

JAMAICA, PAST AND PRESENT

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IT is the most natural thing in the world that the Dominion of Canada, lying where it does north of the equator, should desire and seek out some intimate relation, commercial or political or both, with some tropical region able to supply products which the northern region needs but cannot herself produce, and on the other hand ready and able to receive and absorb exports of such a northern country. Hence some Canadian statesmen have sought to link up the British West Indies with Canada. The recently concluded Trade Agreement on the lines of mutual preference is the latest erected milestone in the advance of a policy begun several decades ago. Whether or not in a future near or distant there lies beyond this commercial *rapprochement* a political union of any kind, remains to be seen. For the moment, whether such a union is desirable or not, it may be taken as a fact that there is not only a lack in the British West Indies of any great desire for political union with Canada, but that such a desire is a hardly appreciable quantity anywhere from the Bahamas to Demerara, from St. Kitts to Jamaica. Without doubt, the idea has individual supporters, but it is more difficult to find any group, political or industrial, that supports it at the present moment with anything like decision.

For this indifference, an indifference which merges at times from the coldness of apathy to the warmth of a kindling dislike when the scheme is pressed with too exuberant propaganda, there are more reasons than one. To one of them I may here refer. It is a feeling that British West Indians know too little about Canada and about Canadians to venture upon anything like a political union, especially since it is felt that Canadians know very little about the West Indies, and still less about the idiosyncrasies and mental ways of West Indians. Whatever the final form of the relationship, there is everything to gain and nothing to lose by distributing information in Canada about the West Indies, and by bringing home to the latter the facts about Canada's past and present. In this article I shall attempt to give a rapid but fairly comprehensive survey of the history of the political constitution of one of the British West Indies, to wit, Jamaica. I have heard a Canadian of the more radical type, who sat beside me watching and listening to the pro-

ceedings of the Legislative Council in Jamaica, say with disgust. "Is it possible that this is a British country? It is more like Russia from the official attitude." He found the political and legislative machinery so different from the full blown self-government of Canada, that it struck him as alien and as bound to be wrong. If, however, he had known the history that lay behind the machinery which he watched with such contempt, he might have modified his views, notwithstanding the fact that since Jamaica is older than Canada as a part of the British Empire by a little more than a hundred years, she might at first glance be expected to be at least as advanced as is the Dominion in her form of government and legislation. When Canada was discovered by Cabot in 1497, Jamaica had already been known to Europeans for three years. It was in 1494 that Columbus, coasting along South Cuba, and lured further south by the gestures of Indian fishermen who repeated the name Xaymāca and spoke of gold, came on a bright May morning in sight of those green fields and thickly wooded mountains from which, through the most delicate veil of grey blue mist, Jamaica looks down upon the white beaches and the slow thundering reefs of her northern shores. When in 1544 the French took possession of Canada, Jamaica had since 1509 been a Spanish possession,—Spanish with an intrusion of Portuguese. It was in 1655 that Jamaica became British, and it was not until 1763 that Canada passed by the Treaty of Paris into British hands. At that time, as we shall see, Jamaica possessed a political constitution which provided her with the full machinery of representative government, the elected House of Assembly with complete control over supplies, and the nominated Council. But as there was no responsible government represented by a cabinet, to go into power or to fall out of it, the Governor of Jamaica had then—as he has now under a semi-representative system—greater power to direct legislation than has the Governor-General of Canada, and it was a power then as now constantly brought into play.

Among the British West Indies, Jamaica is not only the most interesting on account of events, characters, and developments in her history, but among the insular units she stands far and away first in size of area, and in the whole West Indian region, continental as well as insular, she is by far the most populous. Jamaica has 4,200 square miles, and although the Bahamas have nominally about the same area, a great deal of the surface there is made up of small islands and scattered cays of little or no value for industrial purposes. Trinidad is rather more than one-third of the size of Jamaica. Barbados could be tucked away in one of the Jamaica

parishes, while Bermuda has just about twenty square miles, not much more than three times the size of Kingston, the capital of Jamaica. As for population, British Guiana with her 90,300 square miles, counts no more than some 350,000 persons, while Jamaica is nearing 900,000, and could easily carry twice that number.

