. Stokes, the late chief justice of Georgia, relates, that a governor of a province in North America (at that time a British colony) ordered the provost marshal to hang up a convict some days before the time appointed by his sentence, and a rule of court for his execution. “He meant well, says Stokes, but, being a military man, conceived that as he had power to reprieve after sentence, he had power to execute also when he pleased; and the criminal was actually hanged as the governor ordered, nor could his excellency be persuaded, that, by this very act, he was himself committing felony.”

An anecdote not less curious than the former is related by the same author of another military governor, who, it seems, took it into his head to suspend a gentleman from his seat in the council, for no other reason than marrying his daughter without his consent.

It may be said perhaps, that in these cases the mischief to the public, exclusive of the precedent, was not very great. I could produce, however, many an instance, in the conduct of governors, in which something more would appear, I am afraid, than mere folly, and the ignorant misapplication of authority. But the task is invidious, and I willingly decline it.

LIEUTENANT GENERAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, AND PRESIDENT.

In a government comprehending several islands, as that of the Leeward Charaibbean islands, there is commonly appointed, together with the captain-general or chief governor, a lieutenant-general, who is next in succession. He is usually lieutenant-governor likewise of one of the islands included within the general government, each of which, in the absence of the captain-general, from that particular island, has its affairs administered by a lieutenant-governor, or the president of the council, most commonly the latter, as it is not often that the lieutenant-governor is on the spot; this appointment, in fact, being nothing more than the grant of a pension of £.200 a year, which is paid by the crown. In Jamaica it is seldom that a lieutenant-governor is appointed during the residence on the island of a captain-general, there being no establishment or provision for such an officer holding a dormant commission; who has therefore neither pow-

er nor profit. He is not as lieutenant-governor, entitled even to a seat in the council. On the resignation, or absence on leave, of the captain-general, a lieutenant-governor, if not present, is frequently sent over, who then succeeds to the supreme command, and receives the full emoluments of the government.*

* The following instance of ministerial œconomy may amuse but cannot surprise my readers in the colonies.—About the year 1767, when the marquis of Lansdowne, then earl of Shelburne, was Secretary of State, an application was made to his lordship by some gentlemen of Jamaica, then residing in England, for a provision for a lieutenant-governor, who should reside within the island at the same time with the captain-general. The reason assigned was, to prevent a devolution of the government to the president of the council. Lord Shelburne had no other objection to the measure than an unwillingness to saddle either the mother country or the colony with additional expense. But finding, among other emoluments of the captain-general, that he derived about £.1000 sterling per annum from the command of a fortification at Port Royal, called Fort Charles, and conceiving the other appointments of the chief governor to be sufficiently liberal, his lordship stipulated with the next governor Sir William Trelawney, that he should resign fort Charles to lieutenant-governor Dalling, on condition of residence. Thus were the wishes of the gentlemen gratified, and a provision made for a lieutenant governor without expense either to Great Britain or Jamaica; and, considering withal that Sir William Trelawney was the minister's friend, the conduct of lord Shelburne in the business was highly commendable, and bore the features of honour.—But mark the result. In the administration of lord George Germain, General Dalling, by the demise of Sir William Trelawney, succeeded to the chief command: and the new minister, considering £.1000 per annum no despicable object, instead of continuing fort Charles as a provision for a lieutenant-governor, seized on it for his own use, and soon after assigned its profits over to one of his dependants, who has enjoyed it ever since. Thus the island suffers

Mr. Long is of opinion that a president of the council, taking upon him the government on the demise or absence of a governor or lieutenant-governor, cannot legally dissolve the house of assembly, nor issue writs for calling a new one; because he has no express commission from the sovereign under the great seal of Great Britain, giving authority for that purpose.

THE COUNCIL.

The members of this board are severally appointed by the royal mandamus, directed to the governor, and countersigned by the secretary of state, and the names of the several members for the time being are inserted in the governors instructions. In Jamaica their full complement is *twelve*: in some of the smaller islands *ten*, and in case of as many vacancies, by death, absence, or suspension, as reduce the board under *seven*, the governor or commander in chief is empowered to fill up to that number, but no further. Their privileges, powers, and offices, are these:

First. They are by courtesy severally addressed, in the colonies, *honourable*; they take precedency

the same inconveniency it complained of before, with the burthen of providing £.1000 a year for a person who neither resides within the island, nor has any other connection with it; for the fort is generally commanded by his deputy's deputy, with whose very name, it is probable, the principal himself is unacquainted.

next to the commander in chief; and on the death or absence of the governor, lieutenant-general, and lieutenant-governor, the eldest member of the council succeeds to the government, under the title of *President*.

Secondly. They are a council of state, the governor or commander in chief presiding in person, to whom they stand in the same relation as the privy-council in Great Britain does to the Sovereign. But although every plantation-governor is directed by his instructions to advise with his council on most occasions, I do not know that, in his executive capacity, he is absolutely bound to abide by their advice. I conceive that he is competent to act in most cases, not only without, but even against their concurrence: he may, it is true, by so doing, incur the king's displeasure; but his proceedings are nevertheless efficient and legal within the colony.

Thirdly. They are named, in every commission of the peace, as justices throughout the colony to which they belong.

Fourthly. The council, together with the commander in chief, sit as judges in the court of error or court of appeal in civil causes from the courts of record; and in some of the islands two or more of the members sit with the governor in the court of chancery, as assistant commissioners of the great

seal, as I have elsewhere related; appeals from chancery therefore lie not before them, but are by the king's order, revoked before his majesty himself in council.

Fifthly. The council is a constituent part of the legislature; their consent being necessary in the enacting of laws. In this capacity of legislators, they sit as the upper house, and in most of the colonies, distinct from the governor; claim privilege of parliament, order the attendance of persons, and the production of papers and records, and commit for contempts; enter protests on their journals after the manner of the house of peers, and have their chaplain, clerk, usher of the black rod, &c. &c. &c.

It has been thought strange that one and the same body of men should act in two such different capacities and functions, as a privy-council sworn to secrecy and fidelity, and an upper house of legislature; "the admitting such a distinction, says a late governor, may be supposed even to free them from all obligations of the oath they take as counsellors: because their duty to the people as legislators, may seem to oblige them very frequently to support opinions repugnant to a governor's schemes."*

* This opinion of Governor Lyttleton is quoted more at large in the History of Jamaica by Mr. Long, vol. i. p. 156.

But to this it may be answered, that if the governor's schemes are in the opinion of the council, repugnant to the true interests of the people, their opposition to such schemes cannot be deemed a violation of their oath of fidelity; nor does it necessarily follow that they thereby divulge what they have sworn to keep secret.

It appears to me, that the people at large residing within the colonies, have much more cause of apprehension than their governors, from the existence and exercise of legislative authority, in so unstable a body as the board in question: For although its individual members ought to be, and I believe indeed commonly are, men of weight and property in their respective countries, yet a territorial qualification is not indispensably necessary to their appointment, as in the case of members chosen into the assembly. Persons therefore *may be*, and I am afraid in former times *have been*, nominated to the council, who have no natural concern in the welfare of the colony, no community of interests with its inhabitants, and who consider themselves wholly at the governor's disposal, and bound to support all his measures, however incompatible with the general good. Again: From the power which the governors assume of arbitrarily inflicting the rod of suspension, the board has not stability sufficient to insure respect to its resolutions. It has neither strength nor independency. Such of the members therefore as have property in the country, may perhaps sometimes find themselves

in a more disagreeable predicament than even those who have none ; for they may be compelled to vote as a governor shall dictate, in support possibly of measures ruinous to the community in which all their concerns are centered, or be exposed to the affront of public degradation ; to the consequent malignant misconstructions of the vulgar ; and perhaps to the contempt of their own minds, in having accepted a station which subjects them to censure, for honestly discharging the duties of it.

I do not indeed know that many great evils have actually been felt by the colonists at large, from the inefficiency and instability of this body. However, as it is the excellency of the British government, not merely to correct existing abuses, but also to obviate and prevent (as far as human foresight will permit) such as may possibly or probably happen ; many intelligent persons have been led to controvert the claim of the council altogether to a participation in the legislature. They deny that this claim derives any just support either from analogy to the constitution of the parent state, from the royal delegation, or from any law of sufficient comprehension and efficacy, to warrant such a pretension in a body so constituted.

The principal arguments which have been advanced in support of this opinion, are to this effect.

The peers of Great Britain are hereditary members of the legislature, and sit in parliament for the

support of their own great interests and inherent dignity, and as an intermediate body between the crown and the people. In civil process their persons are sacred, and in criminal they are tried by their own order. Neither can their privileges be taken from them but in extraordinary cases, and then only by the sentence of the whole house, as a court of the highest jurisdiction, or by an act of the whole legislature. The sovereign it is true, can create as many new peers as he pleases, but having once raised a subject to this high dignity, his privileges thenceforward as a peer of parliament, are his own; founded not on royal concessions, but on the ancient fundamental constitution of the realm. Thus, the house of lords forms a separate branch of the legislature, distinct from, and entirely independent of, the crown on the one hand, and the commons on the other. Now in all these respects, it is maintained, that a colonial council has no conformity or similitude with, and therefore could not originally have been intended to form a separate estate, and supply in the colonies the place of, the house of peers in Great Britain.

It is contended further, that the power of the crown is not of itself sufficiently extensive to constitute such a legislative branch, or separate estate, in the colonies. The king, it is true, has a negative in legislation, but the king has no right to propose a law to, or to alter a law proposed by, the lords or commons. His power is the power of rejecting, and nothing more; which therefore is

not so properly a legislative power, as a negative on the legislation of the other branches; a mere defensive privilege to enable him to withstand the encroachments of the legislature, and preserve the government entire. As the king cannot confer on others what he possesses not himself, nothing less than a solemn and precisely declaratory law, proposed by the representatives of the people, and confirmed by the crown, could, it is pretended, have given the shadow of authority to a colonial or provincial council to form themselves into a distinct legislative estate. It follows, that their claim to legislative powers, thus unsupported, is usurpation and tyranny.

These arguments, or arguments to the same effect, are urged with great ability in Mr. Long's History of Jamaica. I shall not attempt to controvert them by elaborate discussion, but content myself with briefly stating the origin, *as it is in fact*, (according to my conception), of the pretensions of this branch to a distinct share in colonial legislation. If it be shewn that the exercise of these pretensions may, on several occasions, be absolutely necessary to the welfare and safety of the community; a very few words will suffice on the question of their constitutional legality.

That it was originally intended to establish in any of the colonial governments *three* distinct independent legislative powers acting on the spot, in the view of forming constitutions on the model of

England, I do not however believe; because, while the crown retains its necessary and constitutional right of disannulling all acts of the provincial legislature, and while the privilege of giving a negative is likewise exercised by its governors in the colonies, independent of the council, there are *four* distinct estates, instead of *three*. The case seems to have been, that there being no order of hereditary nobility in the plantations, out of which to constitute a dignified and efficient intermediate body, like the peers of England and Ireland, a legislative authority was at an early period intrusted to the governors and their council, *acting conjointly*, and forming a middle branch between the crown on the one hand, and the representatives of the people on the other. The presence and concurrence of the governor were probably thought advisable, in the view that the interests of the crown might generally preponderate; while by selecting the members of the council from men of the first consequence in each colony, it was perhaps conceived, that a salutary check was contrived against those abuses to which power, in the best hands is sometimes liable; and on this plan the colonies possessed the semblance, at least of an English legislative constitution.*

* Every governor is expressly instructed to transmit from time to time to his majesty, the names of such of the principal inhabitants as are best qualified to supply vacancies in the council, and it is rarely that any person is appointed who is not previously recommended by the governor.

That such was the first intention in the formation of all or most of the king's governments in the plantations, (imperfect as the system confessedly is, from the instability of the council), appears from the instance of Barbadoes, where this arrangement still exists; the governor and council, in matters of legislation, constituting, not *two* separate and distinct bodies, independent of each other, but *one* constituent branch only, sitting and deliberating together.—And such too, for some years, was the practice of Jamaica, and I believe of all or most of the rest of the royal governments; but as it sometimes became necessary to reject popular bills, the governor, to divert the displeasure of the assembly from himself to the council, declined by degrees attending on such occasions; leaving it with the board to settle matters with the assembly as they could, without his interference. The council concurred, readily enough, in the governor's views, because his absence, removing a restraint, gave them the semblance of a distinct independent estate; and the crown, perceiving the utility and advantage of the measure, confirmed and established the practice, by degrees, in most of the royal governments throughout the British plantations. If the people's representatives had considered this exclusive interposition of the council as an innovation, *then* was their time to have opposed it; but it has not appeared to me that the assembly of any one colony, at any one period, denied a right in the council to negative bills in the first instance, without the governor's consent or participation. Now the right in the council

to reject bills altogether in the first instance, necessarily comprehends the privilege of offering amendments to particular clauses, (money bills are always, and very properly excepted), the exercise of which privilege is in truth nothing more than an offer of compromise between the council and assembly. The former may say, "we propose such and such amendments; adopt them, or we use our power of rejection." And this I take to be the plain origin and actual rise of the privileges enjoyed, I believe, by the council board in every British colony in the West Indies, (Barbadoes excepted), of deliberating apart from the governor, on all bills sent up by the assembly; of proposing amendments to such bills, and of rejecting altogether, and without any participation with the governor, such of them as they disapprove. Further than this, I do not know that the legislative authority of the council extends; and I have no hesitation in pronouncing the exercise of *such* an authority, when enforced freely and independently, a most necessary and useful expedient, tending to prevent violent and mischievous disputes between the delegates of the people, and the representative of the crown. Its origin may have been illegitimate; but its adoption in the colonies for a century at least, and recognition by the crown, have given it such a prescriptive establishment, as I conceive constitutes law.*

* In truth the colonies gained a very important acquisition by this separation of the governor and council from each other in matters of legislation, for obtaining by this means the semblance of three dis-

After all, the objections which have been made to the present constitution of this body, arising from its want of sufficient stability and independence, are of an important and serious nature. Men are very unfit for legislators, whose deliberations are liable to be biassed by external and improper influence. If, on some occasions they are instruments of good, on others they may prove instruments of great evil. Yet I am willing to hope that even this inconvenience might find its remedy, if the colonial assemblies would take the subject into serious and temperate consideration. Were it required by law that no person should be appointed of the council who was not possessed of a landed estate within the colony to some given value, as an indispensable qualification, so that the private interests of the members might be blended with those of every other citizen, and were the terrors of suspension, which, like the sword of Damocles, hangs but by a thread, removed from them, they would become a respectable and most useful body.*

tinct estates, it enabled them the more easily to secure the privilege which they claimed, that their laws should be immediately in force as soon as consented to by the governor, without waiting for the royal confirmation.

* There arises, however, some difficulty in considering this point. While the council are liable to be suspended at the will of an arbitrary and capricious governor, (and I remember an instance in Jamaica, of seven members being suspended in one day, on a very frivolous pretence), their authority is very lightly regarded, and sometimes they are even treated with contempt and insult. On the other hand, if they were appointed *for life*, they might, in their legislative capacity, be-

At the same time it will behoove the representatives of the people, in an especial manner, to keep in their own hands, undiminished and unimpaired, as a sacred deposite, the great and exclusive privilege of granting or withholding the supplies. If the council, independent of the governor and the people, shall once possess themselves of the smallest share in this most important of all popular rights, they will become, from that moment, a standing senate, and an insolent aristocracy.

come formidable both to the king's representative and the people. They might obstruct the supplies for no better reason than to get a new governor. I am of opinion, therefore, that they should still be amovable, but, in order to give them greater weight than they possess at present, they should be amovable only by the king's express order, in consequence of a joint address from the commander in chief and the house of assembly. Their present constitution certainly requires some correction and amendment; the more so, as in some of the colonies they have set up pretensions of a very wide and extraordinary nature. They have, at different times, claimed and exercised the power of arbitrarily imprisoning for contempt, and formerly even for fines laid by their own authority. They have claimed a right of originating public bills at their board, and even of amending money bills passed by the assembly. They have also claimed the right of appropriating the public revenue, &c. &c. All these, and other pretensions, are equally inconsistent with their original appointment of a *council of assistants* to the governor, and with the tenure by which they at present exist, and ought to be constantly and firmly resisted by the people's representatives.

CHAPTER II.*

Houses of Assembly.—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of establishing in the Colonies Constitutions less free than that of Great Britain.—Most of the British West Indian Islands settled by Emigrants from the Mother Country.—Royal Proclamations and Charters, Confirmations only of ancient Rights.—Barbadoes, and some other Islands, originally made Counties Palatine.—Their local Legislatures how constituted, and the extent of their jurisdiction pointed out.—Their Allegiance to, and Dependence on, the Crown of Great Britain, how secured.—Constitutional Extent of Parliamentary Authority over them.

IN treating of the assemblies, or popular branch in the local system of colonial administration, I shall first attempt to investigate the origin of the

* In this chapter, the nature and necessary uniformity of my work, compel me to tread over a field wherein the footsteps of a great many preceding writers are still visible. I presume not therefore to fancy that I can produce many new arguments myself, or give additional weight to those which have been advanced by others, on subjects so well understood, and so frequently and freely canvassed during the late unhappy disputes with America. My aim will be answered, if, instead of originality and novelty, I am found to possess perspicuity and precision. Happily the great rights of mankind are sufficiently apparent, without the aid of logical deduction, and abstracted hypothesis.

claim of the colonists to legislate for themselves, by means of those assemblies, and to display the principles on which this claim was confirmed by the mother country. Afterwards, I shall inquire by what means their allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, and profitable subordination to the British parliament, are secured and maintained.

From the arguments that have been urged in the latter part of the preceding chapter, concerning a prerogative in the crown to invest the colonial council-boards with some share of legislative authority, I trust it will not follow, that the English constitution has at any time lodged in the king, the still greater prerogative of establishing in the British dependencies, such a form and system of government as his Majesty shall think best. It is surely one thing to say, that the crown may introduce into the plantations such checks and controls as are congenial to those institutions by which freedom is best secured in the mother country, and another, to aver that the crown may withhold from the colonies the enjoyment of freedom altogether. Nevertheless, were the maxim well founded, that the prerogative of the crown in arranging the system of colonial establishments is unlimited, no conclusion could be drawn from it that would impeach, in the smallest degree, the claim of the British colonists in America to a British constitution; inasmuch as the sovereign, representing the whole nation, has repeatedly recognized in the first settlers and their posterity, by various solemn

grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, the same liberties, privileges and immunities, which are possessed and enjoyed by their fellow subjects remaining in Great Britain.

I do not indeed know that those grants, proclamations, charters, and treaties, were essentially necessary to freedom; for if, as I presume I have sufficiently demonstrated on a former occasion,* even a conquered state, retaining its ancient inhabitants, no sooner becomes ceded to Great Britain, than it is assimilated to its government, and imbibes the spirit of its free constitution;—if this, as I contend, is the law of England, it requires but little argument to prove that English subjects, whether settling in countries which their valour has annexed to the British dominion, or emigrating for the purpose of forming plantations on vacant or derelict lands, are entitled *of right*, so long as they preserve their allegiance, to at least an equal degree of national protection, with adopted aliens and vanquished enemies. Some of our possessions in America and the West Indies (Jamaica in particular, as we have seen) were obtained by the forces of the state; the individuals of which became proprietors of the country which they had conquered. Other countries, as Barbadoes and Antigua, were found vacant and unoccupied, and were made valuable appendages to Great Britain, by the enterprising spirit and at the sole expense of a few private

* Book III. c. 2.

adventurers. Even where the lands were forcibly taken from the ancient Indian inhabitants, though nothing can sanctify injustice, yet the English title is unimpeachable by any other European power; and the English nation has received the benefit of the enterprize. Shall it then, (to use an excellent and unanswerable argument of Mr. Long on this subject*), shall it be affirmed, ‘that if English forces conquer, or English adventurers possess themselves of distant lands, and thereby extend the empire, and add to the trade and opulence of England; the Englishmen so possessing and planting such territory, ought, in consideration of the great services thereby effected to their nation, to be treated worse than aliens, to forfeit all the rights of English subjects, and be left to the mercy of an absolute and arbitrary form of government?’ Nothing surely can equal the absurdity of so savage a doctrine!†

* Hist. Jamaica.

† “Let us consider (says Mr. Locke) a conqueror in a lawful war, and see what power he gets, and over whom.

First, he gets no power by his conquest over those that conquered with him. They that fought on his side cannot suffer by the conquest, but must at least be as much freemen as they were before. And most commonly, they serve upon terms, and on condition to share with their leader, and enjoy a part of the spoil, and other advantages that attend the conquering sword: or, at least have a part of the subdued country bestowed upon them. And the conquering people are not, I hope, to be slaves by conquest, and wear their laurels only to shew they are sacrifices to their leader’s triumph. We are told by some, that the English monarchy is founded in the Norman conquest, and

Considering therefore the further discussion of this point as superfluous, I come to the conclusion which necessarily results from the premises, and it appears to me to be clear and uncontrovertible, that the royal proclamations and charters which guaranteed and confirmed to the first planters, emigrating to America and the West Indies, all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens remaining within the kingdom, were, and were meant to be, *declaratory only of ancient rights; not creative of new privileges*. They were nothing more than royal recognitions, expressive of a reciprocal relation between the sovereign and his subjects, notwithstanding their removal, conveying the consent of the king, as head and repre-

that our princes have thereby a title to absolute dominion; which, if it were true (as by history it appears otherwise) and that William had a right to make war on this island, yet his dominion by conquest could reach no farther than to the Saxons and Britons, that were then inhabitants of this country. The Normans that came with him, and helped to conquer, and all descended from them, are freemen, and no subjects by conquest; let that give what dominion it will."

So far Mr. Locke—His friend and correspondent Mr. Mollyneux, of Dublin, in his Treatise of the case of Ireland's being bound by English acts of parliament, repeats the same argument, and illustrates it as follows. "Supposing (he observes) that Hen. II. had a right to invade Ireland, and that he had been opposed therein by the inhabitants, it was only the ancient race of the Irish that could suffer by this subjugation; the English and Britons, that came over and conquered with him, retained all the freedoms and immunities of free born subjects; they, and their descendants, could not in reason lose these for being successful and victorious; for so, the state of both conquerors and conquered shall be equally slavish."

sentative of the English state, to their emigration; and assuring them expressly, or by evident implication, so long as they preserved their allegiance, the full and undisturbed enjoyment of those inherent rights, which no climate nor compact can take away or diminish.

Such, I conceive, was the ground on which the first English colonists claimed, among other rights, the great and important one of assenting to all laws by which they were to be bound; or, to speak somewhat more suitably to the actual situation of the people of England, of being bound by such laws only, as in their operation, should extend to, *and bind the governors equally with the governed; the framers equally with all the rest of the kingdom.** and hence, the establishment in all the British provinces of North America, and islands of the West Indies, of assemblies, or houses of representatives, which, being freely chosen by the people, forming a part of, and living among the people, and occasionally to be resolved into the

* By the principles of the British constitution, every man should be represented; but the deviation from a rule too nice for practice is safely born, because the interest of every particular member of parliament stands as a pledge, that no individual in the kingdom can be oppressed. In other words, the great security which the people of Great Britain have, that their representatives shall not abuse their trust, is, *that they cannot impose on others what they are not to feel themselves.* 'If an act of parliament was made (says judge Hobart) constituting a man a judge in his own cause, it would be void by the law of nature.' See an excellent speech of George Johnstone Esq. in the parliamentary debates for 1775, wherein this argument is enforced.

general mass, must necessarily participate, with a tender interest, in every thing that concerns the people.

Perhaps, instead of confirming to the colonists this liberal system of self-government, it was, or might have been contended on the part of the crown, that the permission of returning representatives to the British parliament, was all that, on their own principles, they could pretend to claim; and the examples of Durham and Chester might have been adduced in support of this argument. Those counties being counties palatine, had complained, that, "for lack of knights and burgesses, they were touched and grieved with acts and statutes made within the court of parliament;" and they pleaded that all acts and statutes so made, "were derogatory unto their most ancient jurisdictions, liberties and privileges." Their plea was allowed and parliamentary representation granted them. It is observable too, that Barbadoes and the Charaibean islands, as well as some provinces of North America, were at first created into counties palatine, expressly after the model of Durham. But the king and parliament probably thought, what all who duly consider the subject must now think, that a parliamentary union with a kingdom three thousand miles distant, was impracticable to any good purpose. It is most certain that, the British parliament, from first to last, consented that the king should govern his subjects in America (so far at least as related to their own internal

concerns) as he governed his subjects in Ireland, by parliaments of their own. Nor, if the election of representatives is, “ an original right, vested in, and inseparable from the freehold, as it hath been pronounced by the highest authority;* and if the impracticability of the colonists being adequately represented in the British legislature be admitted, could such a consent be withheld from them on any principle of reason and justice ; unless indeed it be reasonably and just to contend, that the colonists, as having, from their remote situation, need of greater protection than their fellow-subjects at home, are on that account entitled to less.

Provincial parliaments, or colonial assemblies (it matters not by what name that they are called) being thus established and recognized, we shall find that in their formation, mode of proceeding, and extent of jurisdiction within their own circle, they have constantly copied, and are required to copy, as nearly as circumstances will permit, the example of the parliament of Great Britain. The freeholders are assembled in each town or parish respectively by the king’s writ ; their suffrages are taken by an officer of the crown, and the persons elected are afterwards commanded, by royal proclamation, to meet together at a certain time and place in the proclamation named, to frame statutes and ordinances for the public safety. When met; the oaths of allegiance, &c. are administered unto each of

* Lord Chief Justice Holt.

them, and a speaker being chosen and approved, the session opens by a speech from the king's representative. The assembly then proceed, as a grand provisional inquest, to hear grievances, and to correct such public abuses as are not cognizable before inferior tribunals.—They commit for contempts, and the courts of law have refused, after solemn argument, to discharge persons committed by the speaker's warrant.—They examine and control the accounts of the public treasurer;—they vote such supplies, lay such taxes, and frame such laws, statutes, and ordinances, as the exigencies of the province or colony require.—Jointly with the governor and council, they exercise the highest acts of legislation; for their penal laws, which the judges are sworn to execute, extend even to life; many persons having suffered death under laws passed in the colonies, even before they had received the royal assent. On the whole, subject to the restriction that their trade-laws are not repugnant to those of Great Britain, there are no concerns of a local and provincial nature, to which the authority of the colonial laws does not extend.*

This restriction was intended probably as an auxiliary to other means for preserving the unity of the empire, and maintaining the superintending and controlling power of the mother-country in matters of

* The following account of the proceedings of the legislature of Jamaica in 1766, while it illustrates this part of my subject, cannot fail to prove highly interesting to every inhabitant of the British colonies.

trade ; but it implies also a reciprocal engagement or obligation on the part of the British parliament, not to interpose its authority in matters to which

‘ To his honour ROGER HOPE ELLETON, Esq. his majesty’s
 ‘ Lieutenant Governor and commander in chief, in and over
 ‘ this his majesty’s island of Jamaica, &c. &c.

‘ May it please your honour,

‘ We, his majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the assembly
 ‘ of Jamaica, thoroughly convinced of your honour’s readiness to
 ‘ hear, and inclination to redress, as much as in you lies, every
 ‘ grievance that may affect any of his majesty’s subjects, beg leave to
 ‘ represent to you one which calls aloud for immediate relief, it being
 ‘ in itself of the most dangerous and alarming nature, and having
 ‘ already given birth to such confusions and distractions in this un-
 ‘ happy country, as have not at any time before been known in it.

‘ Our ancestors, sir, who settled this British colony, were English-
 ‘ men, and brought with them a right to the laws of England as their
 ‘ inheritance, which they did not, nor could forfeit by settling here.
 ‘ Ever since civil government was first established among us, which
 ‘ was very soon after the restoration of king Charles the Second, we
 ‘ have enjoyed in this colony a constitution and form of government
 ‘ as nearly resembling that of our mother-country as it was perhaps
 ‘ possible to make it; our lives, our liberties, and our properties, se-
 ‘ cured to us by the same laws, have ever been determined and ad-
 ‘ judged by similar jurisdictions, and such monies as have been ne-
 ‘ cessary for the support of his majesty’s government here, have, as in
 ‘ England, ever been raised upon the people with their own consent
 ‘ given by their representatives in assembly; our courts of justice,
 ‘ where life, liberty, and property are adjudged, are governed by the
 ‘ same laws, and stand in the same degree of subordination to one
 ‘ another, as the courts which they respectively stand for, do in
 ‘ England; our house of assembly, as representing the whole body
 ‘ of our people, does and ever did hold the same rank in the system

the colonial assemblies are sufficiently competent. With powers so extensive and efficient, these assemblies must necessarily be sovereign and su-

‘ of our constitution, as the house of commons does in that of our
 ‘ mother-country ; here as in England, our representatives in assem-
 ‘ bly are the grand inquest of our community ; they have the power,
 ‘ and it is their duty to inquire into the corruptions of office, the abu-
 ‘ ses of government, and the ill administration of justice, and for
 ‘ that purpose it is that this body has here, as in our mother-country,
 ‘ ever enjoyed a superiority over all the courts of justice, and a pow-
 ‘ er of examining their conduct ; and all judges, magistrates, and
 ‘ public officers, have ever been amenable to the assembly, and their
 ‘ conduct liable to its inspection ; and here, as in England, we owe
 ‘ it to the wholesome and frequent exertions of such a power in the
 ‘ representative body of the people, that we are at this day a free peo-
 ‘ ple ; without it we can have no security or defence against the cor-
 ‘ ruption of judges, and the abuses which may happen in every de-
 ‘ partment of administration.

‘ It is against a most flagrant, unprovoked, and unprecedented at-
 ‘ tack and violation which Mr. Lyttleton, our late chancellor, made
 ‘ upon this indubitable right of the people, that we now resort to your
 ‘ honour for redress.

‘ In December 1764, Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M’Neil, two men
 ‘ who had been committed by the assembly for breach of privilege,
 ‘ and were in custody of Edward Bolt, the messenger of the house, by
 ‘ virtue of the speaker’s warrant, did, in contempt of the power and
 ‘ jurisdiction of the house, apply in the first instance to Mr. Lyttleton
 ‘ as chancellor, for Writs of Habeas Corpus upon the statute of the
 ‘ thirty-first of Charles the Second, and upon the return of the said
 ‘ writs, he did, in a court of Chancery which he called for that pur-
 ‘ pose, release the prisoners, and declare as follows : “ That it did
 ‘ not appear to him from the words of any act of parliament, or of any
 ‘ act of the governor, council, and assembly of this island, or of his

preme within their own jurisdiction; unobstructed by, and independent of all control from without; for nothing can be more absurd than to suppose,

“ majesty’s commission or instructions to his excellency as governor
 “ of this island, or by any other means whatsoever, that the commit-
 “ ment of the said Pierce Cooke into the custody of the said Edward
 “ Bolt is legal; and his excellency the chancellor was therefore pleas-
 “ ed to order, adjudge, and decree, and it is hereby ordered, ad-
 “ judged, and decreed, That the said Pierce Cooke be, by the autho-
 “ rity of this court, released and discharged from the custody of the
 “ said Edward Bolt; and did also make the same declaration and
 “ order as to the said Lachlan M’Neil,” which orders and declarations
 “ of his, he did most irregularly call decrees, and order them to be
 “ enrolled among the records of the court of Chancery.

“ It is evident from the opinions of the ablest lawyers in England,
 “ ever since the passing of that statute, from the opinions and decla-
 “ rations of judges, the uniform determinations of all the courts in
 “ England, and the constant declarations and practice of the house of
 “ commons, that the said statute was not, nor could be, intended to
 “ extend to commitments by either house of parliament, and that the
 “ house of commons is the only proper judge of its own privileges and
 “ commitments; this determination of Mr. Lyttleton’s tends therefore
 “ manifestly to degrade the representatives of the people, in the system
 “ of our constitution, from that rank and authority which is held by
 “ the like body in our mother-country, and if suffered to remain,
 “ would subvert the fundamentals of that system, by giving the court
 “ of chancery a power to control the proceedings of the assembly,
 “ and by reducing them to a dangerous and unconstitutional depen-
 “ dence upon governors, would leave the people without that protec-
 “ tion against arbitrary power, which nothing but a free and indepen-
 “ dent assembly can give them.

“ Every court of justice, from the meanest quarter session up to the
 “ two houses of parliament, has a power of committing for contempt,

that a people can be subject to two different legislatures, exercising at the same time equal powers, yet not communicating with each other, nor from

‘ and this power requires no act of parliament to confer it, it being
‘ incident to the institution of every court of justice, and necessary
‘ for its existence, for it would be impossible to support any authority
‘ without it.

‘ The courts of justice here, standing in the same degrees of subor-
‘ dination to one another, as they respectively do in England; com-
‘ mitments by the inferior, may be, and frequently are, examined and
‘ determined by the superior courts; and as commitments by the
‘ house of commons cannot be, nor ever were, discharged by any of
‘ the inferior courts, so this extraordinary act of Mr. Lyttleton stands
‘ in our country without a precedent, such a thing having never be-
‘ fore his time been attempted.

‘ The power of commitment by the house of commons is their’s by
‘ the common law, as well as their privileges, of which they are the
‘ only competent judges, for they judge of these matters by the law
‘ and usage of parliament, which is part of the common law.

‘ As all the inferior courts here enjoy and exercise the same powers
‘ with those they stand for in England, it is surely reasonable and just
‘ that the representatives of the people here, called by the same autho-
‘ rity, and constituted for the same ends, should also enjoy the same
‘ powers with those of Great Britain.

‘ We beg leave to represent further to your honour, that by the
‘ thirty-first clause of an act of the governor, council, and assembly
‘ of this island, intituled “ An act for granting a revenue to his ma-
‘ jesty, his heirs and successors, for the support of the government of
‘ this island, and for reviving and perpetuating the acts and laws
‘ thereof,” which has received the royal approbation, it is declared,
‘ That all such laws and statutes of England as have been at any

their situation, capable of being privy to each other's proceedings.

“ time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws in this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and continue laws of this his majesty's island of Jamaica for ever;” and that the assemblies of Jamaica, as appears by their minutes, considering it their duty to assimilate their proceedings to those of the house of commons, have constantly governed themselves in cases of commitment, and in the exercise of their jurisdiction, by the law and usage of parliament, which being undoubtedly part of the law of England, the use and benefit thereof was confirmed to them by virtue of the above act beyond a possibility of doubt.

“ This arbitrary measure of Mr. Lyttleton, so totally unprecedented either in England or here, so repugnant to reason, to justice and law, and so evidently subversive of our rights, liberties, and properties, will therefore, we doubt not, be considered by your honour as it deserves to be; and as it marks that gentleman's administration with the most odious colours, so, we trust, that the destruction of it will distinguish and adorn your's.”

“ It is in full confidence of your honour's justice and love of liberty, that we, this day, in the name and behalf of ourselves, and of all the good people in this colony, lay before your honour the ill consequences and injustice of the aforesaid determination, and beseech you, as the only means of quieting the disturbance and apprehensions they have raised in the minds of his majesty's most loyal and faithful subjects, to give orders that the same be vacated, and the enrolment thereof cancelled from the records of the court of Chancery, in such a way, that no traces may remain of so wicked and dangerous a precedent.”

The preceding application from the house of assembly having been submitted by the lieutenant-governor to the council for their advice, the board addressed him as follows :

It has, I know, been urged, that the principles I have thus laid down, and the rights which I have allotted to the inhabitants of the British colonies,

‘ May it please your honour,

‘ We, his majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the council of
 ‘ Jamaica, have agreeably to your honour’s message, laying before us
 ‘ the address of the house of assembly to your honour, taken into our
 ‘ serious consideration the subject matter thereof: we have also exam-
 ‘ ined and considered the proceedings now in the office of the regis-
 ‘ ter of the court of chancery, and the determination of his excellency
 ‘ the late chancellor, touching the release of Pierce Cooke and Lach-
 ‘ lan M’Neil, from a commitment of the assembly. Although we
 ‘ have the most favourable opinion of the late chancellor’s intention in
 ‘ that decision, yet finding that no chancellor or judge in this island,
 ‘ ever before took upon himself to make any determination upon a
 ‘ warrant or commitment of either branch of the legislature, it is
 ‘ with concern we observe, that such proceeding of the late chancellor
 ‘ in so new, in so delicate a case, by discharging the said Pierce Cooke
 ‘ and Lachlan M’Neil from the commitment of the house of assembly,
 ‘ was unprecedented and irregular.

‘ It is also with sorrow of heart we have seen and felt this his ma-
 ‘ jesty’s colony, ever since that determination, labouring under a va-
 ‘ riety of distresses, flowing chiefly from the apprehensions of his ma-
 ‘ jesty’s subjects, that the establishing a precedent of this nature in
 ‘ the court of chancery, might lay a foundation for chancellors and
 ‘ judges of inferior courts to interfere in, and to take upon them to
 ‘ determine on the privileges of the legislative bodies of this island.

• ‘ Permit us therefore to recommend to your honour, as the only ex-
 ‘ pedient which we conceive will be effectual to quiet the minds of the
 ‘ people, to unite the several branches of the legislature, and to re-
 ‘ store peace and tranquillity to this country, that you will be pleased
 ‘ to cause the said determination made by the late chancellor, whereby
 ‘ the said Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M’Neil were discharged from

tend immediately to sovereign and national empire, distinct from, and independent of, the government of the parent state. It will be found, however,

‘ their commitment, and all their proceedings thereon, to be brought
 ‘ before you, and in the presence of the council and assembly, that
 ‘ you will be pleased to cause the register of the said court of chancery
 ‘ to enter a vacatur on the said determination, or otherwise reverse
 ‘ it in the most effectual manner, so that the same may not be made use
 ‘ of as a precedent in future.’

On receiving this address, the lieutenant-governor came into council, and having commanded the attendance of the assembly in the council chamber, was pleased to make the following speech :

‘ Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the
 ‘ Assembly.

‘ In consequence of the addresses I have received from each of your
 ‘ bodies, I now meet you here, and as the determination upon record
 ‘ in the office of the register of the court of chancery, appears to have
 ‘ been irregular and unprecedented, whereby the minds of the people
 ‘ have been greatly disquieted, and many distresses and evils have
 ‘ arisen to this country; and having nothing so much at heart, as the
 ‘ supporting the honour and dignity of the crown, and promoting the
 ‘ peace and happiness of the people, I have, agreeably to your requests,
 ‘ taken, as chancellor, such order therein, that the said proceedings,
 ‘ and the entry upon record thereof, are vacated, annulled, and made
 ‘ void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever; and for your further
 ‘ satisfaction herejn, I have ordered the register to attend forthwith in
 ‘ the council chamber with the said proceeding, and the book of re-
 ‘ cords in which the same are entered, and that he do, in presence of
 ‘ the three branches of the legislature of this island, enter a vacatur in
 ‘ the margent of the said several proceedings, and the entries of the
 ‘ same in the said book of records, and that he do in your presence
 ‘ draw cross lines over the said proceedings and the entries thereof, in
 ‘ the usual form and manner.

that the dependency of the colonies on, and their allegiance to, the crown of Great Britain, and also their proper subordination to the British parliament,

‘ This measure, adopted upon your united recommendation, cannot, I am persuaded, fail of producing every happy consequence, by restoring and firmly establishing that harmony and unanimity so earnestly wished for, and so essentially necessary to his majesty’s service, and the welfare of this community.’

The register of the court of chancery attending, being called in, and having produced the records, and read the several proceedings in the said address mentioned, he did then, by the command, and in the presence of his honour, and in the presence of the council and assembly, enter a vacatur in the margin of the said several proceedings, and draw cross lines over the said proceedings and the entries thereof, and cancelled the several papers relating thereto.

☞ It was after a long and arduous struggle, that the people of Jamaica obtained this great victory; no less than five different assemblies having been called, and abruptly dissolved, because they refused to raise the supplies, unless satisfaction was given them in this business. At length, on a change of ministers in Great Britain, the governor (Mr. Lyttleton) desired to be recalled, and the lieutenant-governor was directed to comply with their wishes, in the manner we have seen.

The author of this work was one of a small minority in the house of assembly that supported the administration of Mr. Lyttleton, whose abilities and virtues were acknowledged even by his enemies; yet is he free to confess, that, being present when the proceedings in chancery were solemnly annulled and vacated in the manner related, in the presence of a thousand spectators, he could not but participate in the general triumph and enthusiasm which prevailed on that occasion amongst all ranks of people. The towns were splendidly illuminated, the shipping in the ports were dressed in their gayest colours, and such joy and satisfaction appeared in every countenance, as we may imagine were displayed by the English barons on receiving *magna charta* from the reluctant hand of king John.

are secured by sufficient ties, regulations, and restraints; some of which seem at first inconsistent even with the premises I have stated. Thus as to the supremacy of the crown: among various other prerogatives, the king reserves to himself, not only the nomination of the several governors, the members of the council, and most of the public officers of all descriptions,* but he possesses also at the same time, as we have seen, the right of disallowing and rejecting all laws and statutes of the colonial assemblies, even after they had received the assent and approbation of his own lieutenant in the colony. Hence, the affirmative voice of the people in their representatives is opposed by three negatives; the first in the council, the second in the governor, and the third in the crown; which possesses likewise the power of punishing the two former branches by dismissal, if they presume to act in opposition to the royal pleasure.

Nor is the regal authority less efficient and extensive over the executive power within the colonies, than over the legislative. The governor, as I have shewn, is commonly chancellor by his office; but, whether assisted by his council, or presiding solely in this high department, an appeal lies to the king

* This is spoken of those colonies which are called king's governments; for, before the late civil war, the governor, in a proprietary government, was named by the proprietor, subject to the restriction contained in 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. §. 6. And in two of the charter provinces of North America, all the officers, except those of the admiralty and customs, were chosen by the people.

in council, in the nature of a writ of error, from every decree that he makes; and the like liberty of appeal is allowed from the judgment or sentence of the governor in council, sitting as a court of error.* The reason assigned in law authorities for allowing such appeals is this:—That without them, the rules and practice of law in the colonies might, by degrees, insensibly deviate from those of the mother country, to the diminution of her superiority.†

Again: the king, as supreme head of the empire, has the sole prerogative of making peace and war, treaties, leagues, and alliances with foreign states; and the colonists are as fully bound by, and subject to, the consequences thereof, as the inhabitants within the realm. So far is readily admitted; but another claim of the crown, supposed to result from the prerogative last mentioned,—I mean, that of regulating all the colonial military establishments both by sea and land, quartering troops in such towns and places in the plantations as the king sees best, augmenting them at plea-

* It is necessary, however, in either court, First, That in cases of property the matter in dispute should be to the value of £.500 sterling, to be ascertained by affidavit. Secondly, That the appeal be made within fourteen days after judgment in the court of error, and within one month after the determination of the court of chancery, by giving security for the prosecution of it; and it is required by the lords of appeal in England, that the party appealing must proceed within twelve months after the appeal is allowed in the plantations, or the appeal is dismissed of course. A cause cannot be transmitted for difficulty, but must be determined one way or other.

† Vaughan's Reports 402. Show. Parl. C. 33.

sure, and retaining them in the colonies at all times and at all seasons, as well in peace as in war, not only without, but against the consent of their assemblies, must be admitted with some limitation.

It is indeed asserted in all our law books, that the sole supreme command and government of all the forces by sea and land, and of all forts and places in all parts of the British dominions, ever was, constitutionally and legally, the undoubted and exclusive prerogative of the crown; but, against the abuses which might possibly result from the exercise of a power thus extensive and dictatorial, the subjects residing within the realm have this security, that their representatives retain in their own hands the means of supporting all the British forces, both maritime and military. Thus, though the king has the prerogative of commanding armies and equipping fleets, yet without the concurrence of parliament he cannot maintain them. He can declare war, but without the assistance of parliament he cannot carry it on. The royal prerogative in these respects is aptly compared by De Lolme to a ship completely equipped, but which the parliament, by drawing off the water, can at pleasure leave aground.

It seems therefore naturally and necessarily to follow, that if the inhabitants of the colonies are entitled to the same rights, and to have equal securities for those rights, as are enjoyed by their fellow subjects in Great Britain, there must exist some re-

straint against the exorbitance and abuse of the power contended for in the present case. It is to little purpose to tell the colonists, when groaning under the pressure of military government, that no military force however legally raised and maintained, can be lawfully employed to violate their rights; as whoever holds the sword will decide upon the question of law.*

To as little purpose may our remaining colonies be told, that the parliament of Great Britain will never suffer a precedent of arbitrary power to be established in any part of the British dominions. They will probably insist that the British parliament is not competent to judge for *them*—at least in the first instance. They may contend that those who feel, or are in danger of feeling oppression, can best determine when it may be proper to resist its attack, or to guard against its approach.

It cannot however be denied, that if parliament should be apprised that the just authority of the crown over the colonies has degenerated into tyranny, it is not only their right, but their duty to

* It is observable, that this claim in the crown was admitted to be a grievance by the commissioners appointed, in April 1778, for restoring peace in America. In a letter from the earl of Carlisle, Messieurs Eden and Johnstone, three of the said commissioners, to the president of the congress, dated the 9th of June 1778, they declare a disposition to concur in such an arrangement as should provide that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general congress or particular assemblies.

interpose, even on their own account; for it has been well and eloquently said, that whenever the liberties of Great Britain shall be devoted, it is probable her dissolution will not begin in the centre: *she will feel subjection, like the coldness of death, creeping upon her from her extremities.*

Having thus pointed out some remarkable instances of colonial subordination to the king, as the sovereign head and supreme executive in the government of Great Britain and its dominions, I shall proceed to another inquiry, of no less importance, (and to which indeed some of the last observations naturally lead), and that is, how far the joint authority and collective power of king, lords, and commons, constitutionally extend, and, on the principles of a free government, ought to be exercised in supporting the unity of the empire, and preserving that subordination and dependence which the colonists, as fellow subjects with the inhabitants of the kingdom, owe to Great Britain and its government, in return for protection received.

It is a maxim maintained by political writers, that in all societies there must exist somewhere an absolute and despotic jurisdiction, unlimited and irrevocable. "This *absolute and despotic power* (says Judge Blackstone) is by the British constitution, *entrusted to parliament:*" But I conceive that the learned judge has not expressed himself on this occasion with his usual accuracy; inasmuch

as all "*intrusted*" authority is necessarily *accountable*, and therefore not "*absolute and despotic.*" The truth is, that this despotic and unlimited power is reserved by the people in their own hands, (not to be resorted to indeed but in the last extremity), and it never was the intention of any society of free agents, from the creation of the world to this day, to delegate to any man, or body of men, an absolute and despotic authority in all cases over them. Such a delegation indeed, if ever it had been made, would have manifested insanity in the agents, and, on that account alone, must have been void from the beginning.

As the legislative power of Great Britain therefore is supreme only in a relative sense, even within the realm, where the people themselves participate in its authority, much less can it be said to be supreme, *in all cases whatsoever*, over the colonies. It has indeed been solemnly declared *by parliament itself*; that *parliament has such a power*: but if parliament had not the power before, certainly their own declaration could not invest them with it.

Considering the constituent branches of the British legislature separately, it will be difficult to point out any just authority whatever, existing either in the peers or the representatives of the people over the colonies. We have seen that the first settlers in most of the British plantations, were

a part of the English people, in every respect equal to them, and possessed of every right and privilege at the time of their emigration, which the people of England were possessed of, and irrefragably to that great right of consenting to all laws by which they were to be governed. The people of England therefore, or their representatives, having no rights, powers, or privileges to bestow on the emigrants, which the latter were not already possessed of equally with themselves, had no claim to their allegiance, or any pretence to exercise authority over them.

As to the English peers, they are possessed of very eminent privileges, from none of which however can they communicate any advantage to the colonies. They are a court of justice in the dernier resort for all appeals from the people of Great Britain; but they act in no such capacity for the inhabitants of the colonies; the house of peers having never heard or determined causes in appeal from the plantations, in which it ever was, and is their duty to serve the subjects within the realm.

Thus, incapable from their situation of being admitted to a participation with the people and peers of Great Britain in the British legislature, the colonists have legislatures of their own, which are subject to the king of Great Britain, as to their own proper head. The person, who, by the laws of Great Britain, is king of Great Britain, is their king; but they owe no allegiance to the lords and

commons; to whom they are not subject, but fellow subjects with them to the same sovereign.

Justly considering, nevertheless, the protection which they receive in the name of the sovereign, *as afforded by the state*, and that the colonies are parts of one great empire, of the various branches of which the king in parliament, is arbiter, controlling and regulating all intercourse with foreign nations, they readily admit, that they stand towards the British legislature in the degree of subordination, which implies every authority in the latter essential to the preservation of the whole; and to the maintenance of the relation between a mother-country and her colonies. “We are (said the Americans) but parts of a whole, and therefore there must exist a power somewhere to preside and preserve the connexion in due order. This power is lodged in the British parliament.” In all matters therefore, to which the local jurisdiction of any one particular colony is not competent, the superintending control of Great Britain is necessarily admitted; and they likewise admit that each and all the colonies owe contribution for protection.*

* The nature and extent of the subordination here contended for, was clearly understood, and is well explained, in the case of Ireland, by Davenant, in a treatise published by him soon after the revolution. —His words are these :

“The inhabitants of Ireland, from ancient concessions, have a privilege perhaps above the Roman colonies, namely, to tax themselves by their own suffrages, within their own limits; but this is no more than what is claimed by several provinces of France, which ne-

To ascertain the various contingencies and circumstances wherein, on the principles stated, the British legislature has, and has not, a right to interpose, is perhaps impossible; because circumstances may occur to render its interposition necessary, which cannot be foreseen. "But although it may be difficult (says governor Pownall) "to draw "the line of limitation, yet some such line there "certainly must be, and I think those are not to "be heard who affirm, that no line can be drawn "between the supreme authority of parliament, "and no authority at all."

Nevertheless, it were not difficult to point out many cases, and to imagine others, wherein the

vertheless account themselves subordinate to the sovereign power of the whole state.

"There is a part of empire not communicable, and which must reside sovereignly somewhere; for there would be such a perpetual clashing of power and jurisdictions, as were inconsistent with the very being of communities, unless this last resort were somewhere lodged. Now this incommunicable power we take to be the supreme judgment of what is best and most expedient for the whole; and in all reason of government, this ought to be there trusted and lodged from whence protection is expected.

"That Ireland should judge of what is best for itself, this is just and fair; but in determinations that are to reach the whole, as, namely, what is most expedient for England and Ireland both, there, without all doubt, the supreme judgment ought to rest in the king, lords, and commons of England, by whose arms and treasure Ireland ever was, and must always be defended."—Vide Davenant's Works, published by Sir Charles Whitworth, vol. ii. p. 247.

authority of parliament has been, and may again be constitutionally exerted, in regard to the colonies, without abolishing every restriction on the part of *governors*, and extinguishing every right on the part of the *governed*.* Previously excluding,

* Such is the general system of the laws for regulating the commerce of the colonies ; and I will now add some instances of parliamentary interference, on other occasions, which I conceive to be consistent with the principles I have laid down. Thus, when the first princes of the Stewart family affected to consider the plantations as their own demesnes, with a view of making them a source of revenue to themselves, the commons opposed and defeated a claim which, if it had been established, might have rendered the king independent of the British parliament. (See the Journals of 1624 and 1625, and Vaughan's Reports, 402). Nobody doubts the propriety of the commons' interposition on this occasion. Again, we have seen in the History of Barbadoes, a great minister (the Earl of Clarendon) impeached by the house of commons, among other things, for introducing an arbitrary government into the plantations. It was never alledged, that the house in this business exceeded the limits of its proper and constitutional functions. Soon after the revolution, some laws were passed by one or two of the provincial assemblies, which were supposed to weaken the chain that holds the colonies dependent on the mother-country. This gave occasion to a clause in the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22, which declares, "that all laws (meaning the laws for regulating trade) which are any ways repugnant to the laws of England, shall be deemed null and void." This, though a strong, was certainly a justifiable exertion of English supremacy. By the 6 Anne, c. 30, a general post-office is established in the colonies. This may be deemed an internal regulation ; but as Dr. Franklin observed, it was a regulation which one colony could not make for another ; and, as the revenue which it raised was considered in the nature of a quantum meruit, a reward for service, (a service too which the colonists were not bound to accept, for a man might, if he had thought proper, have sent his letters as before by a private messenger), the act was submitted to. After this, some laws were passed which were

however, every idea of its interposition in the concerns of internal legislation, and all other matters to which the colonial assemblies are sufficiently competent; for, to the reasons already stated for this absolute exclusion, may be added, the utter impossibility that two different legislatures can, at all times, and in the same moment, enforce their authority on the same object, inasmuch as they

thought to bear hard upon the rights of the colonists. By the 5th Geo. II. c. 7, in consequence of some petitions from different bodies of English merchants, complaining that the colonial laws afforded but an inadequate remedy for the recovery of debts; it is enacted, "that lands, houses, negroes, and other hereditaments, and all real estate whatever, should be liable to, and chargeable with, all debts, due either to the king, or any of his subjects, and be assets for the satisfaction thereof." And by the 24th Geo. II. c. 53, "the governors and assemblies of the respective provinces are restrained from passing any act, order, resolution, or vote, whereby paper bills, or bills of credit, shall be increased or issued." As both these laws were passed in favour of English merchants, who had advanced money for the use of the colonists, it was thought dishonourable to object to the regulations which they established. The laws were therefore submitted to, but not without murmurs on the part of the provincial legislatures, who considered them as infringing their liberties. Their submission to them, though on very laudable principles, was afterwards quoted against them, and assigned as the best of all possible reasons for requiring unconditional submission on all other occasions.

From what has been said above, and what will hereafter be stated on the subject of the commercial system, the reader will be enabled to form some idea of the boundary contended for, between a constitutional, superintending, controlling power in the British parliament, and a system of perfect unqualified tyranny, *the power of binding the colonies in all cases whatsoever.*

may happen to differ in opinion, and in that dilemma, this consequence must follow; either the British must yield to the provincial, or prevail over it in points, for which, from the practical or constitutional unfitness of the former, the latter was formed. Such inconsistency would render government at once oppressive and ridiculous.*

But in a government of which freedom is the basis, and of which it is the boast that it promotes, equally and impartially, the happiness of all its subjects, it might be supposed, that no other authority over its dependencies could be necessary, than that which effectually provides, that every addition to their wealth and greatness should contri-

* If Great Britain had no right to interfere with the internal legislation of the colonies, she could have had no possible right to tax them for the purpose of revenue; yet, it does not follow, that she would have had a right to tax them, even if she had possessed just authority to make laws for their internal government. "Taxation (said lord Chatham) is no part of the governing or legislative power. Taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. In legislation the three estates of the realm are alike concerned: but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary, to clothe it in the form of a law. The gift and grant is of the commons alone." It is unnecessary to say more concerning the right of parliamentary taxation of the colonies, because parliament itself (when indeed it was too late) has formally relinquished the claim. By the 18th Geo. III. c. 12, the king and parliament of Great Britain declare, that from thenceforth they will not impose any duty, tax, &c. payable in any of the king's colonies, provinces, and plantations in North America and the West Indies, except for the regulation of commerce; the produce whereof is always to be applied to the use of the colony in which it is levied.

bute, at the same time, to the augmentation of its own riches and power. And such, before the late unfortunate divisions, was the commercial system adopted by Great Britain and submitted to by her American colonies. To discriminate the several parts, properties, and effects of this great arrangement of restriction and monopoly; to shew that it secured every degree of authority in the parent over the child, which is consistent with the happiness and freedom of mankind, (the ends of all just government); and finally, that it might have answered, in the fullest degree, even the objects of revenue and contribution, if Great Britain had happily confined her pretensions to the limits originally prescribed by herself——for these purposes it would be necessary to enter into a large and comprehensive discussion, to which the design of my work does not extend. How far the British sugar islands constituted a part of, and were comprised in, the general system, I shall endeavour to point out in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III.