That British colonization and its out-growth, colonial administration, are opportunist, taking the colour and tint and adopting the manner of local conditions and historical remainders, is clearly shown in the variety of form given to the constitutions of one British West Indian colony and another. There is Barbados, for instance, from first to last British, and from first to last holding fast to a fully representative form of government, though not a form of *responsible* government. The Lower House, the Assembly, entirely elective, has its Speaker after the model of the Mother of Parliaments, and holds the purse-strings. Then there is the nominated Legislative Council. The Executive Council is appointed by the Governor, but he is bound to include in it the Speaker of the House of Assembly. Finally, there is the Executive Committee which introduces all money votes and initiates Government measures, a body which must include four members from the elected House, though they are nominated by the Governor. At the other end of the line is Trinidad, a colony which changed hands more than once in the fortunes of war, between the date of its discovery by Columbus in 1498 and the present time. Famous for its connection with Raleigh, whose son died in battle there, raided by Dutch and by French, captured from Spain by the famous General Sir Ralph Abercrombie (destined a few years later to die in battle amid Egyptian sands), and finally ceded to Britain in 1802, it carries a wonderfully mixed population, including English, Portuguese, French, Spanish, a great many East Indians, some Chinese, and colonists from the neighbouring South American continent. Its government is entirely without the elected element, although the Legislative Council contains eleven unofficial members. These are appointed by the Governor. Into the constitution of British Guiana have been wrought various remainders of law and method inherited from the old days of Dutch domination. Here there is an elected element in the Court of Policy. Most surprising perhaps of all the cases in the West Indies where Crown government is pursued pure and simple without any admixture of the elected element, is British Honduras. This region on the coast of Central America, just about double the size of Jamaica but with only some 50,000 people, has a purely official and nominated legislature, in which the elected element finds no place. Yet the beginning of

British Honduras was in the simplest of simple democratic forms. The first British to land there were the sturdy logwood cutters, who held on by their teeth, so to speak, against the repeated attempts of the Spaniards to drive them forth or to exterminate them. By degrees they shaped rough regulations and formed rules in their village Council for their own guidance. In 1756, the British Government, yielding to their entreaties, sent Admiral Burnaby as Commissioner. He gathered the regulations into a rough code, and by-and-by superintendents began to be regularly appointed by Britain. Then under a Lieutenant-Governor, British Honduras came beneath the aegis of Jamaica, and it had an elected Council. That Council disappeared, and to-day we have a Legislative Council from which the elected element is entirely absent. But it is to be noted that in British Honduras, as elsewhere in the British West Indies, there is now a movement for constitutional extension.

In Jamaica the existing constitution dates from 1884. It has its place between that of Trinidad and that of Barbados. It is representative, and includes an elected element. There is a Governor who holds his office at the pleasure of the Crown, but generally for four or five years, although there has been a Governor who held his position for only six months, and another,—the Duke of Manchester—who, during the early part of the 19th century, remained Governor for 19 years. There is a Privy Council, from which the Governor must take advice, and whose advice he must follow unless he is convinced that it would not be for the public welfare so to do. He can then act according to his own opinion, reporting the matter to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the members of the Privy Council whose advice is over-ruled have the right to have that advice recorded. The Privy Council consists of the Governor, the Colonial Secretary, the Senior Military Officer, and the Attorney-General, sitting *ex officio*, and there are four members nominated by the Governor who serve five years.