Principles on which the Nations of Europe settled Colonies in America.—Commercial Regulations of Great Britain.—Remarks on the Acts of Navigation.—Admission of foreign built Vessels eventually beneficial.—Exports from Great Britain to the Sugar Islands, and their Value.—The same from Ireland.—Wines from Madeira and the Azores.—Other Profits.—Summary of the whole.—Imports from the West Indies to Great Britain and Ireland, and their Value according to the London Prices.—Amount of British Capital vested in the Sugar Islands.—Shipping and Seamen.—General Observations.—Appendix.

THE establishment of colonies in America by the nations of Europe (says Montesquieu) was contrived, not in the view of building cities and extending empires; but for the purpose of carrying on trade to greater advantage than could be done with rival states. Commercial monopoly therefore, and with great reason, is the leading principle of colonial intercourse.

This account, with some little qualification, may be admitted; and a very slight inquiry will demonstrate that it applies as pointedly to the English, as

to any other nation. The means indeed which Great Britain has adopted for retaining to herself the full benefit of the monopoly, have, in some cases, proved more liberal than those of rival states; but the principle by which the various nations of Europe were influenced, was precisely the same: To secure to themselves respectively, the most important of the productions of their colonies, and to retain to themselves exclusively, the great advantage of supplying those colonies with European goods and manufactures, was the chief aim and endeavour of them all.

Whether the several parts of this system, as adopted by the British government, and its consequent train of duties, restrictions, and prohibitions, were originally as wise and politic, as they are evidently selfish, is a question that of late has been much controverted. But this is a discussion into which it can answer no good purpose to enter, because the present arrangement has been too long, and is now too firmly established among us to be abrogated; and thus much at least has been truly said in its favour, that it is calculated to correspond with the regulations of foreign states: for so long as other nations confine the trade of their colonies to themselves, to affirm that Great Britain derives no advantage from following their example, is to contradict both experience and reason.*

* “ Free commerce and navigation are not to be given in exchange for restrictions and vexations, nor are they likely to produce a re-

Of the commercial regulations of this kingdom, the memorable law which was passed in the 12th year of king Charles II. chap. 18, commonly called, by way of eminence, THE NAVIGATION ACT, may be considered as the foundation. By this law it is, among other provisions, declared,

First, That no goods or commodities should be imported into, or exported out of, any of his majesty's plantations or territories in Asia, Africa, or America, but in ships *belonging* to the subjects of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or in such as are of the *built of, and belonging to*, such plantations, and whereof three-fourths of the mariners and the master are English subjects, on pain of the forfeiture of ship and cargo; and all admirals and commanders of king's ships are authorised to make seizure of ships offending herein.

Secondly, That no person born out of the allegiance of his majesty, who is not naturalized, or made a free denizen, shall act as a merchant or factor in any of the said places, upon pain of forfeiting all his goods and chattels.

Thirdly, That all governors, before they enter into the exercise of their office, shall take an oath

“ taxation of them.” So says Mr. Jefferson, the American secretary of state, in his admirable report to the congress of the United States, dated 16 December 1793; wherein the reader will find many deep and important observations on the subject of free commerce, which apply to all the maritime powers of Europe as well as to the states of America.

to do their utmost, that the above mentioned regulations shall be punctually and *bona fide* observed; and a governor neglecting his duty therein, shall be removed from his government.

Fourthly, That no goods or commodities whatever of the growth or manufacture of Africa, Asia, and America, shall be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Guernsey and Jersey, or Berwick, in any other ships but those *belonging to* the said places, or to the plantations, and navigated in the manner aforesaid, under penalty of forfeiting both ship and cargo.

Fifthly, That no *sugars, tobacco, cotton, indigo, ginger, fustic, or other dying woods*, of the production of any English plantation in Asia, Africa, or America, shall be exported therefrom to any place, except to some other English plantation; or to England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick. The above commodities being named in the act are called generally *enumerated*, in contradistinction to all others of plantation growth; and,

Lastly, Bond security is required from all ships trading to or in the plantations, and lading on board such commodities, for the due observance of this part of the law.

Such, together with the conditions under which foreign built ships were to enjoy the privilege of English ships, are the chief restrictions and provi-

sions of this celebrated statute, *so far as they relate to the plantation trade*, and they are extended and strengthened by a law which passed three years afterwards, which the plantation governors are also sworn to enforce; for by the 15th of Cha. II, c. 7, it is enacted, that no commodity of the growth, production, or manufacture of Europe, shall be imported into the British plantations, *but such as are laden and put on board in England, Wales, or Berwick; and in English built shipping*, (or ships taken as prize, and certified according to a former act) whereof the master and three fourths of the mariners are English, and carried directly to the said plantations. There is an exception however as to salt for the fisheries of New England and Newfoundland, wines from Madeira and the Azores, and horses and victuals from Ireland and Scotland; and the preamble to the act, after stating that plantations are formed by citizens of the mother country, assigns the motive for this restriction to be, “the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between the subjects at home and those in the plantations, *keeping the colonies in a firmer dependance upon the mother country, making them yet more beneficial and advantageous to it in the further employment and increase of English shipping, vent of English manufactures and commodities; rendering the navigation to and from them more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of the plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places for the supply of them, it be-*

ing (continues the preamble) *the usage of other nations to keep their plantation trade to themselves.**

Ten years after this, another act passed (25 Cha. II. c. 7.) imposing duties on sugar and other commodities† exported from one colony to another, and the following is assigned as the reason: “ that the inhabitants of some of the said colonies, not content with being supplied with those commodities for their own use, free from all customs, had, contrary to law, exported considerable quantities to divers parts of Europe, and did likewise vend great quantities to the shipping of other nations, to the great injury of the trade and navigation of

* The design of this act, says Postlethwaite, was to make a double voyage necessary, where the colonies used any commodities of the growth and manufacture of Europe but British: for if they could not be shipped in Great Britain, they must first be brought thither from the places of their growth and manufacture, and Great Britain would consequently have the benefit, not only of that freight, but of as many ships and sailors as must be employed in bringing them from thence. It is remarkable, that by this act Ireland was indirectly deprived of the benefits allowed that kingdom by the act of navigation, for it is required, that none of the enumerated goods shall be carried from the plantations to any country or place whatsoever, until they have been first unladen and put ashore in some port or haven in *England, Wales, or Berwick*. By a subsequent act this intention was avowed, and Ireland was expressly shut out from a *direct* trade with the plantations.

† White sugar 5s. and muscovado 1s. 6d. per cwt.; tobacco 1d. cotton wool $\frac{1}{2}$ d. indigo 2d. cacao 1d. per lb; logwood £.5. ginger 1s. the cwt. fustic, &c. 6d.

the parent state." For the prevention of this inconveniency in future, the duties in question are laid on the export of those commodities from the plantations; unless security be given to transport them directly to England, Berwick, or Wales. The duties were the same, I believe, as were then paid in England on most of those commodities imported for home consumption.

This act was soon found to require explanation and amendment; for the payment of the aforesaid duties having been considered in the colonies as an exoneration from giving security not to go to any foreign market in Europe; it was provided by the 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22, that, notwithstanding the payment of the duties in question, the same security should be given as was required by former acts; and it was enacted and declared, that no commodities of the growth or manufacture of the plantations, should, on any pretence whatsoever, be landed in Ireland or Scotland, unless the same were first landed in England, and had paid the rates and duties wherewith they were there chargeable by law.

By the same act it is declared, that no goods or merchandize whatever shall be imported into, or exported out of, any British colony or plantation, but in ships *built* in England, Ireland, or the plantations, wholly owned by English subjects, and navigated as before; and provisions are established concerning the registering of ships, to prevent the

fraud of passing foreign built ships as English; together with various regulations to prevent counterfeit certificates, and frauds in the import and export to and from the colonies; for all which, reference must be made to the act at large, which is systematic and comprehensive in a high degree.

These acts therefore, and some intermediate ones, which it is not necessary to particularise, may be considered as supplemental to the navigation act, and they form altogether the foundation of our colonial code; most of the subsequent acts now in force, being framed in the same spirit, and intended to enforce and strengthen the system; with some few alterations and exceptions only, which however do not extend to any great and substantial change in the principle or ground work.*

* The following, I believe, are the chief additions, alterations, and exceptions, so far as the British sugar islands are principally concerned. If the reader is desirous of the fullest and most correct information on this head, he is referred to a late History of the Law of Shipping and Navigation, by John Reeves, Esq. an admirable work, in which the driest subjects are treated with such clearness, precision, and elegance, as to render the book not only instructive, but in a very high degree entertaining and interesting.

By statute 3 and 4 Ann, c. 5. Rice and melasses were put into the enumeration, and by c. 8. Irish linens, laden in Ireland in English built shipping navigated according to law, were admitted into the plantations.

By 7 Ann, c. 8. Jesuits bark, and all other drugs, are permitted to be imported into Great Britain from the British plantations, on

The reader will find that the system embraces two distinct objects; first, the augmentation of our naval strength, by an entire exclusion of foreign shipping from our plantation trade; secondly, the

payment of the same duties as if imported *directly* from the place of their growth.

By 13 Geo. I. c. 15 and 7 Geo. II. c. 18. cochineal and indigo were allowed for a certain time to be imported from any port or place, in British or other ships; which acts were afterwards renewed, and are now in force.

By 3 Geo. II. c. 28. rice was permitted, under certain conditions, to be carried from South Carolina to any port of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre; a privilege afterwards extended to North Carolina and Georgia.

By 4 Geo. II. c. 15. *non-enumerated* goods (*viz.* goods not enumerated in the 12 of Cha. II. c. 18.) are admitted to be imported directly into Ireland from the colonies, notwithstanding the 7 and 8 of W. III. c. 22.—Hops, by a subsequent statute, are excepted out of this indulgence.

By 12 Geo. II. c. 30. sugars, under certain regulations and restrictions, are permitted to be carried immediately from the British plantations to any port or place southward of Cape Finisterre, and also to any foreign port of Europe in licensed ships, which are to call first at some port in Great Britain.—This was considered as a great indulgence, but the conditions and regulations on which it was granted were so strict and numerous, as to defeat in a great measure the intention of the legislature.

By 4 and 5 Geo. III. sect. 27. British plantation coffee, piemento, and cacao-nuts are put into the enumeration; as are likewise whale fins, raw silk, hides, and skins, pot and pearl ashes; and by sect.

securing to Great Britain all the emoluments arising from her colonies, by a double monopoly over them: viz. a monopoly of their whole import, which is to be altogether *from* Great Britain; and

28. security is required that no iron, nor any sort of wood called lumber, the growth, production, or manufacture of any British colony or plantation, shall be landed in any port of Europe except Great Britain; an exception however was afterwards made by 5 Geo. III. c. 45. by which iron might be carried to Ireland, and lumber to Madeira, the Azores, or any part of Europe southward of Cape Finisterre.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 39. bond is required to be given in the British plantations, that no rum or other spirits shall be landed in the Isle of Man; and by the 6 Geo. III. c. 52. security is required for all non-enumerated goods, that the same shall not be landed at any port of Europe to the northward of Cape Finisterre, except in Great Britain, and (by a subsequent law) Ireland.

By 5 Geo. III. c. 52. any sort of cotton wool may be imported in British built ships from any country or place, duty free.

By the 6 Geo. III. c. 49. was established the measure of opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica. By this act, live cattle, and all manner of goods and commodities whatsoever (except tobacco) the produce of any foreign colony in America, might be imported into Prince Rupert's Bay and Rosseau in Dominica, and into Kingston, Savanna-la-Mar, Montego Bay, and Santa Lucca in Jamaica, from any foreign colony or plantation in America, in any foreign sloop, schooner, or other vessel, not having more than one deck. This act was temporary, but was afterwards continued, until materially altered by the 27 Geo. III. c. 27. wherein among sundry other regulations, two more ports are opened in addition to the former, viz. St. George, in the island of Grenada, and the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, one of the Bahamas, into which cotton wool, indigo, cochineal, drugs of all kinds, cacao, logwood, fustic,

a monopoly of all their export, which (as far as it can serve any useful purpose to the mother country) is to be no where but *to Great Britain*. On the same idea, it was contrived that they should

and other dye woods, hides, and tallow, beaver, and all sorts of furs, tortoise-shell, mill-timber, mahogany, &c. horses, asses, mules, and cattle, being the growth or production of any *colony or plantation* in America, belonging to or under the dominion of any foreign *European* sovereign or state, and all coin and bullion, &c. may be imported in any foreign sloop, schooner, or other vessel, not having more than one deck, and not exceeding the burthen of seventy tons, and provided also, that such vessel is owned and navigated by the subjects of some foreign European sovereign or state. It is permitted also to the same description of persons and vessels to export from these parts British plantation rum, negroes, and all manner of goods that had been legally imported, except naval stores and iron. The foreign articles thus permitted to be brought into the free ports by this act, may be exported again to Great Britain or Ireland; and by a subsequent law (30 Geo. III. c. 29.) the restriction in regard to the tonnage of foreign vessels is taken off, but these vessels are still limited to one deck.

The next great measure was, the opening the plantation trade to the people of Ireland, which was first partially done by the 18 Geo. III. c. 55. and more fully by the 20 Geo. III. c. 10. under which they enjoy the like unlimited intercourse with the colonies, both in respect of import and export, as Great Britain; on condition only, that the goods so imported and exported are made liable to equal duties and drawbacks, and subject to the same securities, regulations, and restrictions as in Great Britain; a condition to which the parliament of Ireland consented, by passing an act imposing duties on the imports, conformable to those of Great Britain.

The regulations with regard to America, since the independence of the United States, will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

send all their products to us *raw*, and in their first state; and that they should take every thing from us in the last stage of manufacture.

Most of our commercial writers, and many of our statesmen, have considered the two great leading principles above mentioned to be so closely interwoven together, and dependent on each other, as not to be disjoined without violence to both; whereas, in truth, the monopoly of our colonial products, and the advantages arising from the supply of the wants of the colonists, might not only be supported, even though foreign built vessels were incorporated into the great body of our shipping, but it may eventually happen, that both our trade and navigation would be greatly improved and extended by such a measure.*

That the maintenance of our naval strength is one of the most important objects to which the British government can direct its attention, no person of common understanding will venture to dispute; and so long as Great Britain can herself furnish shipping on the cheapest terms, sufficient for all the great branches of her commerce, every pos-

* "There are some who confound commerce and navigation together, as one and the same thing: but the one is only an instrument of the other, and not always an essential one. Commerce consists principally in the exchange of commodities, if it exists in inland countries, where there can be no navigation. China has a commerce with all Europe extremely beneficial to her, but she has no navigation to any part of Europe. The ships of Europe are her carriers." Smith of South Carolina.

sible encouragement ought undoubtedly to be given to our own shipwrights, and every discouragement to the participation of foreigners in the ship building trade: but it is the interest of the merchant to get his freight as cheap as possible; it is equally so of the manufacturer; because every increase in the price of shipping and freight, operates as a tax upon the commodities shipped, and affects the foreign demand in proportion. If therefore, from progressive improvements in our agriculture and manufactures, the two great founders and employers of shipping, the maritime commerce of all the British dominions shall, at any time, require a greater number of ships than Great Britain and her dependencies can furnish on any saving terms, either recourse must be had to foreign vehicles, or our trade, like the victims of Procrustes, must be lopped and shortened to make it suit the measure of our own.*

Navigation and naval power are the *children*, not the *parents*, of commerce; for if agriculture

* "Can it be reconciled to common sense to assert, that if the Americans, or any other people, were to offer us 500 sail of vessels every year *gratis*, it would be against the interest of the nation (as a nation) to accept them, because it might prove detrimental to some individuals among us (our shipwrights, &c.)? If the argument will not hold good, considered in this extended light, it can never, by parity of reason, be admitted in cases where vessels can be purchased at one-half the price it would cost to build them."—Vide a short Address from a Manufacturer, on the Importance of the Trade of Great Britain with the United States of America.—Printed for Stockdale, 1785.

and manufactures, and mutual wants, did not furnish the subject matter of intercourse between distant countries, there must be an end to navigation. The remark, therefore, of a very distinguished senator,* concerning that branch of our commercial system of which we are now treating, appears to be undoubtedly true, that if the navigation act be suffered to run the full length of its principle, and is not changed and modified according to the change of times, and fluctuation of circumstances, it must do great mischief, and frequently even defeat its own purpose.†

* Mr. Burke.

† An American writer of a periodical work called the *Museum*, published at Philadelphia in 1791, having been informed that France had permitted the introduction of American vessels into her trade, (in which, however, he was mistaken), expresses the following sentiments; which, to my understanding, convey conviction in every word. “ If France (saith he) had rejected American vessels, she would have so far sacrificed her carrying trade to the manufacture of ships. She wisely purchases, upon the cheapest terms, *the cradles* for her marine nursery. The first and great object of the maritime powers ought to be, *the increase of the number of their sailors*, which is best done by multiplying the chances of their employment. Among the means of doing this, one of the most obvious and rational is, *the multiplication of vessels*. The French-built ships cost from fifty-five to sixty dollars per ton, when fitted to receive a cargo, exclusive of sea-stores, insurance, the charges of lading, outward pilotage, and other expenses incidental to the employment, and not to the building and outfit of a vessel. The American live oak and cedar ships, to which none are superior, cost in the same situation, from thirty-three to thirty-five dollars, finished very completely. If the French require 10,000 tons of new vessels, on any

Having observed thus much on the leading principles, or general system of our colonial trade, the application whereof will hereafter be seen, I shall now proceed to the more immediate object of our present researches, and endeavour to furnish the reader with some leading *data*, or facts, whereby to appreciate the value and importance of the British Sugar Islands, and the commerce which they create ; by investigating,

1st. The nature and annual amount of the export trade from Great Britain and her dependencies, for the supply of their wants, and the profits of the British merchants and ship owners thereon.

2dly. The particulars and value of the various rich commodities, the growth of these islands annually imported into Great Britain, Ireland, &c.

“ occasion, or in any term of time, they may be procured in the United States, on a computation of the medium price of thirty-four dollars per ton, for the sum of 340,000 dollars: but, if bought at fifty-five dollars, the lowest price in France, they would cost the much greater sum of 550,000 dollars. No argument is necessary to shew, that such a nation, *ceteris paribus*, must produce seamen more rapidly than those who refuse these cheap vessels. It would appear much less unreasonable, that the government of the United States should prohibit the sale of ships (*the means of obtaining naval strength*) to foreign nations, than that any of them should reject the great advantage of so cheap and excellent a supply.” Such is the reasoning of this author, and it is no proof that his arguments are weak, because the circumstance which gave rise to them did not exist.

3dly. The value of the Sugar Islands considered as so much British capital.

4thly. A state of the shipping and seamen to which the British Sugar Islands afford employment.

A full enumeration of the various articles which furnish the ships bound to the West Indies with an outward freight, would indeed comprise a considerable proportion of almost all the productions and manufactures of this kingdom, as well as of many of the commodities imported into Great Britain from the rest of Europe and the East Indies. The inhabitants of the Sugar Islands are wholly dependant on the mother-country and Ireland, not only for the comforts and elegancies, but also for the common necessaries of life. In most other states and kingdoms, the first object of agriculture is to raise food for the support of the inhabitants; but many of the rich productions of the West Indies yield a profit so much beyond what can be obtained from grain, that in several of the Sugar Islands, it is true œconomy in the planter, rather to buy provisions from others, than to raise them by his own labour. The produce of a single acre of his cane fields, will purchase more Indian corn than can be raised in five times that extent of land, and pay besides the freight from other countries. Thus not only their household furniture, their implements of husbandry, their clothing, but even a great part of their daily sustenance, are regularly sent to them from America or Europe. On the

first head therefore, it may generally be observed, that the manufacturers of Birmingham and Manchester, the clothiers of Yorkshire, Gloucestershire and Wilts, the potters of Staffordshire, the proprietors of all the lead, copper, and iron works, together with the farmers, victuallers, and brewers, throughout the kingdom, have a greater vent in the British West Indies, for their respective commodities, than perhaps they themselves conceive to be possible. Who would believe that woollens constitute an article of great consumption in the torrid zone? Such however is the fact. Of the coarser kinds especially, for the use of the negroes, the export is prodigious. Even sugar itself, the great staple of the West Indies, is frequently returned to them in a refined state; so entirely do these colonies depend on the mother-country, centering in her bosom all their wealth, wishes, and affections. "Why should England (says an old planter) grudge at the wealth and prosperity of the plantations, since all that is ours she may account her own, not only because we are a part of England as it is taken largely, but also, because all comes to the kingdom of England, properly so called? By a kind of magnetic force, England draws to it all that is good in the plantations: it is the centre to which all things tend. Nothing but England can we relish or fancy; our hearts are there, wherever our bodies are. If we get a little money we remit it to England: they that are able breed up their children in England. When we are a little easy, we desire to live and

“spend what we have in England; and all that
“we get is brought to England.”*

To the laudable researches of the lords of the committee of council on the subject of the slave trade, the public have been lately indebted for such a body of evidence and information respecting the general commerce of the British West Indies, as could not possibly have been collected by any exertions less extensive and efficient than those of government.† I have frequently had recourse to their lordships report in former parts of this work, and shall refer to it on this occasion.

From that authority it appears, that the value of the exports from Great Britain to the British West Indies in the year 1787 (since which time they certainly have not diminished) amounted to £.1,638,703 13s. 10d. the whole of which (except about £.200,000) consisted of British goods and manufactures. The exports for the same year to Africa, which, with all subsequent profits, must be charged to the same account, amount to £.668,255 14s. 4d.‡ Besides this, the cost is to

* *Groans of the Plantations*, published the latter end of the last century.

† Report of the lords of the committee of council on the slave trade, 1789.

‡ The goods shipped for the purchase of gum, ivory, and gold, in the trade direct between Africa and Great Britain, constitute some

be stated of manufactures and provisions from Ireland, and of wines from Madeira and the Azores; the same having hitherto been purchased by British capitals, and conveyed to the West Indies in vessels trading circuitously from British ports, and the returns likewise made, for the most part, to Great Britain. For the same reason, the cost and freight of lumber, fish, and other productions of America, both from the American States and the British provinces, transported from thence to the British sugar islands, in British vessels, must likewise be added to the estimate.

Concerning Ireland I have no account for 1787, but the reader will find, in an appendix to this volume, official accounts for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, as well of the exports from that kingdom to the British West Indies, as of the imports received from thence in return; both in a direct trade. Of the former the average value is £.294,353 Irish, being equal to £.277,218 sterling: the amount of the imports will be given hereafter.

Of wines from Madeira and the Azores, the yearly consumption in these islands may be estimated, on an average, at £.30,000.

small part of this; but I make no deduction on that account, because the freight of, and merchants commissions on, such part as are applied to the purchase of slaves, and the profits on the sale of those slaves in the West Indies, not being charged in the inspector general's books, I set one against the other.

Respecting America, the supplies that were annually furnished by those provinces which now constitute the United States, were valued, at the places of delivery, at no less than £.720,000 sterling; and they consisted of articles so essentially necessary, that the restrictions to which this trade is now subject (how grievously soever they are felt by the planters) have not, I think, diminished the demand, or lessened the import.* Official accounts of the present state of this intercourse are no where given to the public; a retrospective survey of its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the war, will be given in the subsequent chapter.

There are yet to be reckoned the imports from the American provinces which still remain to Great Britain, including Newfoundland; of which, in like manner, no account, that I have seen, has been published. Supposing they were equal in value to the West Indian commodities shipped thither in return (a conjecture probably not very wide of the truth) the sum to be charged on this account for 1787, is £.100,506 17s. 10d.†

* Jamaica, for a while, found some resource within itself for staves and lumber; but the country is, I believe, by this time nearly exhausted of those articles. The profit to Great Britain arising from the freight alone of the whole supply, is stated by the lords of the privy council at £.245,000 per annum.

† Much the greater part of this sum is for fish from Newfoundland; the import of that article from thence into the British West In-

I shall now bring into one point of view the several great items that have been enumerated; adding to the British and Irish supply 20 per cent. for the cost of freight and insurance outwards, the charges of shipping, commission to the merchant-exporter in some cases, and the profits in others of the merchant-importer in the West Indies; all which contribute to swell the debt of the planters to Great Britain: viz.

Exports from Great Britain,	£.		
direct	1,638,703	13	10
from Ireland	277,218	0	0
	<hr/>		
	1,915,921	13	10
Add 20 per cent. for freight			
&c. &c.	383,184	6	2
	<hr/>		
			2,299,106
Exports to Africa for the purchase of negroes			668,255
from Madeira and the Azores			30,000
United States of America			720,000
British America			100,506
	<hr/>		
Total	£.3,817,867		
	<hr/>		

Perhaps it were no excess to state the whole amount at this time at four millions of pounds sterling. Hence then appears the vast dependence of the British West Indian colonies on their parent

dies, on an average of five years (1783 to 1787, both inclusive) having been 80,645 quintals, worth at the ports of delivery about 17s. 6d. the quintal.

country, for almost every thing that is useful and ornamental to civilized life; and it was justly observed, by the accurate and intelligent Mr. Glover, that such a market for the vent of our manufactures, furnishes irrefragible proof, that, through whatever channel riches have flowed into those colonies, that influx hath made its passage to the mother country, "not (continued he) like the dash of an oriental torrent, but in salubrious, various, placid, and copious streams; refreshing and augmenting sober industry by additional employment to thousands and ten thousands of families, and lightning the burthen upon rents, by reducing the contributions of parishes to poverty unemployed."

After all, it is not so much by the exports to as by the imports from, the sugar islands, that we are to judge of their value: every article of their products and returns being in fact as truly British property, as the tin which is found in the mines of Cornwall; and their staples are the more valuable, inasmuch as they differ from the commodities produced at home: for they supply the mother country, not only with what she must otherwise purchase from foreigners for her own use, but with a superfluity besides for foreign consumption. Let us now then, as proposed, inquire into the particulars, and estimate the value of their various productions and commodities with which Great Britain and her dependencies are annually supplied. Here too, I might refer to the year 1787, and avail myself, as I have done in the history of each particular island,

of the very exact, comprehensive, and valuable statement of the returns of that year, as prepared by the inspector general of the exports and imports, with the marketable prices of each article, and annexed by the committee of the privy council to their report on the slave trade; but I choose rather to look to the year 1788; chiefly, because the exports of any one year are set properly against the imports of the succeeding one; it being usual, in most articles of British export to the West Indies, to give twelve or sixteen months credit.