The Legislative Council has an official element, a nominated element, and an elected element. There are fourteen elected members, one for each parish. The official and nominated members with the Governor, who is President of the Council, number 16, and as the nominated members are pledged in vital matters to support the Government, the latter has a permanent majority. The pivot point in this constitution, where the stress tells most directly, is the power of the elected members to check Government proposals, and especially their power to check financial measures. Except when the Governor declares that the measure is of paramount importance, nine elected members voting together can hold up any

financial proposal and reject it. If fourteen of them vote together they can have the same effect on any measure, financial or otherwise. This is a constitution that presupposes mutual trust and good-will and give and take among the different parts of the Legislature. It does not pre-suppose partisanship. The various parts are inseparable. The government cannot get rid of the elected members, and the elected members cannot by defeating the government change its personnel.

Behind the appointment of the nominated members there lies a rather unexplored region in the Jamaica constitution. These members are bound to the Government so far as their votes go, at one or two vital points, where the Governor pronounces the matter as of paramount importance. On other occasions they are allowed to vote against the Government if they so please, or to square the matter by being absent when the vote is taken. Beyond this, however, they seem to be intended to represent the minorities, not directly represented by the elected members, and to speak for island-wide interests not specially identified with any particular parish. In this constitution, when its idea is fully carried out, the attitude of the Government is this: "We govern, we are here to be helped by your arguments and facts, and we shape measures in view of these, but we remain permanently. The measures we propose we place before you as the best; if you think the contrary, convince us that you are right." To elected members the constitution gives considerable and effective power, but its weak point is that it so much confines them to criticism, and to the work of blocking or rejecting the Government's proposals. They can defeat financial measures, but without the Governor's sanction they cannot initiate such measures. Their power is a destructive power, and it works up and down on the same limited line.

To find the historical background and the story of the beginning and growth of this constitution, we must go back to 1655 when the island became British. It was taken from the Spaniards, but the 150 years of Spanish rule do not concern us here. That period has little connection with the living present in Jamaica. In 1655 Cromwell despatched the greatest naval expedition which had up to then ever left the shores of Great Britain. As it put to sea from Portsmouth no one on board knew whither it went, for the fleet sailed with sealed orders, and even its commanders did not know its intended destination until the ships were in mid-Atlantic. Two great nations watched it with fear and apprehension. They were Spain and France. It was against the former that the

blow was levelled, for it was the island of San Domingo in the West Indies that Penn and Venables were ordered to attack.

We must make some attempt to realize the strangeness of the world into which these British sailors and soldiers came on their mission of conquest. To-day the nations' boundaries and borders are measured, marked, cut and set. The world is like a well known property, but in 1655 it was not so. To-day, wherever the tides crest and thunder, the flag of Britain streams. Through the recesses of ocean's most remote archipelago that flag is honoured, Britain's influence is felt, and her power is recognized. But in 1655 it was not yet so. The men crowded on the decks of the ships that went forth from Portsmouth, drilling on the sands of Barbados, were pioneers of British colonization and conquest. We were then at the beginning of our empire. In India it was the Portuguese and the French who were known, and in Canada so far as the European was known it was the French who held sway. Australia to the outside world was not yet, and New Zealand was hidden in the mists of the Undiscovered.

In the West Indies indeed the British hand was at the Spanish throat, but the forces of Spain stood round in almost overwhelming might. The island dot of Barbados, the pin-prick of St. Kitts—these were British, while all around, like huge hounds watching the small quarry, stood Spanish Porto Rico, Spanish Cuba, Spanish Jamaica, the Vice-royalty of Mexico, and Spanish power down to South America.