The imports into Great Britain from the British sugar islands in 1788, and the value thereof, will appear in the following table. The quantities are taken from the inspector general's return;* but that officer has not, in this case, as in the account of the former year, affixed the marketable prices.† These therefore are collected from the opinions of respectable brokers, on a low average of the year, the miscellaneous articles excepted, which stand as stated by the inspector general with the addition of one-third, being the usual disproportion between the actual prices current, and those in the custom-house books.

* Report of the privy council, part iv.

† The marketable prices are the current prices after the duties have been cleared, and these are paid on importation, except as to the duties and excise on rum, which is permitted to be bonded. The latter therefore cannot be said to be paid by the planter in the first instance, as in the former case they certainly are, and nine times out of ten are *not* refunded by the consumer, as will hereafter be demonstrated.

Imports from the British West Indies into Great Britain in 1788.

	Cwt.	Cwt.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Sugar, Montserrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's		242,542 at 47s.	569,973 14 0	
Antigua	18,813			
Grenada	193,783			
St. Vincent's, Tortola, and Anguilla	164,976	375,596 at 46s.	863,870 16 0	
Jamaica	1,124,017			
Barbadoes	110,955	1,288,993 at 44s.	2,835,784 12 0	
Dominica	47,610			
		158,565 at 45s.	356,771 5 0	
Rum, Jamaica	Gallons.	2,065,696		4,626,400 7 0
other islands	2,917,797	at 2s. 2d.	316,094 13 6	
	728,645	at 2s.	72,864 10 0	
Coffee	32,283	at 96s.		388,959 3 6
	lbs.			154,958 8 0
Cotton	11,618,382	at 14d.		677,738 19 0
	Cwt.			
Ginger, Jamaica	3,892	at 30s.	5,838 0 0	
Barbadoes	5,755	at 44s.	12,661 0 0	18,499 0 0
Miscellaneous articles valued at the custom house prices			466,322 15 5	
Add one third, the usual difference between the prices in the inspector general's books, and the current prices at market			155,440 18 5	
			621,762 13 10	
Total			£. 6,488,319 11 4	

The amount is £.6,488,319 11s. 4d. and this sum is altogether exclusive of bullion, of which the annual import from these islands into Great Britain is very considerable: it is presumed that, £.320,000 is a moderate average, which being added to the foregoing, gives a total of £.6,808,319 11s. 4d. I will call it six millions eight hundred thousand pounds only; and the calculation is confirmed by the testimony of a merchant of the first character and ability; who, in his evidence before a committee in the house of commons, has fixed on this sum as the amount of the imports into Great Britain from the British West Indies for the same year.*

Of the imports into Ireland and America, &c. directly from these islands, in 1788, no account, that I have seen, has been given to the public. I shall therefore adopt, from the authority of the inspector general, those of the year preceding, which stand thus;

To Ireland†	£.127,585	4	5
American States	196,460	8	0
British American colonies	100,506	17	10
Foreign West Indies	18,245	12	6
Africa	868	15	0
Total	£.443,666	17	9

* See the evidence of George Hibbert, Esquire, merchant in London, before a select committee of the house of commons, appointed to take examinations on the slave trade, 20th March, 1790.

† In official accounts before referred to of the Irish exports and imports, and subjoined at length in an appendix to this volume, it ap-

Add this sum to the British import, and the whole yearly value of the produce of the British West Indies, exclusive of what is consumed by the inhabitants themselves, is seven million two hundred and forty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds seventeen shillings and nine-pence sterling; all which is produced by the labour of 65,000 whites, and 455,000 blacks, being one hundred and eleven pounds for each white person, and thirteen pounds eighteen shillings and six-pence per head per annum, for man, woman, and child, black and white throughout all the British West Indies.

From this immense supply the revenues of Great Britain and Ireland received, in gross duties, upwards of £.1,800,000 sterling, exclusive of the duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. collected in Barbadoes, and some other of the islands, and which being paid in kind, is, I presume, included in the general imports above stated. Of the remainder, we have already seen how large a share was the property of the manufacturer, the merchant, and the navigator. A further sum, not less than £.1,037,000, must be placed to the same account, for freights and in-

pears, that the value of the goods imported into Ireland from the British West Indies has of late years greatly increased. In 1790 they amounted to £.169,563 8s. 10d.—in 1791 to £.218,589 1s. 10d.—and in 1792 to £.225,774 14s. 3d. These sums are the currency of Ireland.

insurance homewards, commissions on the sale, and a long train of other charges. The balance, reduced, as it necessarily must be, by such a multiplicity of claims and deductions, to a very small proportion of the gross returns, is paid over to the planters, their agents, mortgagees, or annuitants, most of whom are resident in Great Britain, and by whom it is partly employed in extending cultivation in the West Indies, and partly expended or invested in the mother country; in the one case giving vigour to industry, in the other upholding the price of British lands, or the credit of the British funds. With great truth, therefore, did the merchants and planters declare to the house of commons, "that the sugar colonies, and the commerce thereon dependent, have become the most considerable source of navigation and national wealth out of the limits of the mother country; and that no part of the national property can be more beneficially employed for the public, nor are any interests better entitled to the protection of the legislature, than theirs."*

* The following are the particulars of freight and insurance homewards, commissions, &c. as enumerated in the valuable chain of evidence by George Hibbert, Esquire, before referred to, viz.

Received by the ship owners, for freight homewards, about	£. 560,000
Underwriters, for insurance	150,000
British merchants and brokers, for commissions, &c.	232,000
Wharfingers, &c. including primage	95,000
Total	<u>£.1,037,000</u>

I shall now state the value of this great property, considered as British capital. In the report of the privy council, it is estimated at seventy millions of pounds sterling, as follows; viz.

450,000 negroes at £.50 per head	£.22,500,000
Lands, buildings, utensils, mules, &c. and crop on the ground double the value of the negroes . . .	45,000,000
Value of the houses, &c. in the towns, the trading and coasting vessels, and their crews belonging to the islands	2,500,000
Total . . .	£.70,000,000

Another mode proposed by their lordships of ascertaining the capital, is to reckon twelve years purchase on its annual produce, it being, they observe, not unusual in the West Indies, to sell estates at that price. I think that the sale of West-Indian estates at *ten* years purchase, is much more common; and reckoning the mercantile value of the capital at seven millions per annum, the result, by this mode of calculation, agrees precisely with the former; a circumstance which gives room to conclude, that it is nearly as accurate as the sub-

ject will admit; there can be no possible inducement to exaggerate, where acknowledged facts are of so much weight.

There yet remains to be added a brief state of the shipping and seamen to which the sugar colonies directly give employment; and it appears that the number of vessels which in the year 1787 cleared from the several British West Indian islands for Great Britain and Ireland (including 14 from Honduras) were 689, containing 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,936 men, being about nine seamen to every 100 tons: an extent of shipping nearly equal (as I have elsewhere observed) to the whole commercial tonnage of England a century ago. At the same time it is not to be overlooked, that the seamen so employed, being in constant service, are always at command; and on this account, they are a more valuable body of men than even the seamen employed in the Newfoundland fishery; of whom a great proportion remains in the country during the winter, and cannot therefore, on any sudden emergency, be added to the naval force of the kingdom.*

On a retrospect of the whole it may be truly affirmed, that the British sugar islands in the West

* The French writers state the number of ships employed in *their* West Indian trade at 600, and the average of their burthen at 300 tons one with another: their seamen at 15,000. The following ac-

Indies (different in all respects from colonies in northern latitudes) answer in every point of view, and, if I mistake not, to a much greater extent than is commonly imagined, all the purposes and expectations for which colonies have been at any time established. They furnish, as we have seen, a sure and exclusive market for the merchandise and manufactures of the mother country and her dependencies, to the yearly amount of very near four millions of pounds sterling. They produce to an immense value, and in quantities not only sufficient for her own consumption, but also for a great export to foreign markets, many valuable and most necessary commodities, none of which interfere in any respect with her own productions; and most of which, as I shall demonstrate hereafter, she cannot obtain on equal terms elsewhere:—accompanied too with this peculiar benefit, that in the transfer of these articles from one part of her subjects to another part, not one shilling is taken from the general circulating wealth of the kingdom. Lastly, they give such employment to her ships

count of the average imports from the French sugar islands, and the duties paid thereon, was published in 1785; viz.

	<i>Livres.</i>	DUTIES.	<i>Livres.</i>
130,000 casks sugar valued at	90,000,000	Droits de Domaine d'occident	5,600,000
60 millions of lbs. coffee	45,000,000	Droits d'octroi a l'Amerique	7,344,000
2 millions of lbs. indigo	18,000,000	Duties on sugar refined in France	4,592,000
1½ millions of lbs. cacao	1,000,000	Duties on coffee	750,000
3 millions of lbs. cotton	6,000,000	Duties on indigo	37,500
Total	<u>166,000,000</u>	Total	<u>18,323,500</u>

and seamen, as while it supports and increases her navigation in time of peace, tends not in the smallest degree to obstruct, but on the contrary, contributes very eminently to aid and invigorate, her operations in war. It is evident therefore, that in estimating the value and importance of such a system, no just conclusions can be drawn, but by surveying it *comprehensively*, and *in all its parts*, considering its several branches as connected with, and dependant on, each other, and even then, the sum of its advantages will exceed calculation. We are told indeed, among other objections which I shall consider more at large in the concluding chapter of my work, that all the products of the British West Indies may be purchased cheaper in the colonies of foreign nations. If the fact were true, as it certainly is not, it would furnish no argument against the propriety and necessity of settling colonies of our own: because it must be remembered, that foreign nations will allow few or none of our manufactures to be received in their colonies in payment: that their colonists contribute in no degree, by the investment and expenditure of their profits, to augment the wealth of the British nation, nor finally do they give employment exclusively to British shipping. To what extent the naval power of Great Britain is dependant on her colonial commerce it is difficult to ascertain: If this trade be considered in all its channels, collateral and direct, connected as it is with our fisheries, &c. perhaps it is not too much to affirm, that it maintains a

merchant navy on which the maritime strength of the kingdom so greatly depends, that we should cease to be a nation without it.*

* The following is a comparative view of the two greatest branches of the British commerce; the East and West Indian Trades.

EAST INDIAN TRADE.	WEST INDIAN TRADE.
Capital employed. <i>Eighteen millions.</i>	Capital employed. <i>Seventy millions.</i>
Value of goods exported annually to India and China, both by the company and their officers. <i>One million and a half.</i>	Value of goods exported from Great Britain and her dependencies, including the profit of freight on the several branches of supply, insurance, &c. &c. <i>Three millions eight hundred thousand pounds.</i>
Import sales by the company, and sales under license. <i>Five millions.</i>	Imports into Great Britain and Ireland, and shipped to other parts, the profits of which centre in Great Britain. <i>Seven millions two hundred thousand pounds.</i>
Duties paid to government, customs, &c. <i>Seven hundred and ninety thousand pounds.</i>	Duties paid to government. <i>One million eight hundred thousand pounds.</i>
Chartered shipping of the company. <i>Eighty thousand tons.</i>	Shipping employed direct. <i>One hundred and fifty thousand tons.</i>

But the great difference arises from the circumstance that the trade to the West Indies is carried on with our own colonial possessions, which the settlements in the East never were, nor even can be considered.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. III. OF BOOK VI.

THE following authentic statement of the exports and imports between the West India islands and Great Britain in the year 1795, was read in the house of commons by the right honourable Mr. Secretary Dundas, in his speech on the slave trade (April 1796). It displays such astonishing increase as might appear utterly incredible, were it not recollected, that in 1795 many of the French sugar islands were in our possession:

1795	Value in pounds sterling.
Exports of British manufactures	3,212,431
of Foreign manufactures	531,000
	<hr/>
Total of Exports from Great Britain for } 1795 }	3,743,431
	<hr/>
Imports of West India produce into Great } Britain for 1795 }	8,881,673
	<hr/>
Value of West India produce re-export- } ed in 1795 to foreign markets . . }	3,773,000
	<hr/>

Mr. Dundas, in the very eloquent speech which he delivered on this occasion, after introducing the preceding statement, made the following important observations;

“ If any person shall tell me, that some of these advantages would be enjoyed by us even if the West Indies stood in the same relation to this country as America stands at this moment, I shall readily admit, that as much of this account as arises out of the exportation and sale of our manufactures might possibly be the same in case of a separation. I do not think the manufacturers of America are yet, nor indeed likely to be for a great many years, in a state to rival the manufacturers of Great Britain. But when I have admitted thus much, it must, on the other hand be allowed, that such an event, besides the operation it would have on the navigation of this kingdom, would put out of our power the whole produce that comes from the West Indies, and for which the planters can easily find a market elsewhere. Such a consequence would inevitably follow; and does it not form a most important consideration? We should lose all the surplus which makes so great an article in the foreign trade of this country. The whole of that important advantage would, by such an event, be lost for ever. Such would be one of the consequences of West India independence, and such, as I have stated, is *de facto*, the relative situation existing between the mother country and her sugar colonies.

“ Is it then, Sir, a crime in any member of this house in this case to talk of policy? Is this the only question from which all considerations of policy are to be excluded? Is it a crime in me to call on gentlemen, who, past the levity of youth, have arrived at a more sober and deliberate mode of thinking, maturely to weigh the consequences of rash and intemperate councils on this occasion. Shall it be said, that I do not consult the interests of humanity, because I, who have attained a more advanced period of life, do not rush precipitately on, without clearly seeing my way before me?

“ This leads me, Sir, to another consideration, which I wish to press upon the attention of the house,—and this consideration relates to America. Gentlemen should recollect, that the independence of America is already established. The separation of the West India islands from the mother country is, therefore, at this time, a very different question from what it would have been, if the connexion between Great Britain and America had still subsisted;—before gentlemen permit themselves to think such an event possible, before they resolve in a fit of generosity, or in a moment of anger, to declare the West India colonies independent, I wish they would at least consider, what security there is, that those islands would continue in that state of independence in which we might place them, if they were absolved from their allegiance, and dismissed from the patronage of this country? I would ask, whether there is no other power in the world to be found, who would stretch out a fatherly hand for their protection? If, by the egregious folly and the madness of this country, such an event should occur, if any unjust and intemperate decision of this house should unfortunately produce the independence of the sugar colonies, it is but too probable, that, with exultation over our folly, some other nation would read such a paper as I have this day produced, to demonstrate to the world the consequences of our insanity, by displaying the extent of *our* losses, and the magnitude of *their* gains! I feel myself impelled, by the importance of the subject, to press this again and again upon the minds of the house, and to inform them how greatly they are mistaken, if they think they are consulting the true interests of this country in giving the smallest encouragement to the most distant idea of West Indian independency!”

ABLY as the foregoing considerations were enforced by the right honourable speaker, it may be useful to suggest some views of the subject which he omitted ; and,

First, It is a conclusion not logically just, that, because the commerce of Great Britain has been prosperous and progressive since the separation of the North American colonies, it is, therefore, indebted to that separation for any part of its prosperity, and might not have arrived to a much higher pitch if such an event had not happened. Do the American States use none but British manufactures, employ none but British agents, enrich none but British capitalists? Are they not become formidable rivals to us in commercial navigation, and has not France in the present war, found in their neutrality a powerful resource? Their advance in population and wealth for several years immediately preceding the revolution was so obvious and rapid, that, considering the drains and burthens which the war imposed, it would be too much to say, that their independence has given a peculiar spur to their advancement, from which Britain, as a trading nation, has derived a compensation for her loss of their exclusive trade. Could any probable expense of their protection have nearly reached the amount of that debt incurred in the war in which they were lost? The arguments by which free trade is usually recommended do not apply to this case. Such arguments imply a general liberation, but here there was no *quid pro quo*. Something, doubtless, was conceded, and nothing obtained in return.

Secondly, Whatever may be determined respecting the advantages which Great Britain derived from her North American colonies, no fair conclusion can thence be drawn

as to the value of those she possesses in the West Indies, in so many and such material points dissimilar in nature and situation. So early as the time of Sir Josiah Child, who wrote in 1660, while the colonies of both kinds were yet in their infancy, this distinction was marked; their relative fitness for raising rival manufactures, building rival shipping, and draining the mother country of people, are by him stated in plain, but forcible terms. (See Child on Trade, cap. 10.) It should never be forgotten, that the cultivation of the West India islands, is entirely devoted to objects which the mother country cannot produce, yet cannot do without, and which, from their extensive consumption, afford the surest means of balancing her foreign trade;—those colonies possess no exclusive shipping, and their acquirements centre, not by indirect channels, but immediately, in the bosom of Great Britain. Political economists may theorize concerning the utility of colonies, and the preference of concentrating the national industry and wealth, but they forget that such establishments are inseparable from the genius of a maritime people, and essential to its prosperity. And if the comparative merit of colonies be examined, we may safely assert, that none ever existed so reconcileable with the best principles of political economy as those which the European nations possess in the West Indies.

Thirdly, The *independency* of the West India islands, all things considered, is not a subject of probable speculation; they are constituted for an interchange of exclusive benefits, like that in which they now exist, and have hitherto flourished; and Great Britain would impose a task upon herself greater than any she ever undertook, were she to attempt to counteract their natural bias in that respect. Now, if any of our political economists should be disposed to maintain, that in a state of dependence upon some other nation. Great Britain might derive advantages from their

commerce, let him be asked, what benefits did she derive from the trade of Martinique and St. Domingo ten years ago? Those which France enjoyed from her exclusive colonies are stated very clearly in the valuable Analysis of the French Commerce published about the time of the revolution, by M. Arnould. It is there shewn that France imported from her colonies a value of about eight millions sterling, of which she exported about six millions, by that, and by that alone, turning the general balance of trade in her favour. After accounting for the rapid progress which the commerce of Europe has made in the eighteenth century, that intelligent writer concludes:—" Toutes ces circonstances, réunies ont produit la plus grande activité et une forte émulation dans le commerce des Européens. Elles ont multiplié les consommations, et ce mouvement producteur a *particulièrement été favorable à la France*, devenue, vers le commencement du siècle, *propriétaire d'objets nouveaux de consommation. Avec le secours des denrées de nos Isles d'Amérique*, la France a fondé *une marine coloniale importante*, elle a fait ainsi valoir les marchandises navales du Nord, pendant que les capitalistes, les armateurs, et les négocians François, en s'enrichissant par le commerce, comme les agens du gouvernement, par la part qu'ils obtenoient dans la progression des impôts sur les consommations, se sont livrés à un luxe qui a augmenté le débouché des produits du sol et de l'industrie des Contrées Méridionales de l'Europe."

Arnould, Balance de la Commerce, p. 268.

CHAPTER IV.

Trade between the British West Indies and North America previous to the late Civil War.—Official Account of American Supplies, and their value.—Ships and Seamen.—Returns.—Advantages resulting from this Trade to Great Britain.—Measures adopted by Government on the re-establishment of Peace.—Proclamation of the 2d July, 1783.—Petitions from the West Indies.—Opposition of the Settlers in Nova Scotia, &c. and the Ship-builders at home.—Reference to the Committee of Privy Council.—Evidence taken by the Committee.—Their final opinion thereon.—Proceedings of Government.—Destruction of Negroes in the West Indies in consequence.—Act of the 28 Geo. III. Ch. 6.—Present State and Value of the Trade between the British West Indies and the remaining British Provinces in America.—The same with the United States of America.—Inference from the whole.—Appendix.

HAVING purposely reserved for separate discussion, the commercial intercourse between the British West Indies and North America, I shall now proceed to investigate its nature and extent, as it subsisted previous to the late unfortunate civil war: and offer some considerations on the policy of Great Britain, in the regulations and restric-

tions (as they affected the sugar islands) which government afterwards thought proper to adopt concerning it, in consequence of the acknowledgment of American independency: after which, I shall endeavour to furnish an account of the present state of the West Indian trade, both with the United States and the continental colonies yet remaining to Great Britain.

It may, I think, be affirmed, without hazard of contradiction, that if ever there was any one particular branch of commerce in the world, that called less for restraint and limitation than any other, it was the trade which, previous to the year 1774, was carried on between the planters of the West Indies and the inhabitants of North America. It was not a traffic calculated to answer the fantastic calls of vanity, or to administer gratification to luxury or vice; but to procure food for the hungry, and to furnish materials (scarce less important than food) for supplying the planters in two capital objects, their buildings, and packages for their chief staple productions, sugar, and rum. Of the necessity they were under on the latter account, an idea may be formed from the statement in the preceding chapter of the importation of those commodities into Great Britain; the cultivation of which must absolutely have stopped without the means of conveying them to market.

For the supply of those essential articles, lumber, fish, flour, and grain, America seems to have

been happily fitted, as well from internal circumstances, as her commodious situation; and it is to a neighbourly intercourse with that continent, continued during one hundred and thirty years, that our sugar plantations in a great measure owe their prosperity; insomuch that, according to the opinion of a very competent judge,* if the continent had been wholly in the hands of a foreign power, and the English precluded from all commerce or intercourse with it, it is a very doubtful point, whether, in such case, we should at this hour have possessed a single acre of land in the West Indies.

The following is an official account of the total import from North America into the British West Indian islands for the years 1771, 1772, and 1773, attested by Mr. Stanly, secretary to the commissioners of the customs in London, dated the 15th March, 1775.

* Mr. Long.

An ACCOUNT of the total import from North America into the British West Indian islands, in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773.

Species of Goods.		From the United States.	From Can- ada and No- va Scotia.	From Newfound- land.
Boards and Timber,	Feet	76,767,695	232,040	2,000
Shingles	No.	59,586,194	185,000	
Staves	No.	57,998,661	27,350	
Hoops	No.	4,712,005	16,250	9,000
Corn	Bushs.	1,204,339	24	
Pease and Beans .	Do.	64,006	1,017	
Bread and Flour .	Bbbs.	396,329	991	
Ditto	Kegs	13,099		
Rice	Bbbs.	39,912		
Ditto	Tierces	21,777		
Fish	Hhds.	51,344	449	2,307
Ditto	Bbbs.	47,686	664	202
Ditto	Quintals	21,500	2,958	11,764
Ditto	Kegs	3,304	609	
Beef and Pork .	Bbbs.	44,782	170	24
Poultry	Dozen	2,739	10	
Horses	No.	7,130	28	
Oxen	No.	3,647		
Sheep and Hogs	No.	13,815		
Oil	Bbbs.	3,189	139	118
Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine . . .	Do.	17,024		
Masts	No.	157		
Spars	No.	3,074	30	
Shook Casks . .	No.	53,857	40	141
Soap and Candles	Boxes	20,475		
Ox Bows and Yokes	No.	1,540		
House Frames .	No.	620		
Iron	Tons	399 $\frac{1}{4}$		

Of this great supply, the value at the ports of delivery, including freight, was £.2,160,000 sterling, or £.720,000 annually; consisting of about 1,200 annual cargoes; but it is proper to observe that the vessels employed in this trade (which were generally sloops and schooners, single decked, and without topmasts) commonly made two, and sometimes three voyages in the year; so that the actual number never exceeded in any one year 533, which were navigated by 3,339 seamen, including negroes: of the latter, the number was estimated at about 1,000. Thus, the shortness and cheapness of the navigation in a great degree supported the trade.

The chief articles with which the British West Indian islands supplied America, in return for the produce of that continent, were sugar, rum, melasses, and coffee. Of rum, the quantity annually shipped thither, before the war, on an average of three years was 2,800,000 gallons; and the quantity of melasses was 250,000 gallons. This last may be considered as so much additional rum, each gallon of melasses producing an equal quantity of spirit of the American proof, which augmented the annual supply of that article to 3,050,000 gallons. The supply of sugar was estimated at 5,000 hogshheads, of 16 cwt; and of coffee, at about 400,000 pounds. The value of the whole (including some other small articles) was £.420,000 sterling, leaving a balance of £.300,000 in favour of the Americans, which was commonly paid in dollars, or bills

of exchange, furnishing them so far with the means of remittance to Great Britain, in reduction of their debts to the British merchants.

From this account of the exports from the British West Indies to the continental colonies, it appears that America, besides affording an inexhaustible source of supply, was also a sure market for the disposal of the planters *surplus* productions; such, I mean, for which there was no sufficient vent in Europe, especially rum; the whole importation of that article into Great Britain and Ireland, hving been little more than half the quantity consumed in America. On whatever side, therefore, this trade is considered, it will be found that Great Britain ultimately received the chief benefits resulting from it; for the sugar planters by being cheaply and regularly supplied with horses, provisions, and lumber, were enabled to adopt the system of management not only most advantageous to themselves, but also to the mother country. Much of that land which otherwise must have been applied to the cultivation of provisions, for the maintenance of their negroes and the raising of cattle, was appropriated to the cultivation of sugar. By these means, the quantity of sugar and rum (the most profitable of their staples) had increased to a surprising degree, and the British revenues, navigation, and general commerce, were proportionably augmented, aggrandized, and extended. Having an advantageous market for their rum, the planters were enabled to deal so much the more largely

with the mother country. On the other hand, the Americans, being annually indebted to Great Britain for manufactures, in a larger sum than their returns of tobacco, indigo, rice, and naval stores, were sufficient to discharge, made up the deficiency, in a great degree, by means of their circuitous trade in the West Indies, foreign as well as British; and were thus enabled to extend their dealings with Great Britain. Thus the effect was just as advantageous to her, as if the sugar planter himself had been the purchaser to the same amount, instead of the American.*

Such having been the nature, necessity, and advantage of this commercial intercourse, there was certainly every reason to expect that, on the termination of hostilities, the system which had unavoidably been interrupted and disarranged during the war, would revive as of course, and be re-established under every possible encouragement. Accord-

* Dr. John Campbell in his treatise, intituled, *Candid and impartial Considerations on the Sugar Trade*, (1763), has considered this subject in the same light, and expressed himself as follows: "As the inhabitants of the Sugar Colonies are continual purchasers from such as are settled upon the continent of America, the amount of their purchases constitutes a balance from them in favour of those of whom they purchase. But on the other hand, the inhabitants of the northern colonies drawing large and constant supplies of commodities and manufactures from hence, we, for the same reason, have a like balance in our favour against them. It is evident, therefore, that by their transferring the balance due to them in satisfaction of that which is due from them to us, the whole accumulated profits ultimately centre with the inhabitants of Great Britain."

ingly, the liberal and accomplished minister who was in the direction of the finances, lost no time in presenting to parliament a provisional bill for that purpose; a copy of which the reader will find in a note.*

* The following is a copy of the American Intercourse Bill which was brought in by the right honourable William Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer, March 1783.

“ A Bill for the provisional establishment and regulation of trade and intercourse between the subjects of Great Britain and those of the United States of North America.

“ WHEREAS the following thirteen provinces of North America, namely, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, North Carolina, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Georgia, have lately been solemnly acknowledged by his majesty to be, and now are, free, independent, and sovereign states, by the name and description of the United States of America :

“ Be it therefore enacted and declared by the king’s most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that all statutes heretofore made to regulate the trade and commerce between Great Britain and the British Plantations in America, or to prohibit any intercourse between the same, shall so far as they regulate or prohibit the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and the territories now composing the said United States of America, wholly and absolutely cease :

“ And whereas, whilst the aforesaid Thirteen Provinces were annexed to and constituted a part of the dominions of Great Britain, the inhabitants of the said provinces enjoyed all rights, franchises, privileges, and benefits of British subjects born in Great Britain, as well in respect to the trade and commerce with Great Britain as in other instances; and in consequence thereof the ships and vessels of

towards them, proved ill-founded and abortive, and the fatal consequences which flowed from the mea-

subjects or citizens of the said United States, being of the growth, produce or manufacture of the said United States, shall be liable to the same duties and charges only, as the same merchandises and goods would be subject to, if they were the property of British subjects, and imported in British built ships or vessels, navigated by British natural born subjects.

“ And be it further enacted, That during the time aforesaid, the ships and vessels of the subjects and citizens of the said United States, shall be admitted into the ports of his majesty’s islands, colonies, or plantations, in America, with any merchandises or goods of the growth, produce or manufacture, of the territories of the aforesaid United States, with liberty to export from his said majesty’s islands, colonies, or plantations in America, to the said territories of the said United States, any merchandises or goods whatsoever; and such merchandises and goods, which shall be so imported into, or exported from, the said British islands, colonies, or plantations, in America, shall be liable to the same duties and charges only, as the same merchandises and goods would be subject to, if they were the property of British natural born subjects, and imported or exported in British built ships or vessels, navigated by British seamen.

“ And be it further enacted, That during all the time herein before limited, there shall be the same drawbacks, exemptions, and bounties, on merchandises and goods exported from Great Britain into the territories of the said United States of America, as are allowed in the case of exportation to the islands, plantations, or colonies, now remaining, or belonging to the crown of Great Britain, in America.

“ And be it further enacted, That all ships and vessels belonging to any of the citizens or subjects of the said United States of America, which shall have come into any port of Great Britain since the
together with the goods and merchandises on board
the same ships and vessels, shall have the full benefit of this act.”

asures resorted to by the British government, I shall now proceed to point out.

The preliminary articles of peace were signed at Versailles on the 27th of January 1783; soon after which, the house of commons having passed a vote of censure on the treaty, (with what regard to justice or consistency, it is not my business at present to inquire), this event was followed by the resignation of the ministry by whom the treaty was adjusted. The new administration, it may be presumed, had too many objects to attend to, on their first elevation to power, to find leisure for considering the business of a commercial treaty with America. As, however, it was indispensably necessary to repeal the prohibitory laws which had existed during the war, this was done by an act passed for that purpose; but as to the rest, parliament took the shortest course possible to save themselves trouble, by vesting in the crown for a limited time, authority to regulate the commerce with America in such manner as his majesty in council should deem expedient.*

New and extraordinary as it certainly was, that such extensive authority should be delegated by parliament to the executive power, neither this circumstance, nor the proclamation, or order of council that issued in consequence of it on the 2d July 1783, (afterwards renewed annually), excited

* Vide Stat. 23 Geo. III. c. 39.

much inquiry. Although by this proclamation, the importation into the British West Indies of every species of naval stores, staves and lumber, live stock, flour, and grain of all kinds, the growth of the American States, was confined to British ships legally navigated; and the export to those states of West Indian productions was made subject to the same restriction; while many necessary articles, (as salted beef and pork, fish, and train oil), formerly supplied by America, were prohibited altogether, it was considered as a measure merely temporary and experimental; and until a plan of permanent regulation should be agreed to by both countries, it was thought neither impolitic nor unjust, that Great Britain should reserve in her own hands the power of restraining or relaxing her system of commercial arrangements, as circumstances might arise to render the exercise of such a power prudent and necessary.

In these reasons the West Indian merchants, and such of the planters as were resident in Great Britain, acquiesced; but on the first meeting of a new parliament, in May 1784, (another change having taken place in the mean time in the British administration),* the business of a commercial intercourse between the West Indies and the states

* The right honourable William Pitt who had been chancellor of the exchequer from 10th July 1782 to 5th April 1783, was re-appointed to that office, and also nominated first lord of the treasury on the 25th of December 1783, soon after which the parliament was dissolved.

of America, pressed itself on the attention of government with a force which was not to be resisted. Petitions, complaints, and remonstrances, were poured in from every island in the West Indies. Some of the petitioners represented that they had not six weeks provisions in store, and all of them anticipated the most dreadful consequences, if the system of restriction should be much longer persisted in; expecting nothing less than a general revolt of their slaves, in the apprehension of perishing of hunger.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of the remaining continental colonies, especially such of the new settlers there as were emigrants from the United States, promised to themselves the acquisition of sudden and immense riches from the vast advance of price which it was foreseen their few exports, when no longer depressed by competition, would obtain at the West Indian markets. Every exertion, public and private, was therefore made by their friends in Great Britain, to convince administration, and innumerable pamphlets were circulated to satisfy the public, that the West Indies might be very amply supplied with every article of North American produce (rice excepted) from Canada, Nova Scotia, and the island of St. John. Hence they not only strenuously recommended a steady adherence to the system of restriction on the part of Great Britain, but openly expressed their wishes that the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, British ships from trading in the

ports of America. The complaints and remonstrances of the West Indians, they treated as the turbulence of disappointed faction. They accused them of having abetted the American rebellion, and their apprehensions, while wallowing in wealth, of a scarcity of food were spurned at and ridiculed, as if hunger was no part of our nature.

It is impossible, I think, not to perceive in these, and similar arguments, a lurking taint of resentment and malignity, the relics of former provocation against the Americans; and at least as ardent a desire to wound the new republic through the sides of the West Indians, as to benefit Nova Scotia at their expense. These passions are among the frailties of our nature, and may be forgiven. But there was another, and a numerous class of people, who stood forward on this occasion, in support of the system of restriction and monopoly, on different ground: these were the ship-builders, ship-owners, and their various dependants in London; who affected to believe, that if American ships were suffered to take sugar from our islands, they would convey it—not to America, but—to foreign countries, and rob us of the carriage of it; or they might, it was alleged, enter into a competition with British ships for the freight of goods to Great Britain. To this it was answered, that a limitation of tonnage to ships employed in the American intercourse, to which the planters would not object, confining it to vessels having only one deck, and not exceeding seventy or eighty tons, must satisfy

the most scrupulous on that head; inasmuch as such vessels could never be employed in transporting sugar across the Atlantic, nor could they be got insured if such attempts should be made. But although this answer must have satisfied every well informed and considerate person, it was found insufficient to silence the clamour which at that time was industriously propagated on the subject of the carrying trade, as if the future existence of the commercial navigation of Great Britain had been involved in the discussion.

So vehement was the uproar, that the minister himself was compelled to give way to the torrent. Although Mr. Pitt was now placed at the head of the British administration, he found himself unable, on his return to power, to enforce his first intentions on this subject. Instead of reviving the provisional bill which, a few months before he had presented to parliament, he thought it advisable to refer the consideration of the whole matter to the lords of the committee of privy council for the affairs of trade, by whom many of the West Indian merchants and planters, resident in Great Britain, were interrogated on the subject; and the writer of this had the honour to be of the number. It was readily admitted by the sugar planters, that, on every principle of honour, humanity, and justice, the unfortunate loyalists of Canada and Nova Scotia were entitled to a preference of their custom, provided those provinces possessed, in any degree the means of supplying their wants; but this, they

contended, was the main point in dispute. They therefore requested, that before any permanent regulations should be adopted by government, inquiry might be made, 1st. How much of the annual consumption of the American staples those provinces had supplied hitherto? and, 2dly, how far, from their present, or probably future situation, they might be supposed capable of exceeding their former produce and exports?

Such an inquiry was accordingly entered upon, and abundance of evidence collected on the subject; when it appeared, from the custom house returns, that of 1208 cargoes of lumber and provisions imported from North America into the British sugar colonies in 1772, only seven of those cargoes were from Canada and Nova Scotia; and that of 701 topsail vessels, and 1681 sloops, which had cleared outwards from North America to the British and foreign West Indies, only two of the topsail vessels, and eleven of the sloops, were from those provinces. It stood therefore incontrovertibly proved, that, previous to the war, the supplies which they afforded, did not amount to a proportion of the whole consumption of the sugar islands, in any degree worthy national attention; and, on the second ground of inquiry, it was shewn respecting Canada, not only, that the navigation of the river Saint Lawrence was so greatly obstructed by the ice in the winter, and by westerly winds in the summer, as to render more than one voyage in the year impracticable, but that in the province itself,

the climate renders the crops of wheat altogether precarious. It was proved, that in the years 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the scarcity in Canada had been such, as to occasion the export of all bread, wheat, and flour, to be prohibited by authority; and it was shewn that, at the very time of the inquiry, a ship in the river Thames was actually loading with flour for Quebec. On the whole, it appeared that, although in favourable seasons (as in 1774) there might sometimes be found an overplus of grain, beyond the consumption of the inhabitants, yet that a regular and sufficient supply could by no means be depended on from that province; that the frequency of disappointment must prove an insurmountable obstruction to new inhabitants settling there with a view to the cultivation of wheat; and, with regard to lumber, the price of labour in Canada was such, as to cut off all hopes of supply from thence, even if the navigation had been subject to no delay and obstacle whatever.

Respecting Nova Scotia, it was shewn that it never had, at any one period, produced grain sufficient for the sustenance of its inhabitants: it had never exported any lumber worthy the name of merchandise; and so far from having any to export, it appeared that a considerable importation into the province was at that time taking place, from the opposite side of the Bay of Fundy, to enable the new settlers at Port Roseway to build houses for their own residence.

Lastly, as to the island of St. John, it was proved that, like Nova Scotia, it had never yet furnished food enough to keep its few inhabitants alive, nor exported any one article the produce of the island. Its situation, within the gulph of St. Lawrence, shut it up from all intercourse during five months of the year; and its fogs, more prevalent and durable than even those of Nova Scotia, rendered the country too uncomfortable for population, while land remained unoccupied in happier climates.

The advocates for the prohibitory system, however, were not easily silenced. They declared it would be more for the interest of Great Britain, that the West Indians should be deprived of American supplies altogether, rather than, by receiving them from the United States in American vessels, contribute to aggrandize the naval power of the new republic. They maintained that the sugar islands had resources within themselves, which, with occasional aid from Great Britain, might enable them to exist very comfortably, even though the accustomed intercourse with all parts of the American continent was entirely cut off. If not, it was triumphantly asked, in what manner were they supported during the war, when all regular communication with the United States was suppressed?

In reply to this objection, it was proved that the British sugar islands, during the war, had been very badly supplied, both with lumber and provisi-

ons; and at an expense which, if it had continued, would have been equally ruinous with the not being supplied at all. Their chief resource was the American vessels that had been captured in their way to the French islands; a resource which had terminated with the war, and at best proved so uncertain and inadequate, that many of the British islands had been driven by necessity to the worst of all applications (as British colonists) of their labour; the raising provisions, and cutting lumber upon their own estates. Instead of directing their attention to the culture of those valuable and bulky staples which contribute, in so eminent a degree, to form the dignified mass of support which the British navigation derives from her distant colonies, they had been compelled to change their system: They had abandoned the cultivation of sugar, and applied their land and labour to the purposes of raising food. In what degree the British navigation and commerce had suffered by this measure, the custom house books would demonstrate—From that authority it would appear, that in 1777, previous to the capture by the French of any of the sugar islands, the import of sugar into England only, had fallen short of the import of 1774 upwards of 45,000 hogsheads, of 16 cwt; in value nearly one million, creating a loss in freight of £.150,000 on that article alone, and a defalcation in the public revenue of £.300 a day for every day in the year! Here then, it was said, was a full and satisfactory refutation of the popular clamour on the subject of the carrying trade. Compared with these losses,

and their consequences to every part of the empire, so inconsiderable, so truly contemptible was the trifling interference of American shallops, carrying food to invigorate the hungry labourer, and timbers to repair mills and houses, that it seemed not to be an object deserving a moment's solicitude in the breast of a great nation.

Such were, in part, the evidence and arguments offered on behalf of the West Indies; and if the question had met with unprejudiced and temperate discussion, I am inclined to think, notwithstanding the jealous and monopolizing spirit of traffic, that regulations widely different from the present system of restriction and exclusion towards America, would have been established; but, unfortunately, the private interests of some, and the prejudices and passions of others, were allowed to mingle in the investigation. I am aware that, in common cases, it ill becomes an undistinguished individual to arraign the wisdom and propriety of the national councils; but although there is a degree of respect due to men in authority, which I would willingly preserve, yet I dare not maintain it either by the violation or the suppression of truth. The consequences which flowed from the proceedings recommended and adopted on this occasion, will presently be seen; and they cannot be remembered with indifference. To suppress facts, therefore, in which the interests of humanity are so deeply concerned, is to sacrifice both the dignity and utility of history; the great end of which is to make the

errors and misconduct of one set of men, a lesson and a warning to their successors.

The case was, to speak plainly and undisguisedly, that the committee of council, to whom the consideration of this important business devolved, (with the best intentions I believe, for it cannot be supposed that they wished to injure the West Indian colonies), suffered themselves to be guided in their researches by men who had resentments to gratify, and secret purposes to promote. Some of these were persons whom America had prescribed for their loyalty, and unjustly deprived of their possessions. That they had become, on this account objects of compassion, and claimants on the public of Great Britain, I have no wish to deny; but, without doubt, they were the last men in the world whose opinions should have been adopted, concerning the establishment of a system of reciprocity and conveniency between the mother country and that which they had left. To suppose that such men were capable of giving an impartial and unbiassed testimony in such a case, is to suppose they had divested themselves of the common feelings of mankind.

The first inquiries of the committee of council, (thus influenced), were directed to disprove the assertions contained in an address of the assembly of Jamaica, concerning the distress in which that island was stated to be, at that time, involved, from the want of provisions and lumber. Although

those assertions were abundantly confirmed by the declarations and subsequent conduct of the governor himself, to whom the address was presented;* their lordships reported, that the assembly were by no means warranted in the strong terms they had used; it appearing, they said, "from private letters laid before them, that the scarcity complained of *did not exist*." When their lordships were humbly desired to communicate the names of the parties who had written such letters, that some judgment might be formed what degree of credit was due to their testimony against that of the legislature of their colony, they refused, with tokens of manifest displeasure, to disclose them.

Their lordships, in the next place, proceeded to estimate the resources of Canada and Nova Scotia; and in contradiction to the evidence and conclusions which had been given and adduced by the West Indian merchants and planters, they asserted, in general terms, "that the exportation of grain from Canada would revive and increase, provided the West Indian market was secured to the inhabitants of that province;" and they added, "that several persons of great experience were of opinion, that an annual export of 300,000 bushels might in a few years be depended on." They admitted that the natural impediments in the navigation of the river St. Lawrence might affect the supply of lumber, but denied that this circumstance would injure the

* Sir Arch. Campbell.

trade in flour. They stated, "that Nova Scotia would be able in about three years to supply great quantities of lumber, and most of the other articles which the West Indies are in want of from North America, provided grants of land were properly made and secured to the inhabitants; for that (although the sea coast is rocky and barren) the interior parts, and the banks of the rivers, have as fine a soil as any part of the world, *admirably fitted for dairy farms, and the growth of garden vegetables.*"

They averred, "that the climate of Nova Scotia is fine and healthy; that the new settlers were industrious, and that the neutral French who still remain (when no longer in a precarious state with respect to the government under which they are to live) would probably follow the example of the new settlers, and learn from them to improve the country; especially if due encouragement should be given to their industry, by securing them proper markets." Their lordships were further assured, from good authority, that upon the like encouragement, the population of Nova Scotia would be increased.

Such a detail of probabilities, provisoes, and possible contingencies, with the mention, among other resources, of *dairy farms and garden vegetables*, seemed, to the disappointed planters, something very like derision and mockery. They complained, that instead of assurances of relief, they were put off

with airy conjectures, with frivolous *ifs* and *may be's*; with promises inconsistent with the laws of nature, and with declarations negatived both by experience and reason!

In truth, the argument which appeared to have most weight with their lordships themselves, was that which (tacitly admitting all expectation of supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to be chimerical and delusive) took for granted, that by excluding American ships from the ports of the West Indies, Great Britain would find full employment for as many additional vessels as America formerly employed in that commerce, and reap all the profits which America reaped, of which they calculated the freightage alone, at the annual sum of £.245,000 sterling.

On the whole, the lords of the committee strongly recommended a strict and rigid adherence to the measure of confining the intercourse between our West Indian islands and America, to British ships only, as a regulation of absolute necessity; considering any deviation from it, as exposing the commerce and navigation of Great Britain to the rivalry of revolted subjects, now become ill-affected aliens. They expressed, indeed, some apprehension, lest the congress of the United States might retaliate, by prohibiting, in return, British vessels from being the carriers between them and the British West Indies; but seemed to think this circumstance not very probable, inasmuch as the people

of the United States would, in that case, they said, suffer much more than any of his Majesty's subjects; a conclusion not very decisive; the experience of all ages abundantly proving, that considerations of interest are frequently overpowered by motives of resentment.

These doctrines and opinions of the lords of the committee of council were unfortunately approved and adopted in their fullest extent by the British government; and the only solitary hope which now remained to the inhabitants of the West Indies was, that the apprehension of their lordships, concerning American retaliation, was ill-founded; and that the United States, notwithstanding the prohibitory system of Great Britain, would still open their ports to British shipping; and freely indulge them with the liberty of importing the products of the British sugar islands; carrying away American produce in return. The planters could not indeed but foresee a very great expense, delay, and uncertainty attending such circuitous navigation; but to this they were prepared to submit, as the only alternative of escaping inevitable and impending destruction.

But there was this misfortune attending the sugar planters, that their wants were immediate; and of a complexion affecting not only property, but life. Whatever resources might ultimately be found in the opulence and faculties of the mother-country, it was impossible, in the nature of things,

to expect from so distant a quarter an adequate supply to a vast and various demand, coming suddenly and unexpectedly. Many of the sugar islands too had suffered dreadfully under two tremendous hurricanes, in 1780 and 1781, in consequence whereof (had it not been for the casual assistance obtained from prize-vessels) one half of their negroes must absolutely have perished of hunger. Should similar visitations occur, the most dreadful apprehensions would be realized; and I am sorry to add, *that realized they were!*

I have now before me a report of a committee of the assembly of Jamaica on the subject of the slave trade, wherein the loss of negroes in that island, in consequence of those awful concussions of nature, and the want of supplies from America, is incidentally stated. It is a document of the best authority; and the following extract from it, while it abundantly acquits the West Indian merchants and planters from the charge of turbulence and faction, which on this occasion was illiberally brought against them, will, I hope, serve as an awful lesson to future ministers, how they suffer the selfishness of party, and the prejudice of personal resentment, to have an influence in the national councils.

“ We shall now (say the committee) point out the principal causes to which this mortality of our slaves is justly chargeable. It is but too well known to the house, that in the several years 1780, 1781, 1784, 1785, and 1786, it pleased Divine Providence

to visit this island with repeated hurricanes, which spread desolation throughout most parts of the island ; but the parishes which suffered more remarkably than the rest, were those of Westmoreland, Hanover, Saint James, Trelawney, Portland, and Saint Thomas in the East. By these destructive visitations, the plantain walks, which furnish the chief article of support to the negroes, were generally rooted up, and the intense droughts which followed, destroyed those different species of ground provisions which the hurricanes had not reached. The storms of 1780 and 1781 happening during the time of war, no foreign supplies, except a trifling assistance from prize-vessels, could be obtained on any terms, and a famine ensued in the leeward parts of the island, which destroyed many thousand negroes. After the storm of the 30th of July 1784, the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his council, published a proclamation, dated the 7th of August, permitting the free importation of provisions and lumber in foreign bottoms, for four months from that period. As this was much too short a time to give sufficient notice, and obtain all the supplies that were necessary, the small quantities of flour, rice, and other provisions, which were imported in consequence of the proclamation, soon rose to so exorbitant a price as to induce the assembly, on the 9th of November following, to present an address to the lieutenant-governor, requesting him to prolong the term until the latter end of March 1785; observing, that it was impossible for the natural productions of the country to come to such maturity as to be

wholesome food, before that time. The term of four months not being expired when this address was presented, the lieutenant-governor declined to comply therewith; but on the 1st of December following, the house represented, that a prolongation of the term was then absolutely necessary: They observe that, persuaded of the reluctance with which his honour would be brought to deviate from regulations which he felt himself bound to observe, it would give them much concern to address him on the same occasion a second time, were they not convinced that it was in a case of such extreme necessity as to justify such a deviation. Accordingly, the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his majesty's council, directed, that the time formerly limited should be extended to the 31st of January then next ensuing (1785): but, at the same time, he informed the house, that he was not at liberty to deviate any longer from the regulations which had been established in Great Britain.

“ From the 31st of January 1785, therefore, the ports continued shut, and the sufferings of the poor negroes, in consequence thereof, for some months afterwards, were extreme: Providentially, the seasons became more favourable about May, and considerable quantities of corn and ground provisions were gathered in by the month of August; when the fourth storm happened, and the lieutenant-governor, immediately, shut the ports against the exportation of any of our provisions to the French and Spanish islands, which were supposed to have suf-

ferred more than ourselves; but not thinking himself at liberty to permit the importation of provisions in American vessels, the productions of the country were soon exhausted, and the usual attendants of scanty and unwholesome diet, dropsies and epidemic dysenteries, were again dreadfully prevalent in the spring and summer of 1786, and proved fatal to great numbers of the negroes in all parts of the country.

“ On the 20th of October in that year happened the fifth dreadful hurricane, which again laid waste the leeward parishes, and completed the tragedy. We decline to enlarge on the consequences which followed, lest we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the subject will admit, the number of our slaves whose destruction may be fairly attributed to these repeated calamities and the unfortunate measure of interdicting foreign supplies, and for this purpose compared the imports and returns of negroes for the last seven years, with those of seven years preceding, we hesitate not, after every allowance for adventitious causes, to fix the whole loss at fifteen thousand: THIS NUMBER WE FIRMLY BELIEVE TO HAVE PERISHED OF FAMINE, OR OF DISEASES CONTRACTED BY SCANTY AND UNWHOLESOME DIET, BETWEEN THE LATTER END OF 1780, AND THE BEGINNING OF 1787.”

Such (without including the loss of negroes in the other islands, and the consequent diminution in

their cultivation and returns), was the price at which Great Britain thought proper to retain her exclusive right of supplying her sugar islands with food and necessaries! Common charity must compel us to believe (as I verily *do* believe) that this dreadful proscription of so many thousand innocent people, the poor, unoffending negroes, was neither intended nor foreseen by those who recommended the measures that produced it. Certainly no such proof was wanting to demonstrate, that the resentments of party too frequently supersede the common feelings of our nature. It is indeed true, that the evil did at length in some measure furnish its own remedy: The inhabitants of Jamaica, by appropriating part of their lands and labour to the raising of provisions, and the hewing of staves, found some resource within themselves; and, happily for the other islands, the United States did not, as was apprehended, adopt any scheme of retaliation; so that British vessels ultimately obtained the profits of the carriage (whatever it was) between the West Indies and America; and thus at length the system became recognized and confirmed by the legislature.*

* By the 28th Geo. III. c. 6. which took effect the 4th of April 1788, it is enacted, " That no goods or commodities whatever shall be imported or brought from any of the territories belonging to the United States of America, into any of his majesty's West India islands (in which description the Bahama Islands, and the Bermuda, or Somers Islands, are included) under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and also of the ship or vessel in which the same shall be imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle,

But, whatever benefit has accrued to the mother-country from the regulations and arrangements which the British parliament thus confirmed and perpetuated, it is certain that her remaining colonies in North America, at whose instance and for whose benefit the scheme of exclusion and restriction was principally promoted, derived few or none of those advantages from the measure, which they

and apparel ; except tobacco, pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp, flax, masts, yards, bowsprits, staves, heading, boards, timber, shingles, and lumber of any sort ; horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and live stock of any sort ; bread, biscuit, flour, pease, beans, potatoes, wheat, rice, oats, barley, and grain of any sort, such commodities, respectively, being the growth or production of any of the territories of the said United States of America : And that none of the goods or commodities herein before excepted, enumerated, and described, shall be imported or brought into any of the said islands from the territories of the said United States, under the like penalty of the forfeiture thereof, and also of the ship or vessel in which the same shall be so imported or brought, together with all her guns, furniture, ammunition, tackle, and apparel, except by British subjects and in British-built ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law. By another clause, none of the aforesaid articles are to be brought from any of the foreign islands, under the like penalty, except in times of public emergency and distress, when the governors of any of our islands, with the advice and consent of the council, may authorize the importation of them by British subjects in British-built ships for a limited time." Such is the law as it now stands with regard to the import of American articles into the British West Indies : Concerning the export of British West Indian produce to the United States, it is permitted to export, in ships British-built and owned, any goods or commodities whatsoever, which were not, at the time of passing the act, prohibited to be exported to any foreign country in Europe, and also sugar, mellasses, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento ; bond being given for the due landing of the same in the United States.

had promised to themselves in the outset. They discovered, when it was too late, that the decrees of Providence were irrevocable. The river Saint Lawrence remained, as usual, locked up seven months in the year by an impenetrable barrier of ice; and Nova Scotia still continued inexorably sterile; so much so indeed, that the very men who, in 1784, had confidently represented this province as being capable in the course of three years, of supplying all the West Indies with lumber and provisions, found it necessary, at the end of those three years, to apply for and obtain the insertion of a clause in the prohibitory act, to authorise the admission of both lumber and provisions into that province from the United States. On this circumstance it is unnecessary to anticipate the reflections of the reader!

In consequence of this permission, there were shipped in the year 1790, from the United States to Nova Scotia alone, 540,000 staves and heading, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 shingles, and 16,000 hoops; 40,000 barrels of bread and meal, and 80,000 bushels of grain; an irrefragable proof that Canada had no surplus of either lumber or grain beyond her own consumption, or undoubtedly the Canadian market would have been resorted to, in preference to that of the United States. And thus vanished all the golden dreams and delusive promises of a sufficient supply from Canada and Nova Scotia to answer the wants of the West Indies; and the predictions of the planters and merchants have

been verified and confirmed by the experience of years. I regret, that I am unable to furnish the reader with an accurate account of the actual exports from those provinces to the West Indies since the war, (the report of the committee of council on the slave trade, though fraught with information in all other cases that relate to the commerce of the colonies, being silent on this head), or of the fish which they send annually to the sugar islands. The quantity of this latter article imported into the British West Indies from Newfoundland, on an average of four years (1783 to 1786, both inclusive) was 80,645 quintals*.

The exports, for the year 1787, from the British sugar islands to all our remaining American possessions, Newfoundland included, consisted of 9,891 cwt. of sugar, 874,580 gallons of rum, 81 cwt. of

* The imports, into Jamaica from Canada, St. John's, and Nova Scotia, between 3d of April, 1783, and the 26th of October 1784, have been stated in a report of the assembly of that island. The negative catalogue is very copious. No flour,—no ship-bread or biscuit, no Indian-corn, or other meal,—no horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or poultry.—The only provisions were, one hundred and eighty bushels of potatoes, and 751 hogsheads and about 500 barrels of salted fish,—rather a scanty allowance for the maintenance of 30,000 white people, and 250,000 blacks, for the space of nineteen months!—Of lumber, &c. the quantity was 510,088 feet, 20 bundles of hoops, and 301,324 shingles.—Previous to the war, on an average of the five years from 1768 to 1772, the whole imports into Jamaica from Canada, Nova Scotia, and St. John's, were 33 barrels of flour, 7 hogsheads of fish, 8 barrels of oil, 3 barrels of tar, pitch, and turpentine, 36,000 shingles and staves, and 27,235 feet of lumber.

cacao, 4 cwt. of ginger, 26,380 gallons of melasses, 200 lbs. of piemento, 575 cwt. of coffee, 1,750 lbs. of cotton wool, and some small articles, fruit, &c. of little account ; the value of the whole, agreeably to the current prices in London, was £.100,506. 17s. 10d. sterling, and the shipping to which it gave employment was nominally 17,873 tons, navigated by 1,397 seamen. As this however includes repeated voyages, the quantity of tonnage and the number of men must be reduced one-half.