Launched against San Domingo, the expedition failed there disastrously; it passed on to Jamaica, which it easily captured. There followed terrible days of demoralization, disorder, disease and death: days of horrible inertia and feeble clamour, of hunger and epidemic, but amid all that pain, agony, and confusion a band of officers and men steadfastly prepared for the Spanish counter attack, hand on hilt as it were. In 1658 the blow fell, and the Spanish attack was crushed on the banks of the Rio Nuevo. The years that followed saw those wars which Britain waged with her enemies, Spain, France, Holland, Denmark. Vernon, Nelson, Benbow, Rodney, and many other great captains moved in the island then. Within the island too, ever dark with threat, now and then breaking into the lightnings of death, like thunder-clouds over the mountains lay the peril from the Maroons, and from slave rebellions. Amid these things the settling of the country went forward at the hands of men, hard, brave, enduring, even cruel, fit to play their part—those old planters—in that scene of tumult, unrest, and peril, while side by side with war and battle they pushed forward the

industrial development of an island which had not till then known the coffee, the logwood, or the breadfruit.

While, between 1655 and 1658, Edward D'Oyley and his comrades struggled against Spanish attack, Maroon foray, and against mutiny, martial rule was all that could be; but when in 1660 Charles II gave D'Oyley his commission as the first British Governor of Jamaica, he bade him assemble a Council which was to be elected. D'Oyley had such a Council, but it does not appear to have been elected. He probably nominated his Colonels and some of the chief planters. He was succeeded towards the end of 1660 by Lord Windsor, an able man whose time in Jamaica was, however, only about three months. He was instructed not only to maintain the Council supposed to be already in being, but with its advice to call an Assembly which was to be elected, and which was to make laws and raise money. More significant still, Windsor brought with him the King's proclamation declaring that "all children of natural born subjects of England to be born in Jamaica shall from their respective births be reputed to be free denizens of England, and shall have the same privileges, to all intents and purposes, as free born subjects of England." Windsor, however, did not call an Assembly. The first fully recognised Assembly came into existence only in 1664, when, coming from Barbados with planters 1,000 strong, Sir Thomas Modyford arrived as Governor. The Assembly which he summoned had the power of making laws and of raising revenue, but with this restriction, that if a law, passed by the Legislature, agreed to by the Governor, did not receive the Royal assent, it remained in force for two years only. On this basis legislation proceeded, but there were very few of the island laws which did receive the Royal assent.

In 1675 there came as Governor, John, Lord Vaughan. There was now a new development. The laws sent by him to England for the Royal assent were referred to the Committee of Trade and Plantations. That Committee advised the King that in future no Assemblies should be summoned in Jamaica except by Royal direction, and that in future the method of legislation should be as follows. The Governor of Jamaica was to frame such measures as he thought the island should have, taking of course the advice of his councillors. These laws would be sent on to the King in Council. Given there the shape which it was thought they should have finally, they were to go back to the Governor to be laid by him before the Assembly, and by it to be passed or rejected as they stood. This was a radical change.

The man selected to carry it into effect was of somewhat remarkable personality, namely the Earl of Carlisle. He arrived in

1678, and began his hopeless task, for hopeless it was. He summoned an Assembly, and put before it the laws which he had brought over. They were rejected; and despite all his diplomacy, his threats, arguments, and protestations, the Jamaica legislators stood like rocks against this change. Finally, as we learn from the pages of the historian Bryan Edwards, Carlisle lost both his temper and his common sense. On a flimsy pretext he deposed Samuel Long as Chief Justice, dismissed the Assembly, and ultimately Long was sent to England under bond of £10,000 to appear before the King in Council. Appear he did, and so successfully did he argue the case for Jamaica, that the proposed change was set aside, and on the 30th of October, 1680, "Colonel Long and the other gentlemen from Jamaica", being called into the Council Chamber, were acquainted with the fact that they were to "enjoy the same method of making laws as is now appointed for Barbadoes."

Matters resumed their old course, although very few of the laws passed in Jamaica received the Royal assent, and therefore they expired automatically after two years. In 1716 a slight change was made. The Governor was instructed not to agree to any law which repealed one previously confirmed by the Crown, unless the repealing law contained a suspension clause till his Majesty's pleasure was known. This prohibition was afterwards extended to all repealing acts, whether or not they related to laws which had received the Royal Assent.