To the United States of America the same year the exports in British shipping were these : 19,921 cwt. of sugar, 1,620,205 gallons of rum, 124½ cwt. of cacao, 339 cwt. of ginger, 4,200 gallons of melasses, 6,450 lbs. of piemento, 3,246 lbs. of coffee, 3,000 lbs. of cotton wool, 291 hides, and 737 barrels of fruit.

The value in sterling money, according to the prices current in London, was £.196,460. 8s. as hath been stated in the former chapter.* The amount of the freight on these exports, and also on American productions supplied the West Indies, is the monopoly which Great Britain has exacted by her late regulations. It cannot therefore be said, that if she has lost much, she has gained nothing ; but estimating her profit at the utmost, to what does it amount, compared with the cost of the pur-

* Number of vessels (including repeated voyages) 386, tonnage 43,380, men 2,854.

chase? Admitting it even to stand at the sum fixed by the committee of council,* how subordinate is such a consideration, when placed in competition with the future growth and profitable existence of our sugar islands, the whole of whose acquirements centre in the bosom of the mother-country, enriching her manufactures, encouraging her fisheries, upholding the credit of her funds, supporting the value of her lands, and augmenting, through a thousand channels, her commerce, navigation, revenues strength, wealth, and prosperity!

On the whole, it is a consideration of very serious importance, that the benefits of the present restraining system are by no means commensurate to the risk which is incurred from it. Jamaica, it is true, in time of scarcity, may find some resource within herself, and America has not yet adopted, and perhaps may not adopt, measures of retaliation; but it must always be remembered, that every one of the West Indian islands is occasionally subject to hurricanes, and many of them to excessive droughts, which, by destroying all the products of the earth, leave the wretched negroes no dependance but on imported provisions supplied them by their owners. Antigua has been frequently rendered by this calamity a scene of desolation, as it was particularly in 1770, and twice again in the years 1773 and 1778. Should the same irresistible visitation overtake these unfortunate countries hereafter,—as the planters

* £.245,000 sterling.

have no vessels of their own, and those of America are denied admittance into their ports,—how are even the most opulent among them to avert from their unhappy labourers the miseries of famine, which in a like case swept off such numbers in Jamaica? Concerning the permission that is held out to the planters to resort, in time of emergency, to the foreign islands, it is so manifestly nugatory, that I choose not to speak of it in the language which my feelings would dictate.*

* Under the present limited intercourse with America (exclusive of the uncertainty of being supplied at all) the West Indians are subject to three sets of devouring monopolists. 1st. The British ship-owners. 2d. Their agents at the ports in America. 3d. Their agents or factors at the chief ports in the islands, all of whom exact an unnatural profit from the planter; by which means those most essential necessaries, staves and lumber, have risen in price no less than 37 per cent. as the following comparative table will demonstrate:

Prices of staves, lumber, &c. at Kingston, Jamaica, during two periods; the first from 1772 to 1775 (both years inclusive) the second from 1788 to 1791.

	1772.	1773.	1774.	1775.
First Period:	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves per M.	8 0	8 0	8 10	9 0
White Oak Staves per M.	9 10	9 10	10 0	11 0
Pitch-pine Lumber per M.	8 0	9 0	9 10	10 0
Common Lumber per M.	6 10	7 10	8 10	9 10
22 Inch Shingles per M.	2 0	2 5	2 10	2 10
Second Period:	1788.	1789.	1790.	1791.
	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.	£. s.
Red Oak Staves per M.	14 10	14 0	10 10	12 0
White Oak Staves per M.	15 0	15 0	11 0	12 0
Pitch-pine Lumber per M.	14 0	12 5	11 10	12 0
Common Lumber per M.	13 0	10 0	9 10	10 0
22 Inch Shingles per M.	3 0	3 0	2 15	2 15

Compared with the danger thus impending over the feeble and defenceless Africans, the inconvenience which of late has been felt and complained of in Great Britain, from the high price of West Indian commodities, deserves not the consideration of a moment. It is the necessary and unavoidable consequence of our own arrangements. Yet, perhaps, it is this circumstance alone that comes home to our feelings; and to this cause, more than to any other, I verily believe, may be attributed the clamour which has been industriously excited against the planters, concerning their supposed ill usage of their negroes. Discontent at the high price of sugar, is called sympathy for the wretched, and the murmurs of avarice become the dictates of humanity. What inconsistency can be more gross and lamentable! We accuse the planter of cruelty to his slaves, and contemplate, at the same time, with approbation or indifference, our own commercial policy, under which many thousands of those unhappy people have already perished, and to which (I grieve to add) many thousands more will probably fall a sacrifice!

APPENDIX TO CHAP. IV. OF BOOK VI.

THIS work having (1799) reached a third edition, it is with infinite satisfaction the author has an opportunity, in this place, of presenting to his readers the 12th article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, concluded at London the 19th of November 1794, and finally ratified by the American house of representatives on the 30th of April 1796. What effect the author's arguments in the preceding chapter produced on this occasion, he presumes not to say. That some of the facts which he stated had a very considerable influence on the minds of his majesty's ministers, he has been assured from high authority; and indeed it were injurious to the character of those ministers to suppose that they had not. The 12th article is expressed in the words following: " XII. His majesty consents, that it shall and may be lawful, during the time hereinafter limited, for the citizens of the United States to carry to any of his majesty's islands and ports in the West Indies from the United States, *in their own vessels, not being above the burthen of seventy tons*, any goods or merchandises, being of the growth, manufacture, or produce of the said States, which it is or may be lawful to carry to the said islands or ports from the said States in British vessels; and that the said American vessels shall be subject there to no

“ other or higher tonnage duties or charges than shall be
“ payable by British vessels in the ports of the United
“ States ; and that the cargoes of the said American vessels
“ shall be subject there to no other or higher duties or
“ charges than shall be payable on the like articles if im-
“ ported there from the said States in British vessels.

“ And his majesty also consents, that it shall be lawful
“ for the said American citizens to purchase, load, and carry
“ away in their said vessels, to the United States, from the
“ said islands and ports, all such articles, being of the
“ growth, manufacture, or produce of the said islands, as
“ may now by law be carried from thence to the said States
“ in British vessels, and subject only to the same duties and
“ charges on exportation to which British vessels and their
“ cargoes are or shall be subject in similar circumstances.

“ Provided always, that the said American vessels do
“ carry and land their cargoes in the United States only ;
“ it being expressly agreed and declared, that, during the
“ continuance of this article, the United States will prohibit
“ and restrain the carrying any melasses, sugar, coffee, co-
“ coa, or cotton, in American vessels, either from his ma-
“ jesty’s islands or from the United States, to any part of
“ the world, except the United States, reasonable sea stores
“ excepted.

“ Provided also, that it shall and may be lawful, during
“ the same period, for British vessels to import from the
“ said islands into the United States, and to export from
“ the United States to the said islands, all articles what-
“ ever, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of
“ the said islands, or of the United States respectively,
“ which now may by the laws of the said States be so im-
“ ported and exported ; and that the cargoes of the said

“ British vessels shall be subject to no other or higher duties or charges, than shall be payable on the same articles if so imported or exported in American vessels.

“ It is agreed that this article, and every matter and thing therein contained, shall continue to be in force during the continuance of the war in which his majesty is now engaged ; and also for two years from and after the day of the signature of the preliminary or other articles of peace by which the same may be terminated.

“ And it is further agreed, that at the expiration of the said term, the two contracting parties will endeavour further to regulate their commerce in this respect, according to the situation in which his majesty may then find himself with respect to the West Indies, and with a view to such arrangements as may best conduce to the mutual advantage and extension of commerce.”

CHAPTER V.

Charges brought against the Planters introductory of Opinions and Doctrines the Design of which is to prove, that the Settlement of the British Plantations was improvident and unwise.—Testimony of the Inspector-General on this Subject, and Animadversions thereon.—Erroneous Idea concerning a distinct Interest between Great Britain and her Sugar Islands.—The National Income and the Profits of Individuals arising from those Islands considered separately.—Opinions of Postlethwaite and Child.—Whether the Duties on West Indian Commodities imported fall on the Consumer, and in what Cases?—Drawbacks and Bounties: Explanation of those Terms, and their Origin and Propriety traced and demonstrated.—Of the Monopoly-compact; its Nature and Origin.—Restrictions on the Colonists enumerated; and the Benefits resulting therefrom to the Mother Country pointed out and illustrated.—Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the West Indies to refine their raw Sugar for the British Consumption.—Unjust Clamours raised in Great Britain on any temporary Advance of the West Indian Staples.—Project of establishing Sugar Plantations in the East Indies under the Protection of Government considered.—Remonstrance which might be offered against this and other Measures.—Conclusion.

AFTER so copious a display as hath been given of the prodigiously increased value of these important islands, during the space of a century and

a half, which have nearly elapsed since their first settlement, it may be supposed that the conduct of Great Britain towards them (notwithstanding the proceedings on which I have presumed to animadvert in the foregoing chapter) has generally been founded in kindness and liberality; and that the murmurs and complaints which have sometimes proceeded from the planters, when new and heavy duties have been laid on their staples, have been equally ungrateful and unjust; the fastidious peevishness of opulent folly, and surfeited prosperity.

Charges to this effect have indeed been frequently urged against the planters of the West Indies, with a spirit of bitterness and rancour, which inclines one to think, that a small degree of envy (excited, perhaps, by the splendid appearance of a few opulent individuals among them resident in Great Britain) is blended in the accusation. They would therefore have remained unnoticed by me, were they not, on frequent occasions, introductory of doctrines and opinions as extraordinary in their nature, as dangerous in their tendency; for, supported as they are by persons of ability and influence, they cannot fail, if adopted by ministers, and carried from the national councils into measures, to widen our recent wounds, and make a general massacre of our whole system of colonization.

Of these doctrines and opinions, so far as they concern the British plantations in the West Indies, the following is a fair abstract and abridgment:

First. That the sugar islands have been settled by British capitals which might have been employed to greater advantage at home, in carrying on and extending the manufactures, the commerce, and agriculture of Great Britain.

Secondly. That the money expended upon West Indian estates, is in general far from yielding a profitable return to the nation, inasmuch as even a good crop does not leave the owner so much as six *per cent.* on his capital, after payment of expenses.

Thirdly. That the duties on West Indian commodities fall altogether on the consumer.

Fourthly. That the several prohibitory laws which have been made, tending to force the consumption of British West Indian produce upon the inhabitants of Great Britain, have vested in the planters a complete monopoly of the British market, at the cost, and to the manifest injury, of the British consumer, who might otherwise purchase sugars, &c. from the foreign islands, 20 or 30 *per cent.* cheaper than in those of Great Britain.

Fifthly. That from this great disparity of price between British and foreign sugars, the former cannot be made an object of export from Great Britain, by any other means than by granting drawbacks and bounties out of the exchequer; the British exporter being otherwise unable to stand the competition of

prices in the foreign market :—a policy, which is pronounced to be dangerous and destructive.

The inference which is drawn from these premises is plainly this, that, considering the expense of protecting them in war, the settlement of sugar plantations in the West Indies was improvident and unwise ; and that their further extension and improvement would not promote the general interests of the British empire.

It is probable that these, and similar notions of the same tendency, but of more extensive application, were originally disseminated with no other view, than, by depreciating the value and importance of all colonial settlements, to reconcile the nation to those rash and inconsiderate proceedings, which terminated in the loss of America. They have had their day ; and, like other speculations and endeavours as vain and ineffectual, might have been consigned, without injury, to oblivion. As, however, the manifest aim of such doctrines is to induce the legislature to adopt measures that in their consequences may check and impede the further progress of the colonists in a line of cultivation, in which, under the express encouragement of government, they have already embarked their fortunes, and applied their faculties, it becomes necessary, in a work of this kind, to consider them with some degree of attention.

It might indeed be alleged, and with great truth, that nothing can more clearly expose the nakedness of that doctrine which affects to consider the sugar islands as unprofitable to the nation, than a plain and simple display of the productions which they furnish, the market which they create for our manufactures, and the shipping to which they give employment. And such a display hath already been exhibited in the preceding chapters: but, unfortunately, there prevail many popular prejudices against the colonies, which are difficult to remove, because they are founded not in reason but selfishness. Opinions thus entrenched, are only to be encountered by recalling to the public attention, such established principles and facts as, being built on experience, neither sophistry can perplex, nor self-interest elude.

In most of the late speculative systems that I have seen, which have treated of the British colonies, there appears this great and fundamental error, that their interests in general are considered as distinct from, and in some respects opposed to, the general interests of the empire. We speak of them indeed as *our* colonies, and of their inhabitants as *our* subjects; but in our dealings, we are apt to regard them with a spirit of rivalry or jealousy, as an unconnected or hostile people, whose prosperity is our detriment, and whose gain is our loss.

Intimations to this effect were, I admit, promulgated by very able writers at an early period, con-

cerning New England, and some other of the colonies in North America; but none of those writers ever considered the plantations in the West Indies in the same point of view. They knew that the greatest benefit of colonies, is the production of staple commodities different from those of the mother-country; an advantage almost peculiar to such of our plantations as are situated in the southern latitudes. This necessary distinction seems however to have escaped the notice even of those who admit that the money which is vested in the sugar islands, is in fact British property, and that the profits and returns arising from it, centre in Great Britain, and no where else; another advantage peculiar to our West Indian settlements. Yet the truth undoubtedly is, that the sugar planters, generally speaking, are but so many agents or stewards for their creditors and annuitants in the mother-country; or if, in some few instances, they are independent proprietors themselves, it is in Great Britain alone that their incomes are expended, and their fortunes ultimately vested. The produce of the sugar islands therefore ought, in all reason, to be considered as standing precisely on the same footing with the produce of the mother-country. The sugar made in them is raised by British subjects, and the sale of it (as far as it can answer any profitable purpose to Great Britain) confined to the British market. In the actual consumption of the commodity within the kingdom, the money which it costs is only transferred from the hand of one inhabitant into that of another: hence, be the price

high or low, the nation at large is not one shilling the richer nor the poorer on that account. But, of whatever is consumed at home, the value is saved, and of whatever is exported abroad, and paid for by foreigners, the amount is so much clear gain to the kingdom.*

Neither ought the national profits arising from their cultivation, to be estimated, in any degree, by the profits which are made by the several individual cultivators. The income which the nation derives from her sugar plantations, comprehends the *whole* of their produce. The income of the cultivators consists only of the very small proportion of that produce which is left to them, after paying duties to government, freights and commissions to the British merchants, and the interest of their debts to British creditors. It is indeed very possible that a concern may be lucrative to the public, which is ruinous to the individual. That the nation has been benefited in ten thousand ways from her plantations

* It is the practice with some writers, in treating of foreign commerce, to consider every branch of it as unfavourable to the nation, in which the imports are of greater value than the exports; that is, they strike a balance on the custom-house entries, and consider the excess either way, as the measure of the national advantages, or disadvantages of such a trade. Perhaps the application of this rule to most branches of foreign commerce (rightly so called) is not improper; and it will extend, I am afraid, in a great degree, to our trade with the East Indies; but from what has been said in the text, the reader will perceive the gross absurdity of bringing our intercourse with the West Indies to the same standard; and that our *import from*, and not *export to* them, is to be considered as the measure of their value.

in the West Indies, no man of common sense or common candour ever denied, until the motives that I have already assigned, gave birth to a contrary pretence; and that many individual proprietors have, at the same time, suffered considerably by adventuring therein, I am afraid it is too notorious to dispute.

But the argument that comes more immediately home to the bulk of the community, is the very prevalent idea which I have before slightly noticed, that all the products of the British West Indies, and more especially the great article sugar, are from twenty to thirty *per cent.* dearer than those of the foreign plantations. Against this circumstance, (if it were well founded), it might seem sufficient to oppose the national benefit arising generally from the whole system; but the consumer, mindful of himself only, conceives that he ought to have permission to purchase sugar at the cheapest rate, wherever he can procure it. The refiner, whose aim is to buy cheap and sell dear, claims the same privilege; to which indeed there would be less objection, if he would consent that another part of his fellow-subjects, the growers of the commodity, should enjoy the same freedom from commercial restraint which he requires for himself. Unluckily however, the fact itself is altogether destitute of foundation. The existence of such disparity of price, independent of accidental and temporary fluctuations, is neither true nor possible, as is demonstrated by the magnitude of the British export, both

of raw and refined sugar, for the supply of foreign markets; it being evident, that foreigners would not resort to our market for the purchase of a commodity, which they might buy cheaper at home.* Nor do I recollect when it was otherwise. There was indeed a time when England, having no plantations of her own, was compelled to purchase of foreign nations, and at their own prices many articles of prime necessity, for a supply of which, those very nations now resort to the British market.

* Respecting the French sugar islands, I can speak of my own knowledge. Most of their largest planters having adopted the practice of *claying*, they pay less attention to the manufacture of good *muscovado* than is given to it in our islands. This latter therefore, being generally of inferior quality, may be sold proportionably cheaper than ours; but whenever it is of equal goodness, the price also is equal, and sometimes higher. Of twelve samples of muscovado sugar produced to me in Saint Domingo, as of the best quality of *sacré brût* made in that island, I could not honestly pronounce that any one was well manufactured; and I am persuaded I could have purchased better sugars in Jamaica at a less price than was asked for those. This was in 1791, soon after the revolt of the slaves, when it might have been supposed that the distresses of the French planters would have compelled them to sell their sugars more reasonably than they had done for several years before. In fact, the only *datum* for ascertaining the relative value of foreign and British sugar, is the price of each *at the colonial market*; instead of which, the price always referred to, is *the price in Europe*, after the charges of freight, duty, &c. are added to the original cost. The not attending to this necessary distinction, has probably given rise to the very erroneous idea above noticed, which has occasioned more ill-will and groundless complaint against the British sugar-planter, than any other circumstance. While I am on this subject it may not be improper to take some notice of the disparity between the profits obtained on their sugar by the British and French planters in Great Britain and France. In a French publica-

“ Before the settlement of our colonies (says Postlethwaite) our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent. In those days, we had not only our naval stores, but our ships, from our neighbours. Germany furnished us with all things made of me-

tion of character, (Reflections d'un Vieillard, &c. 1785,) the author states the whole year's import into France on an average at

130,000 casks, valued at 90 million of livres, }
equal to - - - - - } £.ster. 3,937,500.

Against this value he sets the duties and imposts, viz.

		<i>Livres.</i>	
Duties of the western domain	-	5,600,000	£. 245,000
Ditto in the West Indies	- -	7,344,000	321,300
			<hr/>
			566,300
Ditto on 50,000 casks consumed or re-	}	4,592,000	200,900
fined in France			
			<hr/>
Total of imposts and duties, including the charges of } government, civil and military, in the islands			767,200
			<hr/>
According to this statement, these sugars	}	<i>£. s. d.</i>	
are valued, <i>per</i> cask, at		30	5
And the duties thereon estimated at		5	8 0
			<hr/>
Leaves, clear of duties	-	24 17 9½	sterl. money.
			<hr/>

Let us now look to British sugars.

I suppose 14 cwt. a good average weight *per* cask at sale and that 2l. 5s. *per* cwt. was a high medium of price in Great Britain (duty &c. included) for several years previous to the revolt of the slaves in St. Domingo:

I compute the public charges, civil and military, paid in our islands by grant of assembly, at not less than 200,000l. *per annum*:

And that this rests as a charge upon their sugars of about two shillings *per* cwt.

tal, even to nails. Wine, paper, linens, and a thousand other things, came from France. Portugal supplied us with sugar. All the products of America were poured into us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoese retailed to us the commodities of the East Indies, *at their own price.*" The same account is confirmed by Sir Josiah Child. " Por-

The amount of these colonial imposts upon a cask of 14 cwt. will therefore be	-	-	-	-	-	£.1	8	0	
The British duties which were formerly paid on importation were 12s. 3½d. per cwt.	-	-	-	-	-		8	12	0
									<hr/>
In all, per cask	-					£.10	0	0	<hr/>

Then, supposing the gross value of one cask of 14 per cwt. at 45s. per cwt. to be	-					£.31	10	0	
Deduct public imposts and duties	-						10	0	0
								<hr/>	
Leaves	-					£.21	10	0	

N. B. £.5 8s. (the French duties) is rather less than 18 per cent. on the value, and 10l. the imposts and duties paid by the British planters, is 31½ per cent.

From the preceding calculation it appears, that out of £.100 value of the French planter's sugar, there is left him, after payment of duties to his government abroad and at home, £.82—But to the British planter, out of his sugar, no more than £.68 5s.—and although the gross apparent value of the British planter's hogshead of sugar is higher than that of the French planter's by £.1 4s. 3d. yet he receives, after paying the taxes upon it, less than the other by £.3 7s. 9d.—This superior advantage enables the French planters to pay a higher price for negroes, and to carry on their plantations at a greater expense than the English—circumstances which probably make the scale between the planters of the two nations nearly even.

tuguese sugar (says this author) before we had plantations of our own, sold for seven and eight pounds sterling the quintal or cwt." and it is a remarkable and well known circumstance, after that the cultivation of indigo in Jamaica, was suppressed by an exorbitant duty of near £.20 the hundred weight, Great Britain was compelled to pay to her rivals and enemies £.200,000 annually for this commodity, so essential to a great variety of her most important manufactures. At length, the duty being repealed, and a bounty, some time after, substituted in its place, the provinces of Georgia and South Carolina entered upon, and succeeding in the culture of this valuable plant, supplied, at a far cheaper rate than the French and Spaniards, (receiving too our manufactures in payment), not only the British consumption, but also enabled Great Britain to export a surplus at an advanced price to foreign markets.

If these writers then were well informed, and the commercial world* has thought highly of their industry and knowledge, it would be difficult to prove (though it is easily said, and as easily denied) that the settlement of the British sugar plantations was unwise or improvident; nor will it be found very easy to point out any other channel in which the money which has been expended in their improvement, could have been applied to greater national benefit. Against advantages of such magnitude and permanence as I have shewn to result

from those colonies, and the various branches of our commerce dependent thereon, neither the loss to individuals in the plantations, by improvident schemes in the outset, or improper conduct in their subsequent pursuits, nor the temporary inconvenience which is sometimes sustained by the purchasers and consumers at home, from an occasional advance of price in some few of the colonial products, outweighs in the scale of reason a feather!

I shall now proceed to consider those other positions and doctrines which have been advanced concerning the duties that are paid, and the drawbacks that are granted on the products of the British sugar islands, and shall afterwards treat somewhat largely of the monopoly compact, or the privilege which the planters of those islands possess, of supplying exclusively the British consumption of sugar, and other articles. The subject is naturally dry, and not susceptible of ornament; but its importance will not be disputed, and perhaps there are but few commercial regulations whose principles are less understood than those of the compact last mentioned.

The points to be considered are briefly comprised in the following objections:—It is asserted,

First, That the duties which are levied on the products of the British West Indies imported into Great Britain, though paid in the first instance by

the proprietor or importer, ultimately fall on the consumer, and on him alone.*

* The following are correct tables of the duties payable at this time (1792) on the principal articles of West Indian produce, both in Great Britain and the United States of America :

DUTIES payable upon IMPORTATION into GREAT BRITAIN of the Produce of the British West Indies, agreeable to the Consolidated Act, most of which are drawn back upon Exportation.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Refined sugar, cwt.	4	18	8	Cocoa, ditto	0	1	3
Muscovado sugar,	0	15	0	Ginger, black or white,			
Rum, per gallon, customs				per cwt.	0	11	0
5d. excise 4s. 3d.	0	4	8	Cotton, from any place, in			
Pimento, per lb.	0	0	3	British bottoms, free.			
Indigo, mahogany, Nica-				Gum Guaiacum,	0	0	9
ragua wood, logwood,				Jalap,	0	0	9
lignumvitæ, and fust-				Aloes, per cwt.	6	10	8
tick, free.				Sarsaparilla, per lb.	0	0	8
* Coffee, per cwt.	0	3	6	Tamarinds, red, cwt.	1	0	6

Import of the UNITED STATES upon WEST INDIA PRODUCE.

	Cents.		Cents.
Distilled spirits, if more than ten per cent. below proof, per gallon	20	If of more than forty per cent. above proof	40
If more than five, and not more than ten, per cent. below	21	Brown sugar	1½
If of proof, and not more than five per cent. below	22	Melasses	3
If above proof, but not exceeding twenty per cent.	25	Coffee, per pound	4
If of more than twenty, and not more than forty per cent. above proof	30	Cocoa	1
		Pimento	4
		Indigo	25
		Cotton	3
		Tonnage on foreign vessels per ton	50

N. B. One hundred Cents is equal to a Spanish Dollar.

Not less than 50 Gals. to be imported into the United States.

* * An addition of ten per centum to be made to the several rates

* If the Coffee is for home consumption, it pays a further duty of 3l. 15s. per cwt. to the customs, and 6½d. per lb. to the excise.—Cocoa also, if for home consumption, pays 12s. 6d. per cwt.—excise 6½d. per lb.

Secondly, That the practice of allowing drawbacks on their re-export, is dangerous and destructive.

Thirdly, That the monopoly of supply vested in the planters is partial, oppressive, and unjust.

I shall consider these several positions in the order in which I have placed them. The investigation of them is necessary to the completion of my work, and, with a few general observations, will conclude my labours.

If daily experience did not evince that argument has very little effect on the avarice of government, and the selfish prejudices of individuals, it might be a matter of wonder that the first of these positions (in the full extent to which it is carried) should ever be seriously repeated, after the clear and unanswerable refutation which has been given to it, both in parliament and from the press, a thousand times; and what is more, by sad experience in a thousand instances! So long, however, as it continues to be the language of prejudiced or interested men, it is

of duties before specified and imposed, excepting rum, which shall be imported in ships or vessels not of the United States.

☞ Brown or muscovado sugar, *not* of the British plantations, is subject, on its importation into Great Britain, to a duty of £.1 7s. 2d. and white or clayed sugar of foreign growth to £.2 5s. 6d. the cwt; East Indian sugar being ranked among the company's imports as manufactured goods, pays £.37 16s. 3d. *per cent. ad valorem*. It is all white or clayed sugar.

the duty of the planters to give it attention; and although they may have nothing new to offer on a question which has been so frequently and fully investigated, they have no reason on that account to be silent; inasmuch as the doctrine itself has not, unfortunately, the grace of novelty to recommend it.

The planters then have affirmed, and they repeat, that there is not an axiom in mathematicks more incontestible than this maxim in commerce, *that the value of all commodities at market depends entirely on their plenty or scarcity, in proportion to the demand or consumption.*—If the quantity at market is not equal to the demand, the seller undoubtedly can, and always does, fix his own price on his goods. On the other hand, when the quantity at market greatly exceeds the vent or demand, then it is out of the seller's power to influence the price, for the plenty will necessarily keep it down in spite of his utmost endeavours to raise it.

The truth therefore undoubtedly is, that in the latter case the original cost of the goods, and all subsequent charges thereon, such as freight, warehouse rent, duties and taxes of all kinds, are objects of no concern to the buyer. The quantity, and the quantity alone, regulates the price at market, and augments or diminishes the profits of the seller. If the demand be great, and the quantity small, the seller has sometimes an opportunity not only of reimbursing himself the original cost, and all subsequent charges and duties, but likewise of making

great profit besides. Reverse the circumstances, and he finds himself a considerable loser. All this is the necessary and unavoidable nature of commercial adventure, which is only prosperous as it contrives to feed the market properly; or, in other words, to make the supply no more than adequate to the demand: Thus the taxes on leather, soap, candles, malt, beer, and spirits, by enhancing the price to, may be said to fall on, the consumers; for as the manufacturers have it in their power, so they proportion the supply to the demand, and bring to market no more than sufficient to answer the consumption, and if, after all, they cannot obtain a living profit, they cease to deal in those commodities.

It is the same in regard to tea, wines, and other commodities, the growth or manufacture of foreign nations, *over whose exports we have no controul*. The merchant importer governs his imports by the demand which he computes there will be at the British market for the commodity; and ceases to import such goods as he finds will not yield him a profit, after the duty and all other charges are reimbursed.

But, in the case of articles which the situation or necessities of the owner bring to sale, and for which no other vent can be found, it is impossible that any duties or taxes which the commodity may have paid in its way to market, can have any effect on the price; for the price arises from the demand, and the demand from the buyer's wants, which it would be

absurd to say the laying any duty can create, or the not laying it diminish. Thus, when wheat is scarce, the price rises; and two or three good harvests make it cheap again, without any reference to the land-tax whether it be 3s. or 4s. and without any regard to the farmer's expenses. Nor will corn afterwards bear a good price, until the stock is lessened by exportation, or otherwise, to such a quantity as is barely sufficient for home consumption. Hops, hay, cyder, and a thousand other commodities, are subject to the same rule.

Such too is precisely the situation of the West Indian planters: they are compelled to send their goods to market, or starve; and (with a few unprofitable exceptions) there is no market to which they are permitted to resort but that of Great Britain. Their produce therefore, when brought to sale, can obtain no other than its natural price, I mean that price which a greater or less supply necessarily and naturally creates. The consumers of sugar neither care for, nor inquire after, its original cost, or the duties and charges which it has paid in its way to market. The importer however must pay the duties before he can bring his sugar to sale, for no man will buy unless the duty is first cleared; and whether the importer can compel the buyer to refund the whole, or any part of it, by adding it to the price of the commodity, depends altogether, as I have observed, on the quantity at market; it being an absolute contradiction to affirm that great plenty and a high price on the one hand, or on the other,

great scarcity and a low price, can exist at one and the same time. That sugar, like other commodities, is sometimes bought up in Great Britain by engrossers on speculation, may be very possible; but this is a traffic in which as neither the planters in the West Indies, nor their factors at home, have any concern, so neither are they answerable for any consequences arising from it.

It is true that, when providential calamities have overtaken the West Indies, the evil has sometimes been remotely felt by the inhabitants of Great Britain. When it pleased the Almighty to lay waste the sugar islands by a succession of tremendous hurricanes, it was reasonable to expect that the reduced state of their exports, would enhance their value in Europe. It might then perhaps be said that the consumer of sugar reimbursed in some degree the charges and expenses of its culture and transportation, and the duties which had been levied upon it. It was the natural and only relief (inadequate at the best) which the sugar planters could receive; but if, from some occasional increase of price on such emergencies, they are made subject to permanent burthens, founded on the vain and fallacious idea that, because the consumer has replaced them once, he will replace them again; the devastations of the elements are only the lesser evil.

Admitting however that the consumer really does, in a great many cases, pay the duty, or, in other words, that the vender has it very frequently

in his power to force his own price ; who does not see, as an inevitable consequence, that a decrease in the consumption will soon bring the price back to its level? The products of the West Indies are rather among the luxuries than the necessaries of life, and the great consumption of sugar especially, is with the middle and lower classes of people, who can, and undoubtedly will, lay it aside when reasons of frugality require it. If any one doubts that this will be the effect, let him only inquire of any country grocer as to the fact, at a time when Muscovado sugar, in consequence of the calamities that have been stated, and from captures in war, rose suddenly one-fourth in value : he will find that the diminution in the consumption in many parts of the kingdom, was in a much greater relative proportion ;— a more fatal symptom cannot attend any branch of commerce.

If the arguments which have thus been stated are not sufficient in themselves to justify the remonstrances which the planters of the West Indies have thought it incumbent on them, from time to time, to urge against the increase of duties, there are facts to be adduced, which must convince the most selfish and incredulous.

The instance of indigo has been mentioned already ; and it cannot be repeated too often.—The planters complained of the duties on that article, as they have since complained of those on sugar, and they were told then, as they are constantly told in

other cases, that the duties fell ultimately on the consumer. Government however at length, by abrogating all the duties, saw, and acknowledged its error; but the remedy was applied too late; for if the duties had either been taken off in time, or if the weight of them had fallen on the consumer, instead of the planter, the cultivation of indigo, beyond all dispute, had never been wrested out of our hands.

Cacao, or chocolate, furnishes another instance of the fatal effects of high duties on importation. Strange as it may seem that an article which our own colonies can raise in the greatest plenty and perfection, should be subject to a higher proportionate duty than the foreign commodity *tea* (the place of which chocolate or coffee might have supplied;) such however was the case even when the duties on tea were nearly double what they are at present! The consequence was, that whether the duties on cacao fell on the consumer or the planter, the effect on the latter was precisely the same; for if through want of a living profit, the planter could not afford to continue the cultivation; or if, in exacting a living profit, he lost his customers, because they could no longer afford to purchase, his situation became equally distressing; until necessity compelled him to change his system, and apply his land and labour to other objects. Thus the growth of cacao, which once constituted the pride of Jamaica, and its principal export, became checked and suppressed beyond the power of recovery. I think I have else-

where observed, that there is not at this day a single cacao plantation, of any extent, from one end of the island to the other.

The cultivation of ginger succeeded that of cacao, and met with a similar fate: but perhaps the instance of coffee will come more immediately home to the imagination of ministers, because the proof which it affords arises, not from what has been *lost* by impolitic taxation, but from what has been *gained* by a prudent reduction of existing duties. In the one case, the lesson it affords is too mortifying to be acceptable: the other they will receive as a compliment to their wisdom. Having however stated the circumstance in a former part of this work,* it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it here.

• From the whole of what has been observed on the question of duties, this conclusion appears to me to be incontrovertible; that in nine cases out of ten, the duties which are paid on the products of the British plantations, fall chiefly (either immediately or eventually) on the colonist in the West Indies, who is commonly the importer, and not on the consumer in Great Britain;—and it is equally certain that, in the tenth case, when the consumer pays them, *he ought to pay them*; inasmuch as all taxes should in justice press with equal weight on every member of the community, in proportion to his ability to sustain them; of which, in the case of tax-

* Book v. c. iv. p. 123.

able commodities, consumption is the criterion. To this consideration must be added the well known and established axiom, that taxes paid by the public at large distribute themselves so equally on the whole, as eventually to raise the price of all other commodities; each man repaying himself for taxes which he pays on other articles, by advancing the price of his own. Let the planters then no longer be contemptuously told (for such has been the language of their adversaries) that they have *groaned without a grievance*. I have shewn that they have been driven, from time to time, by duties accumulated on duties, from the cultivation of one production to another; and if (apprehensive that the few valuable staple commodities which now remain to them are in danger of being sacrificed, as others have been, to a system of impolitic taxation) they state their apprehensions to ministers, by a recital of plain facts, and a perseverance in well-grounded complaints, it seems to me they are equally serving government, and defending their own rights and properties.—Supplies must necessarily be raised; they admit it; but contend that there is a point at which taxation on any particular object must stop, or it will not only defeat its own purpose, but have the effect also of endangering all former duties laid on the same object, by totally destroying its cultivation or manufacture. The subject now naturally leads me to the consideration of drawbacks and bounties, on the re-export of British plantation products, the second head of our present inquiries;

and as the principal of those products is sugar, I shall confine my remarks to that article.

The term **DRAWBACK**, in the language of the custom-house, is applied to the tax repaid upon the exportation of *raw* sugar, and the word **BOUNTY** to the money which is paid upon the exportation of what is *refined*, and exported in loaf unbroken. The word drawback sufficiently expresses its meaning; for (excepting the gain to government by interest, in consequence of having had a deposite of the tax for some time in its hands, and excepting the duty retained on the quantity wasted while the sugar continued in a British port) the original duty paid at importation, is refunded on exportation, without diminution or addition. This at present (including the last duty of *2s. 8d.* laid in 1791, and declared to be temporary) is *15s.* the hundred weight. But as to the *bounty*, the case was *once* different. To encourage the refining trade in Great Britain, government gave an actual premium on the export of refined sugar in loaves, in addition to the drawback, and the collective sums so refunded and paid, amounting together to *26s.* the hundred weight, obtained generally the name of *bounty*; a name which is still retained, although in fact, since the last duty was laid, the extra sum which is paid beyond the drawback, is but little, if any thing, more than a compensation for the duty which is paid on the *extra* quantity of raw sugar expended in producing a given quantity of refined, and lost by

pilferage and waste, between the importation and day of sale, as will presently be demonstrated.*

* The statute book denominates that species of refined sugar upon which what is called *the bounty* is granted, "*Sugar in the loaf and whole, being nett.*" Upon the export of this sort of sugar the bounty was raised by the 5th George III. c. 45, to 14s. 6d. and a further bounty of 11s. 6d. was granted by the 21 George III. c. 16. making together 26s. per cwt. and so it continues at present. The last bounty of 11s. 6d. was granted in consequence of an additional duty of 6s. per cwt. laid in 1781, on raw sugar imported, when lord North was Chancellor of the Exchequer, who frankly declared that he proposed the aforesaid bounty purposely to remunerate the planters from the import duty, which he admitted they were unable to bear. It is evident however, that the duty is permanent and certain; the relief, temporary and casual; inasmuch as the export of refined sugar is altogether occasional, depending on the fluctuating state of foreign markets. Should the foreign demand fail, on whom will this additional duty fall but on the planter? This consideration alone is a good reason why the bounty should be more than proportionate to the drawback. Yet when parliament, in 1791, by the 31 George III. c. 15, laid a further duty of 2s. 8d. per cwt. on raw sugar imported from the British plantations (appropriating the same, for the term of four years, towards the discharge of certain exchequer bills) making the import duty 15s. per cwt. in the whole, no addition was made to the bounty on the export of refined loaf. All that could be obtained was an addition of 3s. 4d. to the drawback, on what the statute calls *bastards, and ground or powdered sugar*; and also on *refined loaf broke into pieces*, and all sugar called *candy*. Upon the export of these species of sugar, the drawback, previous to the 31 Geo. III. stood at 11s. 8d. only, while the duty paid on raw sugar imported was 12s. 4d. and it being but just, that the drawback should at least be equal to the duty paid, 3s. 4d. was added in that act; which, with 11s. 8d. makes 15s. per cwt. the precise amount of the import duties paid since that act took place. The minister who moved the additional duty of 2s. 8d. in 1791, proposed also at first to augment the bounty in the usual proportion; but the sugar refiners remonstrated against the measure, as

Having thus explained what is meant by the terms drawback and bounty, in the case of sugar exported, I shall now endeavour to prove that the repayment of the duties, under either appellation, is not a matter of favour to the colonist or importer, but of rigorous justice, and is founded on a strict and conscientious right which he possesses, and of which he cannot be deprived, so long as a sense of moral duty, and a regard to equal justice, shall be found among the principles of a free government.

An importer of merchandise either comes *voluntarily* into our ports, to seek the best market for the sale of his goods; or is *compelled* to enter them, that the nation may secure to itself the pre-emption at its own market. If he comes voluntarily, he is apprized of the regulations and duties to which, by the laws of the port he will be subject; he makes his option, and if he meets with disappointment, has no right to complain; much less to expect a return of the duties which he has paid on importa-

being, they said, *beneficial only to the planters*. It is remarkable however, that in the memorial which they presented on that occasion to the chancellor of the exchequer, they furnish an unanswerable argument in support of an actual *bonus* on the export from Great Britain of refined sugar; for they admit that a greater proportion of the refined article is now made from muscovado than was formerly produced, *owing*, they say, *to improvements made by the planters in the raw commodity*. As those improvements were not effected but after many costly, and some fruitless, experiments, it seems no way consonant either to justice or reason that the refiners alone should reap the advantages of them, and the planters, who sustained the risk, sit down quietly under the expense.

tion, in case he shall afterwards find it more to his advantage to re-ship his goods, and try another market. He comes in the spirit of adventure, and as his profits, however great, are wholly his own, if his adventure proves fortunate; so it is but reasonable that he should submit patiently to his loss, if loss is the consequence of his experiment. This conclusion is, I think, too evident to require further illustration.

On the other hand, the case of those who are *compelled* to bring their goods to our ports is widely different. The sugar planter, for instance, is not only obliged to bring his sugar at all times and seasons to a market which perhaps is already overloaded; but to bring it too in British ships, that the mother-country may have the benefit arising from the freight. On the supposition that the whole may be sold for home consumption, he is furthermore compelled to pay down the duties on the full quantity imported, before he is permitted to sell any part. The home consumption is then supplied; and a surplus remains, for which a vent offers in a foreign market. The foreign purchaser, however, buys nothing for which the people of Great Britain choose to pay an equal price: they have the first offer, and refusal of the whole. Under what pretence then can the British government, whose language it is that all duties are, and ought to be ultimately paid by the consumer, retain the duties on such part of the goods as are not purchased for the home supply? The mother-country has already

received the benefit of the freight; has had a preference in the sale of the goods, and obtained other mercantile advantages from its importation; and the owner has suffered the inconvenience of advancing a large sum of money for duties on goods which she refuses to purchase,—an inconvenience of no small account, inasmuch as, besides the loss of interest, should the goods perish by fire, he would lose both his goods and the duty;*—perhaps, as an interested man, I am not competent to decide impartially on this question; but *to me*, it appears that a final retention of the duties here spoken of, would be an outrageous exercise of power, without a shadow of right; a proceeding in the highest degree unjust, fraudulent, and oppressive.

As the foreign market will not bear the addition of the English duty, fifteen shillings *per* cwt. if the money is not refunded, are taken from the colonist, for having, against his will, and at a great expense of freightage, sent his sugar circuitously through Great Britain. Such an extortion for passing through a market to which he does not voluntarily resort, is virtually fixing a forced price upon the commodity; and to do this, or by force to take the

* Since this work was first published, the author has had reason to speak *feelingly* on this point. In the month of December 1793, no less than 1600 hogsheads of sugar, lying in the London warehouses, were consumed by fire, on which there had been paid in duties to government upwards of £.17,000; all this was a loss to the unfortunate owners, exclusive of the goods. The author's share of this loss was £.1200.

commodity from him, without giving any price for it,—what is it, but an act of the same nature, differing only in degrees of violence?—The plea of necessity is not applicable to the case; the object not being, as in the case of corn, a *necessary* but a *luxury* of life; and the colonists, to whom it belongs, have no share in the power of regulating, if regulations are to be made concerning it.

If it be urged that foreigners have otherwise the advantage of sometimes buying British plantation sugar on cheaper terms than the people of Great Britain, it is answered, that this is a circumstance for which the planter is no way responsible, and in truth it is in itself but little to be regarded; since whenever it happens, the national gain is so much the greater; because the kingdom profits much more by the quantity purchased, and paid for in money by foreigners, than it would have done, if the same quantity had been consumed at home.—Government has no means in this case of taxing the consumption of foreign nations, for if the duty be added to the price of the commodity, the foreign demand is at an end.*

* Since the foregoing was written, an act of the British legislature has passed, intituled, “An act for regulating the allowance of the drawback, and payment of the bounty on the exportation of sugar, and for permitting the importation of sugar and coffee into the Bahama and Bermuda islands in foreign ships.” Concerning the latter part of the act, as the foreign sugar and coffee are not to be consumed in Great Britain, but put *en depot* in warehouses until re-exported, the planters of the British West Indies have no right to object to its pro-

Hitherto, I have spoken of the drawback on *raw* sugar only. I am now to shew that my observations apply equally to that which is *refined*; by proving that what is called the *bounty*, is but little more than merely a modification of the drawback; the money allowed beyond the original duty being an allowance not more than adequate to the loss of weight in the raw commodity for which the full duties have been paid by the importer, and the loss of interest thereon, between the time of the payment thereof, and the time of the receipt of the bounty.

visions; but with regard to the regulations of the drawback, &c. the case is widely different. By this law it is enacted that "after the year 1792, whenever the average of the prices of brown or muscovado sugar (to be taken weekly upon oath before the Lord Mayor of London, and published in the Gazette) shall exceed, in the six weeks which respectively precede the middle of February, June, and October, the amount of fifty shillings *per* cwt. (exclusive of the duty) the drawback on *raw* sugar exported is immediately to cease for four months, and the bounty on *refined* is to cease during a like term, but commencing after an interval of one month. Such is the outline of this act, on which what I have already said in the text, is perhaps a sufficient comment; yet it may not be improper to take some notice of the great argument which was urged in support of the measure in the House of Commons; namely, that it was formed on the model of the corn trade system. But the corn trade laws, though designed to reduce prices, are also contrived to *encourage production*. They therefore check exportation when the prices are high, and give a *bounty on exportation when the prices are low*. If the sugar bill had been formed on the same principle, and had been meant to keep the price of the commodity at a fair medium between the public and the planter, it would have reduced the bounty when above the standard, and either raised the bounty, or taken off the home duty when below it, in such proportions as to keep the balance even. In its present shape the act operates wholly against the planters.

The proportions of refined sugar, &c. procured by melting 112 lbs. of raw sugar, have been ascertained by the committee of London refiners as follows, viz.

	lb ^s .
Refined sugar in loaves and lumps -	56 $\frac{5}{10}$
Bastard or ground sugar - - -	22 $\frac{5}{10}$
Melasses or treacle - - - -	28 $\frac{1}{10}$
Scum and dirt - - - - -	4 $\frac{1}{10}$
	112 lbs.

The bounty and drawback therefore, according to this calculation, will stand as follows, viz.

	£.	s.	d.
On loaf sugar - lbs. 56 $\frac{5}{10}$ - at 26s.	0	13	0 $\frac{1}{4}$
bastards - - 22 $\frac{5}{10}$ - at 15s.	0	2	11 $\frac{3}{4}$
		16	0
Duty paid - - - - -	0	15	0
		1	0
Difference -	0	1	0

So that the *apparent* loss to the revenue arising from the bounty is one shilling the cwt. and no more. But, as every hogshead of sugar loses considerably in weight, after the duty is paid, and before it is either exported or worked up, and as by the present strict regulations respecting tare, the duty is frequently paid for more sugar than the

casks really contain, it is but a moderate calculation to say that every hogshead (taking good sugars and bad together) loses 56 lbs. which at 15*s.* *per* cwt. the import duty, makes 7*s.* 6*d.* *per* hogshead loss to the planter, and a clear and certain gain to the revenue, let the sugar be disposed of as it may. Thus therefore is government reimbursed for a considerable part of what it appears to lose by the bounty, and the interest which it gains by a deposite of the whole duties on importation, makes up the remainder. The average annual import of raw sugar is about 160,000 hogsheads of 12 cwt. nett: now supposing every ounce of this was to be exported, and receive the drawback of 15*s.* *per* cwt. yet from the difference of weight alone in the same sugar, occasioned by an unavoidable waste, government would have received in duties, from this single article, between 50 and £.60,000 *per annum* more than it refunds in drawbacks and bounties on the same commodity.

The above is a plain statement of facts concerning the drawbacks and bounties allowed by government on the export of sugar from Great Britain.—Of the system at large, or general practice of allowing the duties on the home consumption, to be drawn back on the export of goods to foreign markets, enough has been said by other writers.—If it be true, as it is generally allowed to be, that Great Britain by this means establishes between her plantations and foreign countries, an advantageous carrying trade, the profits of which centre in herself, she has no just

reason to repine at the encouragement which is thus given to foreigners to resort to her markets. It is paying money with one hand, to receive it back, in a different shape perhaps, but in more than a tenfold proportion, with the other; and no considerate statesman will easily be persuaded to think such a system improvident and prejudicial.*

* Thus, in a tract by William Penn, intituled "The Benefit of Plantations or Colonies," that celebrated legislator expresses himself in the following terms:

"I deny the vulgar opinion against plantations, that they weaken England; they have manifestly enriched, and so strengthened her, which I briefly evidence thus: First, those that go into a foreign plantation, their industry there, is worth more than if they stayed at home, the product of their labour being in commodities of a superior nature to those of this country: for instance, what is an improved acre in Jamaica or Barbadoes worth to an improved acre in England? We know it is three times the value, and the product of it comes for England, and is usually paid for in English growth and manufacture. Nay, Virginia shews, that an ordinary industry in one man produces three thousand pounds weight of tobacco, and twenty barrels of corn yearly: he feeds himself, and brings as much of the commodity into England besides, as being returned in the growth and workmanship of this country, is much more than he could have spent here: Let it also be remembered, that the three thousand weight of tobacco brings in two thousand two-pences by way of custom to the king, which makes twenty-five pounds; an extraordinary profit. Secondly, *more being produced and imported than we can spend here, we export it to other countries in Europe, which brings in money, or the growth of those countries, which is the same thing; and this is the advantage of the English merchants and seamen.*"

To the same purport writes Doctor Charles Davenant, who, if I mistake not, held the very same employment of Inspector of the ex-

I am now brought to the third ground of objection; comprehending a subject of wider extent and more important consideration, than either of those which I have discussed in this chapter; and on which, prejudice, self-interest, ignorance, and misinformation, have jointly contributed to throw a veil of obscurity; I mean the privilege which is vested in the planters of the British West Indies, of supplying the British market with their chief staple commodities, in exclusion of foreigners; the high duties on foreign sugars, and some other products of the West Indies, operating (as they were meant to do) so as to prohibit their importation.

The leading principle of colonization in all the maritime states of Europe, Great Britain among the

ports and imports which is now exercised with such superior ability by Mr. Irving. "By whatever the returns (meaning the returns from our own plantations) are worth (said Doctor Davenant) beyond the goods exported thither, *the nation is, by so much, a gainer.* There is a limited stock of our own product to carry out, beyond which there is no passing. As for example, there is such a quantity of woollen manufacture, lead, tin, &c. which, over and above our own consumption, we can export abroad; and there is likewise a limited quantity of these goods which foreign consumption will not exceed. Now, if our expenditure of foreign materials be above this, and more than our own product will fetch, for the overplus we should be forced to go to market with money, which would quickly drain us, if we did not help ourselves other ways, which are, *by exchanging our plantation goods for their materials,*" &c. In another place, Davenant states the imports from all the plantations at the Revolution at £.950,000 *per annum*, "whereof (saith he) £.350,000 being consumed at home, is about equal to our exports thither, *and the remainder, viz. £.600,000 being re-exported, is the national gain by that trade.*"

rest, was, as I have elsewhere observed, *commercial monopoly*.—The word monopoly, in this case, admitted a very extensive interpretation. It comprehended the monopoly of supply, the monopoly of colonial produce, and the monopoly of manufacture. By the first, the colonists were prohibited from resorting to foreign markets for the supply of their wants; by the second, they were compelled to bring their chief staple commodities to the mother country alone; and by the third, to bring them to her in a raw or unmanufactured state, that her own manufactures might secure to themselves all the advantages arising from their further improvement. This latter principle was carried so far in the colonial system of Great Britain, as to induce the late Earl of Chatham to declare in parliament, *that*

To the foregoing authorities might likewise be added those of the honest and intelligent Joshua Gee, and the learned and accurate Doctor John Campbell; but perhaps, to a common understanding, the conclusion is too clear and self-evident to require illustration or authority; namely, *that the export from Great Britain to foreign markets of her colonial products is just as beneficial to the British trade, as the export of corn, or any other production of the mother-country, and equally increases the balance of trade in her favour*. I shall therefore only observe further, that the export of sugar alone from this kingdom for the supply of the foreign European markets during the years 1790 and 1791, was 277,656 cwt. of raw, and 278,391 cwt. of refined, which, at the rate of 4*s.* per cwt. for the raw, and of 90*s.* per cwt. for the refined, added £.1,600,000 sterling to the balance of trade in favour of the mother country, and enabled her to pay more than one-half the sum which is annually drawn out of the kingdom for the interest or dividends of money lodged by foreigners in the British funds.

the British colonists in America had no right to manufacture even a nail for a horse-shoe.

As a compensation for these restrictions and prohibitions on the colonies of Great Britain, to favour the navigation, revenues, manufactures, and inhabitants of the mother-country, the colonists became possessed of certain commercial advantages; among others, of the privilege before-mentioned—the subject of our present discussion—that of an exclusive access to the British market for the sale of their produce. Thus the benefits were reciprocal; and each country, Great Britain and her colonies, became a permanent staple, or mart, for the products and trade of the other.

Such was the arrangement, or double monopoly, which, with a few exceptions, Great Britain, in the plenitude of her imperial capacity, thought fit to establish. It was the basis of her commercial intercourse with her trans-atlantic plantations, and she terms it herself a system of “correspondence and kindness.”* Whether it was an arrangement founded in wisdom and sound policy, it is now too late to inquire. It has existed, it has been confirmed, it has been admired, it has been imitated; and the colonists have embarked their fortunes upon the faith of it. All therefore that remains, is to point out the value and importance of the colonial contribution. It is presumed that nothing more

* Preamble to the 15 C. II. ch. 7.

than this, is necessary to demonstrate that, if there is any security in the national faith, solemnly pledged and repeatedly ratified, the system is become a fixed and permanent *compact*; which cannot now be violated by either party, without the fullest compensation to the other, but on principles which, if admitted, may serve to justify a departure from the ordinary rules of justice on any occasion.

First then, as to the monopoly exercised by Great Britain of supplying their wants:—The colonists are prohibited from purchasing of foreigners, not only those articles which Great Britain can supply from her own resources, but also many which she is herself obliged to purchase from foreigners. Thus a double voyage is rendered necessary, that Great Britain may benefit by the freightage; the expense of which, and all other profits, being added to the cost of the goods, the extra price which the colonists pay is clearly so much profit to her, and loss to them. The commodities, which the British colonies in the West Indies might purchase on cheaper terms than at the British market, are various. East Indian goods, including tea, might at all times have been obtained from Holland, and of late may be bought very reasonably in America.* Germany would supply the coarser linens, an article of vast consumption in negro clothing, and France would fur-

* The tea imported by the Americans in 1791, directly from China, was 2,601,852 lbs.—Prices in Philadelphia 33 *per cent.* lower than in London, the drawback deducted.

nish soap and candles, silk manufactures of all kinds, cambrics, wines, and a thousand other articles of less importance. From the United States of America also might be obtained bar and pig-iron, salted beef and pork, salted and pickled fish, train and spermaceti oil, and some few manufactures, as beaver hats, and spermaceti candles, &c.* All these are articles of vast consumption, and are now supplied exclusively by Great Britain and her dependencies to an immense amount, and in British vessels only; and so rigidly have the laws of navigation been enforced by the mother-country, that not only the convenience and necessities of the colonies have given way to them, but a dreadful sacrifice has even been made to the system, of the lives of 15,000 of their miserable negroes, as the reader has elsewhere been informed!

On the same principle, to increase the shipping and naval power of the mother-country, the colonists are not permitted, even in time of war, to avail themselves of the cheapness and security of neutral bottoms, in sending their produce to the British market. By this second monopoly, Great Britain has secured to herself a preference of the whole world in the sale of their staple commodities, and is thus rendered independent of those nations from whom she was formerly supplied, (as the Portuguese for instance, who had the original monopoly

† The export of salted beef and pork from the United States of America in 1791 was 66,000 barrels. The medium price of the pork was 37s. sterling the barrel; of the beef 28s.

of sugar) and over whose exports she has no controul. That this is an advantage of no small account, appears from the following circumstance recorded by the author of an *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations*. "About the beginning of the present century (says that writer) the pitch and tar company of Sweden endeavoured to raise the price of their commodities to Great Britain, by prohibiting their exportation, except in their own ships, at their own price, and in such quantities as they thought proper." It is surely unnecessary to observe, that no such selfish policy can at any time be displayed by the subordinate and dependent governments of the colonies.

But the circumstance that presses with the greatest weight on the British planters in the West Indies, is that branch of the monopoly, which, reserving for the manufacturers in Great Britain, all such improvements as the colonial produce is capable of receiving beyond its raw state, or first stage of manufacture, prohibits the colonists from refining their great staple commodity (sugar) for exportation. This is effected by the heavy duty of £.4 18s. 8d. *the cwt.* on all refined or loaf sugar imported, while raw or muscovado pays only 15s. The difference operates (as it was intended) as a complete prohibition. "To prohibit a great body of people (says the author before quoted)* from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from em-

* *Wealth of Nations.*

ploying their stock and industry in the way that they judge most advantageous to themselves, is a manifest violation of the most sacred rights of mankind." To this violation however the West Indian planters have hitherto submitted without a murmur, considering it as one of the conditions of the compact, or reciprocal monopoly.

The great hardship on the planters in this case is, that the loss to them by the prohibition, is far more than proportionate to the gain acquired by Great Britain. As this circumstance is not fully understood, the subject not having, to my knowledge, been discussed in any of the publications that have treated of colonial commerce, I shall point out a few of the many advantages of which the planters are deprived by this restriction.

The first advantage would be an entire saving of the loss which is now sustained in the quantity of raw sugar, between the time of shipping in the West Indies, and the day of sale in Great Britain, arising chiefly from unavoidable waste at sea by drainage. To ascertain this loss with all possible exactness, I have compared, in a great many instances, the invoice weights taken at the time of shipping, with the sale weights of the same goods in the merchants' books in London; and I will venture to fix the loss, on the average of good and bad sugar, at one-eighth part: in other words, a hogshead of sugar weighing net 16 cwt. when shipped in Jamaica, shall, when sold in London, be found to weigh 14

cwt. only. The difference therefore is a dead loss both to the public and the planter. The former lose the use of two hundred pounds weight of sugar, and the latter, is deprived of its value, which, at 40*s.* *per* cwt. may be stated at £.3 6*s.* *per* hogshead, the merchants charges deducted.

But this circumstance requires further illustration. The quantity of raw or muscovado sugar imported into Great Britain, on an average of four years, (1787 to 1790, both inclusive) was somewhat more than 140,000 hogsheads of 14 cwt. at the King's beam. The drainage at sea amounted therefore to 280,000 cwt. being in value £.560,000 sterling.—Such is the loss to the public; and let it be remembered, that this loss is not merely contingent or possible, but plain, positive, and certain; it being as undeniably true, that 280,000 cwt. or 14,000 ton, of sugar was sunk into the sea, in the transportation of 140,000 hogsheads of the raw commodity, as that this number was imported into Great Britain; and it is equally certain, that every ounce of it would have been saved, if the planters had been permitted to refine the commodity in the colonies. The consequent loss to the revenue is easily calculated.

Concerning the planter however, other circumstances are to be taken into the account; for in this case he has a right to reckon not only on what he positively lost in the first instance, but also, on what he might probably have gained under a diffe-

rent system of regulations. I have stated his actual loss (the merchant's charges deducted) at £.3 6s. *per* hogshead; but another and a very considerable loss, is the melasses, of which 112 lbs. of raw sugar yield in the London refinery $28\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. I will say 28 lbs. only. On this proportion, a hogshead of raw sugar at the shipping weight (16 cwt.) would, if refined in the colonies, yield the planter 448 lbs. being equal to 64 gallons. This, valued at 9d. sterling *per* gallon, gives £.2 8s. It will be said perhaps that the British refiner includes the value of the melasses produced in the refinery, in the estimate of his profits, and is thereby enabled to give a larger price for raw sugar to the planter, who thus receives payment for the article said to be lost. It must be remembered, however, that the sugar-planter in the British West Indies is his own distiller; and having the necessary buildings, stills, &c. already provided, would convert this melasses into rum, without any additional expense; and by this means add to its value somewhat more than one-third. This additional value therefore would be clear profit. Thus, allowing 64 gallons of melasses to produce only 40 gallons of rum of the Jamaica proof, these at 1s. 10d. sterling the gallon, would yield £3 13s. 4d.: from which the original melasses being deducted, there will remain £.1 5s. 4d. which may therefore be estimated as the loss now sustained by the planter in the article of melasses, on every hogshead of muscovado sugar shipped to Great Britain, exclusive of the loss in the raw material before stated.

To the foregoing might perhaps be added the saving of freight, on the difference between the weight of raw and refined sugar; but I will reckon nothing on this account, because I am of opinion that any given quantity of refined sugar made into loaves, though less in weight, will nevertheless occupy more space than the full quantity of raw sugar from which it is made. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that the price of freight would be advanced in proportion; a circumstance which ought to obviate all manner of objection to the system, from the owners of ships employed in its transportation.

But the great and decisive advantage that would accrue to the planter from refining his own sugar in the colonies, arises from the circumstance that his capital, or stock, is already provided to his hands; without which the savings that have been stated would avail him but little. I mean, not only that he possesses the raw material, but also, that the buildings and apparatus of all kinds which are requisite for the manufacture of muscovado sugar, are, with a very small addition, all that are wanted for the business of refining.* The necessary additions on each plantation would consist chiefly of a drying-house, provided with stoves for baking the loaves,

* The planters of Jamaica frequently refine sugar for domestic use, and I have seen it done in as great perfection as in London. In St. Domingo a process has been discovered of refining muscovado with the juice of limes and lemons. A refiner from thence of the name of

and an annual supply of earthen vessels or moulds in which the loaves are formed: with the further provision of negr. labourers to be employed solely in the branch of the manufacture. The whole must be proportioned to the extent of the property. I have endeavoured to ascertain some rule for judging of this with as much precision as the subject will admit, and, without perplexing the reader with a variety of dry calculations, will observe generally, that an allowance of forty shillings sterling for each hogshead of muscovado sugar, I find to be abundantly liberal. This sum therefore I shall deduct from the difference of price at the British market between raw and refined sugar, which otherwise would be so much clear profit to the planter. The English refiner not having the same advantages, has to deduct the interest of a much larger proportionate capital, and far greater expenses in conducting the manufacture. Now 112 lbs. of raw sugar sold in London may be reckoned, when the prices are favourable, to yield the planter clear of all charges £.1 13s. The same quantity refined, would yield of loaves and bastards to the value of £.2 1s. 5d. exclusive of the melasses. The difference is 8s. 5d. *per* hundred weight, or £.5 17s. 10d. the hogshead of 14 cwt. Deduct from this the extra expense of refining in the colony (40s. *per*

Millet came to Jamaica in 1790, and introduced this practice with great success. I saw myself refined sugar made by him at Hyde Hall plantation in Trelawny, with no other material than the juice of limes and Seville oranges, which for transparency and elegance surpassed the finest treble refined produced by the London refiners.

hogshead) there remains £.3 17s. 10d. which being added to the former sums, it will be found that the whole loss sustained by the planter for the sake of the British refinery, is not less than £.8 9s. 2d. sterling on every hogshead of his sugar of 16 cwt. which he sends to the English market, amounting on 140,000 hogsheads to the prodigious sum of £.1,184,166 13s. 4d. sterling money! Perhaps the circumstance may come more immediately home to the reader, by shewing how this loss affects an individual. For instance, the average returns of Mr. Beckford's plantations are, if I mistake not, about two thousand hogsheads of sugar annually. He sustains therefore a loss of £.16,916 13s. 4d. *per annum*, that the British refiners may get about one-third of the money!

It is however to be remembered, that the preceding calculations are founded on the supposition that leave was granted to import refined sugar into Great Britain from the British colonies at the duties which are now paid on raw or muscovado. I am apprized that the revenue would, in that case, sustain a loss proportionate to the diminution in the quantity of sugar imported, unless it was (as undoubtedly it would be) made up by an adequate increase of the duties on the improved commodity. With every allowance however on this account (as well as for an increased rate of freight) the planter's profits would be sufficiently great; and, in truth, refined sugar imported from the colonies, would afford to bear a much heavier duty than merely

such a rateable contribution; so that the revenue would not be injured, but greatly improved by its importation, while the public at large would obtain sugar in its best state much cheaper than they obtain it at present.*

* It is not my business to seek out resources for increasing the public revenue, but as a matter of curiosity, I beg leave to subjoin the following facts: The quantity of raw or muscovado sugar imported from the British plantations into Great Britain in the year 1787, was 1,926,121 cwt. and the gross duty paid thereon was £.1,187,774 12s. 8d. If this sugar had been kept to be refined in the plantations, it would have been one-eighth more in quantity; that proportion having been lost at sea by drainage. This would have made 2,166,886 cwt. which, according to the computation of the London refiners, would have yielded 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf, and 425,638 cwt. of bastards (excluding fractions.) Now supposing the duty on loaf sugar had been only 10s. *per* cwt. more than the present duty on muscovado (which it would have well afforded) and the bastard sugar to have continued at 15s. *per* cwt. the British revenue in that case would have received as follows: (both the public and the planter being at the same time benefited in a high degree) viz.

		£.	s.	d.
On 1,083,443 cwt. of loaf	at 25s. <i>per</i> cwt.	1,354,303	15	0
425,638 cwt. of bastards,	at 15s. <i>per</i> cwt.	319,228	10	0
		<hr/>		
Duties which might have been levied	- -	1,673,532	5	0
Duties actually paid in 1787	- -	1,187,774	12	8
		<hr/>		
Difference in favour of the revenue	- -	£.485,757	12	4
		<hr/>		

Such is the sacrifice which is made by the planters of the West Indies, and the public of Great Britain, in supporting the private interests of that useless intermediate body of people the sugar refiners in England: who, whenever the casualties of war, or providential calamities have overtaken the West Indies, and thereby created a tempo-

Thus have I shewn the magnitude of the price at which the British colonists in the West Indies have purchased, for a century past, the monopoly of the British market for their chief staple commodities. It is monopoly for monopoly; an arrangement not framed by the colonies, but by the mother-country herself, who has suffered it to grow sacred by time, has recognized it by a multitude of laws, and enforced it by stricter ties and recent provisions.

rery advance in the price of raw sugar, have been the first to raise a clamour against the monopoly of supply enjoyed by the planters, themselves at the same time possessing the monopoly which I have described! It may not be useless to add, that those people are, in a proportion unknown in any other branch of trade, *foreigners*: who live in the most frugal way in England (about one thousand in the whole) and retire with their savings to their own country. There are few operations more simple, or which require a less expensive apparatus, than that of refining sugar. Can it then be just or reasonable to sacrifice to a manufacture, thus subordinate in its nature and limited in its extent, the essential interests of 65,000 British subjects in the West Indies, and half a million of money, which is now annually lost to Great Britain, that this manufacture may be supported? It is remarkable that the same observation occurred to Davenant, who wrote soon after the revolution in 1688. Speaking of the impropriety of laying heavy duties on the produce of the British West Indies, he proceeds in these words: "And here it may not be improper to take notice particularly, of the high imposition laid upon refined sugars imported hither, upon a wrong notion of advancing our manufactures, whereas in truth it only turns to the account of about fifty families (for the refiners of England are no more) and is greatly prejudicial, and a bar to the industry of at least 14,000 persons, which are about the number of those who inhabit our islands producing sugar." (*Davenant, Discourse 3, on the Plantation Trade.*) What would this author have said, had he known the fact which I have stated above?

Well therefore did a great statesman* observe, "that it was a compact more solemn than any that an act of parliament could create;" and when speculative men assert, and interested men complain, that a compact thus founded and supported is at this time not sufficiently favourable to Great Britain; the answer is obvious. If Great Britain regrets its operation and wishes to dissolve it, let her first make compensation to the colonists for all that they have undertaken, and the sacrifice they have made, under it; and next, when she releases herself from all future obligation to observe it, let the release be reciprocal; extending equally to one party and the other. This done, the colonists will have no cause to accuse her of injustice,—but this not done, they will assert that she has violated her faith with them; that her conduct is oppressive and fraudulent; and her statutes snares to the unwary.

In the mean time, it is impossible not to consider as exceedingly partial and unjust, those clamours and attempts by which, on any temporary advance in the prices of West Indian products, the public discontent is pointed towards the inhabitants of our sugar islands. They are partial, inasmuch as their authors consider the burthens and wants of the consumers on one side, without adverting to the burthens and distresses of the colonists on the other. They are unjust, as their manifest aim is to extend to rivals and foreigners, whose trade is not subject

* Mr. Fox.

to be controlled by British laws, those advantages which have been purchased by, and stand exclusively pledged to, the British West Indies, whose trade is still to be left bound by our regulations.— At this juncture indeed, now that the largeness of the exportation has demonstrated, that no foreign colonies in the West Indies can supply us with sugar, cheaper than our own, another project, of more fatal and extensive mischief, is resorted to; and the national attention is awakened by the hopes of a vast and profitable sugar culture, under the fostering protection of government, in the boundless regions of the East Indies. Those plantations which have hitherto proved more than adequate to our wants; which, from proximity and insular situation, are easily defended; which enrich our manufactures, encourage our fisheries, and return all their acquirements into the bosom of their alienated parent, are it seems to be neglected, and the national encouragement diverted to distant independent countries, whose inhabitants purchase but few of our commodities, and consume none of our fish, but take bullion instead of them; who rather send manufactures to our markets, than receive them from us; and whose exports may be checked and controlled by a thousand accidents which at this distance can neither be obviated nor foreseen. In short, by recommending the settlement of sugar plantations beyond the Cape of Good Hope, this project maintains that it is wise to remove encouragement from proximate and dependent colonies, to countries which, being placed beyond the reach

of civil regulations from hence, can be governed only by the sword, and which, at no very remote period, may regain their independence;—when however it will be too late to resort back to our ruined and deserted colonies in the West Indies!

If the reader imagines that the intention of this scheme is to open a sugar trade with the East Indies, to British subjects without distinction, it is necessary he should be informed that nothing is farther from the thoughts of its advocates and promoters. Their aim is to transfer the monopoly of the West Indies, to the monopolists of the East; being well apprized that a great importation of sugar for a few years from India, would effectually stop the cultivation of this article in the British colonies, after which the market would be their own; and the supply, as in the case of all other articles of *foreign* growth, be increased or diminished, as the interest of the importer, not of the public, should regulate and direct.

For myself, I am unwilling to believe that the British government has at any time meditated intentional injury towards the sugar islands, and therefore cannot be persuaded that such a project will ever receive the sanction and support of administration. The planters however, judging of the future by the past, have abundant cause for anxiety and alarm; and if it were permitted to an uncourtly West Indian to expostulate, freely and explicitly, with the king's ministers on the treatment which those colonies have experienced from the mother-

country during the last twenty years, and on the danger to be dreaded from innovation, he might display a statement of facts,—unpleasant indeed to hear,—but extremely difficult to controvert or elude. Such a person might, without any deviation from truth, present them with a detail not unlike the following :*

“ It is well known (he might say) that the sufferings of those colonies which fell under the dominion of France were very great ; and that at the conclusion of the war, such of the planters as survived the vexations of the enemy, and were not actually bankrupts in their fortunes, as a great many were, were reduced to embarrassments nearly approaching to it. For the honour of the British name it ought to be recorded, that no sooner was an island taken from under the British protection, than the property of its inhabitants was treated, to all intents and purposes, as the property of natural-born enemies. Your vessels of war cruised upon them, and made prize of our effects, wherever they were to be found. Even neutral flags afforded no protection against your depredations ; until the highest authorities in the law had pronounced such conduct to be illegal ; and parliament interfered to facilitate the passage of the products of Grenada, which having surrendered at discretion, were still exposed to capture. Even the hurricane, that most awful

* See *The Case of the Sugar Colonies*, from whence this detail is copied almost verbatim.

visitation of Providence, which usually arrests the vengeance of men, and by exciting softer affections, disposes them to acts of fraternity, lost its usual effect of procuring a passage even for the necessaries of life ; and those whom the storm had spared, your rapacity would have starved.

“ The war ceased, and with it the dominion of France over all the islands (Tobago excepted, which was ceded to her in perpetuity) ; but our miseries still survived ; for the treaty of 1782, which gave peace and independence to North America, only transferred hostilities to the sugar colonies ; as they have never ceased from that time to the present, to be harassed with vexations of one kind or another. The first measure by which they were annoyed, arose in the policy of the state. It was thought necessary to dissolve their connexion with the continent of North America. The consequence of which was, that Jamaica, being deprived of its produce of negro provisions by a series of tempests and unfavourable seasons, lost fifteen thousand of her slaves by famine. And yet you talk of humanity as if it were a national virtue !

“ What since has been the disposition of Great Britain towards us, may be learnt from the popular conversation at this day ; from the conduct of large bodies associated for the abolition of the slave-trade, and ultimately of slavery itself ; from the establishments projected and in execution, on the coast of Africa, with views declaredly hostile to our inte-

rests ; from the numbers of inflammatory paragraphs and calumnious pamphlets that daily issue from the press to prejudice the West Indian planters in the public opinion ; from the indefatigable circulation of addresses, exhorting the people to the disuse of West Indian sugar ; and lastly, from various proposals with respect to the reduction of the price of the commodity. In so many shapes does this spirit manifest itself, as to give just grounds to conclude, that something like a decided purpose is entertained for the total ruin of the sugar colonies, and that the vexations we have hitherto experienced, are only preliminaries to the system which is to be consummated by the grand measure of raising up rivals to our monopoly in your establishments in the east.

“ It has been imputed as a reproach to the sugar colonies, that they are expensive, and that they engage you in war. Never were the West Indian colonies the cause of war ; but whenever the two nations of France and England are engaged in any quarrel, from whatever cause it may arise, thither they repair to decide their differences. They are made the theatre of war ; they are the victims, but never the origin of the contest. The inhabitants of the French and English islands live in an habitual intercourse of good offices, and would wish for eternal peace ; and they have reason for it, for what are they to gain by war ?

“ When therefore we reflect upon the various means which have been employed to prejudice the

West Indian planters, we find ourselves totally at a loss to conjecture what it is that could excite so much acrimony against us ; as there exists none of those causes, which usually provoke the envy of men, and exasperate their malignity. The West Indians are not remarkable, (with very few exceptions), either for their gigantic opulence, or an ostentatious display of it. They do not emerge rapidly from poverty and insignificance into conspicuous notice. Such of them as possess fortunes of distinguished magnitude, as some gentlemen of Jamaica are happy enough to do, are not the creation of a day. Their names are to be found in the earliest records of the island, and their adventures were coeval with the first establishment of the colony, and of course their properties, such as we now find them, are the fruits of the toil of successive generations. Many there are indeed who have competencies that enable them to live, with economy, in this country ; but the great mass of planters are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their grasp, of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments. Such times as we have lately seen, if suffered to continue, might possibly have given effect to their exertions, and have lifted them out of their distresses. But it seems that poverty is considered as the legitimate heritage of every West Indian planter. They may encounter loss, and struggle with adversity ; but never are they to profit of contingencies that may enable them

to repair the disasters of adverse fortune, to which they are peculiarly subjected by their position.

“ If the minister means the ruin of the West Indian colonies, he may effect it by promoting the extensive cultivation of the sugar-cane in the East Indies, with a view to the supply of any part of the European market; and we have only equity to oppose to power, for we cannot repel injury. Murmurs would be unavailing, and our resentments impotent; but it would be a base desertion of interest, to suffer ourselves to be intimidated into a voluntary surrender of right. We protest therefore against any innovation, and adhere to the system of double monopoly: There we are at anchor; and if there is no security any where against the storms and afflictions of Providence, so neither is there against the injustice of men; but we shall at least have the consolation of not suffering the reproaches of our own bosoms, or of leaving accusers in our posterity!”

To such a remonstrance as the foregoing, respectfully but firmly delivered, it is difficult to say, what reply could be given. If, however, it is not the wish or intention of government to violate the national faith with the colonies, by depriving them of their monopoly, their apprehensions on that head may be easily removed. In this important business satisfaction being given, to the rest, if candour were to dictate an answer, although much must be admitted, much too might be said, and ho-

nestly said, to soften and conciliate. It may be urged that, however harsh and unkind the conduct of the mother-country has occasionally been thought, the colonies ought not to forget that they are indebted to her for all that they possess; their birth and origin, laws, government, religion and liberty; deriving from her parental solicitude and powerful protection, every circumstance that renders them prosperous in themselves, and enviable to others. If, during the fatal and destructive war which terminated in the dismemberment of the empire, they had their share—perhaps more than their share—of the general calamity, they will not forget that all of them that had suffered by capture (Tobago excepted) were restored by the peace to the blessings of a British constitution and government. Perhaps, since that time, a more liberal policy, a more generous freedom, might in some points have been wished and expected; but it should be remembered, that they enjoy, and have long enjoyed, as a compensation for commercial restraint, the privilege of the British market, and the benefit of the British capital. They possess too, every characteristic mark of a free people in their internal concerns. They are taxed solely by their own representatives, and have not only the image, but the substance also, of an English constitution. This whole state of commercial servitude and civil liberty (as a great writer* hath well observed) taken together, though certainly not perfect freedom, yet comparing it

* Mr. Burke.

with the ordinary circumstances of human nature, may be pronounced a happy and a liberal condition.

To the candid and ingenious, I trust I need not offer any apology for thus having suggested considerations, which may tend to obviate misapprehensions, remove prejudices, and mitigate anger between those, who though divided by local situation, are allied to each other by the dearest ties of interest, affection, and consanguinity. I have thought this the more necessary, as it appears, by the bitterness and acrimony with which some men speak of the sugar colonies, that their aim is to instigate the national resentment, and heighten the public animosity towards them. Instead of manifesting a disposition, "fond to spread friendships and to cover heats," these gentlemen seem to me to exert their talents in misrepresentations, which can answer no other end than to set the remaining parts of the empire at variance with each other. I look not in this place to any of those fanatical writings on slavery and the slave trade, which, equally disgraceful to humanity and letters, propagate the most daring and outrageous falsehoods without scruple or shame. I allude to authors of a very different stamp; to persons who, having the means of better information, and possessing abilities to influence the public opinion, have suffered the prejudices of party to bias their judgment. As a man personally interested in the welfare of the sugar colonies, I have attempted, by displaying their importance and value, to point out the wisdom and necessity of lenient councils, and a liberal indulgence

in the government of this kingdom towards them. In aiming however to encourage forbearance and kindness on the one side, I have, as a loyal and dutiful subject, endeavoured to conciliate affection, and promote filial obedience on the other. If the colonists reflect soberly, I am persuaded they will perceive that, in a contest with the mother-country, they have nothing to gain, and every thing to lose. Reflections of this kind, it is hoped, may dispose to mutual confidence and moderation ; and tend equally to promote the welfare of the colonies, and the strength, prosperity, and glory of Great Britain!

WEST INDIAN EXPORTS AND IMPORTS;

MADE UP FROM RETURNS TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*An Account of the Value of the West India Imports
General's Office*

YEARS.	VALUE.	YEARS.	VALUE.
1698 . . .	£.629,533	1724 . . .	£.1,379,702
1699 . . .	586,255	1725 . . .	1,394,949
1700 . . .	824,246	1726 . . .	1,380,202
1701 . . .	738,601	1727 . . .	1,992,222
1702 . . .	476,168	1728 . . .	1,648,889
1703 . . .	626,488	1729 . . .	1,223,236
1704 . . .	489,906	1730 . . .	1,535,546
1705 . . .	706,574	1731 . . .	1,291,910
1706 . . .	537,744	1732 . . .	1,303,387
1707 . . .	604,889	1733 . . .	1,617,705
1708 . . .	592,750	1734 . . .	1,009,956
1709 . . .	645,689	1735 . . .	1,840,255
1710 . . .	780,505	1736 . . .	1,458,087
1711 . . .	556,198	1737 . . .	507,866
1712 . . .	648,190	1738 . . .	1,417,301
1713 . . .	762,248	1739 . . .	1,854,204
1714 . . .	843,390	1740 . . .	1,651,611
1715 . . .	999,412	1741 . . .	1,428,047
1716 . . .	1,104,188	1742 . . .	1,339,613
1717 . . .	1,204,057	1743 . . .	1,429,742
1718 . . .	896,031	1744 . . .	1,164,972
1719 . . .	875,358	1745 . . .	1,541,217
1720 . . .	1,117,576	1746 . . .	1,173,069
1721 . . .	852,529	1747 . . .	9,390,658
1722 . . .	1,015,617	1748 . . .	1,616,000
1723 . . .	1,087,254		

* No alteration has been made in the Rate of Value of this O
actual value would greatly exceed the Inspector's calculation. s past, the

An Account of the Quantity of both of January 1699 and the 5th of January 1775; also, An Account of Exported: Distinguishing each Year, &c

YEARS.	Imported.			Raw Sugar Exported.		Refined Sugar Exported.			
	QUANTITY.			QUANTITY.		QUANTITY.			
	cwt.	qrs.	lbs.	cwt.	qrs.	cwt.	qrs.		
1699	427,573	2	25	182,325	2	197	1	23	
1700	489,326	1	7	165,391	3	881	2	10	
1701	435,465	1	21	133,917	3	046	1	9	
1702	259,062	3	6	45,036	1	449	3	15	
1703	408,914	0	1	84,016	2	599	3	24	
1704	315,837	2	12	133,713	1	624	3	14	
1705	370,157	1	7	71,822	1	687	0	2	
1706	335,873	3	3	107,217	0	689	0	11	
1707	388,267	3	26	131,832	2	616	3	27	
1708	377,107	2	11	64,180	3	0,111	0	1	
1709	397,570	3	12	74,377	3	0,801	3	21	
1710	507,662	1	21	117,075	2	0,928	2	2	
1711	366,394	1	26	82,142	2	1,846	3	15	
1712	423,541	0	1	119,567	1	12,325	2	15	
1713	503,528	1	8	184,609	0	13,508	3	20	
1714	512,221	3	0	158,996	3	11,224	3	7	
1715	617,414	3	11	143,337	1	12,298	1	15	
1716	684,759	2	16	161,941	3	14,364	2	1	
1717	763,175	3	14	290,179	2	80,017	3	2	
1718	566,885	0	1	124,375	1	16,758	0	23	
1719	544,634	0	25	167,622	0	62,771	3	0	
1720	706,385	3	20	121,778	0	07,626	2	10	
1721	497,611	0	21	66,743	3	58,650	3	18	
1722	616,941	0	9	83,609	2	08,891	1	7	
1723	660,766	2	9	63,479	1	87,033	2	23	
1724	729,133	2	13	110,088	1	102,514	3	19	
1725	851,952	2	25	147,408	2	176,302	3	23	
1726	668,346	1	9	146,915	3	14,851	2	0	
1727	645,158	0	1	112,699	3	27,602	0	10	
1728	972,240	0	1	210,310	3	135,968	1	12	
1729	994,761	3	24	158,746	2	39,273	2	27	
1730	1,024,078	2	3	167,980	1	134,041	2	16	
1731	818,277	1	12	95,832	0	43,609	1	19	
1732	822,844	3	15	121,904	3	55,210	0	13	
1733	1,001,784	2	0	102,274	0	31,300	3	23	
1734	695,679	3	9	44,932	0	29,543	3	26	
1735	903,634	2	22	69,899	2	34,089	0	14	
1736	877,591	0	24	58,569	3	2	69,790	3	20
1737	550,900	1	10	40,779	3				