As the years passed, strain and tension developed between the island Legislature and the authorities in Britain. There were frequent deadlocks. Again and again the Assembly by refusing to vote supplies placed the Governor in great difficulty. The Assembly contended that the laws of England were in force in Jamaica, and that the King's Jamaican subjects had the full rights of the subjects of England. The authorities in England would not grant this, and the Assembly retaliated by voting money bills that were limited to only a few months. The Governor was then instructed to refuse his assent to any such bill for a period shorter than a year. Acting on these instructions, Governor Lord Archibald Hamilton in 1712 found himself left by the Assembly without provision for paying the troops. This was a serious matter, for in those days the island carried a large garrison and needed it. He obtained money by advances from the British Government and paid the troops. The Assembly refused to provide money to pay off the advances. It was obstinate on the question, deadlock followed deadlock, and at length Governor Hamilton left with the amount still unpaid, nor indeed was it ever paid off

by the Assembly, although that body was requested to do so in a letter bearing the signature of King George I himself. The money was lost to the Imperial Government. In the same way towards the end of the 18th century under Governor Henry Lyttelton, a particularly able but rather tactless man, a sum of about £12,000, drawn from the Imperial Government to help the Governor out of a like fix regarding the payment of troops, was never refunded.

This condition of political quarrel, tension and strain, continued growing in intensity, until in 1728 relief came by a settlement which was negotiated with the Assembly by the Governor, Major-General Robert Hunter. A Scotchman with a career of varied adventure, he rode in Marlborough's great cavalry charge at Blenheim, was afterwards a prisoner of war in Paris, and was Governor of New York immediately before his arrival in Jamaica. A man who was able to conciliate opponents, he studied the facts regarding Jamaica before he arrived in the island, and the long disputed demand of the Assembly was settled on the basis of the Assembly granting to the Crown a permanent revenue up to £8,000 per annum, which was to be used chiefly to pay certain salaries, while on the side of the Crown the Royal assent was given to the Jamaica laws, and it was finally declared in a measure approved of on May 29th, 1729, that "All such laws as have been at any time esteemed, introduced, used, accepted, or received as laws of this island, shall and are hereby declared to be and continue laws of this His Majesty's Island of Jamaica for ever." It is an Act which has been termed by one Jamaican historian, Jamaica's Magna Charta.

This settlement of 1729 ended the tension in one, and the chief, direction between the Legislature in Jamaica and the British Government, but there was plenty of room in the following years for bitter disputes between the Governor and the Legislative Council on the one hand, and the elected Assembly on the other. From 1729 and on till 1853 the Jamaica Constitution maintained the same form. There was the Governor, the nominated Legislative Council consisting almost exclusively of officials not having the power to initiate legislative measures of any kind, and the elected Assembly to which each parish returned two and in some cases three members.

Between 1729 and 1853 the island passed through many phases of fortune, and was exposed to the reactions from many great world events. The continual wars which Britain waged through the 18th century and down to 1815, the beginning, progress, and culmination of the great struggle which dragged down slavery in 1838, and the adoption of a Free Trade policy in 1846, were the events which most affected Jamaica. As the struggle with slavery pro-

ceeded, growing in stress, intensity and bitterness, the West Indian planters with more and more violence and bitterness withstood what wiser and calmer minds would have seen to be inevitable. Threats of armed rebellion, of secession to the United States of America, and even of using the Jamaica Militia to defy the British Army, filled the air. From all this there was a deteriorating reaction on the tone and temper of the island Legislature, where men talked as if the Parliament of Great Britain itself had not the power to pass any measure over the head of this local assembly. Ultimately Parliament indicated that if Emancipation was not enacted by the local Legislature, it would be passed into law by an Act of the Imperial Parliament itself. It took the same course regarding prison reform in the British West Indies.

Many hard things have been said of the West Indian planter regarding his opposition to Emancipation. Some of these were well deserved. Upon others we must look as on facts exaggerated by a distorting medium. Just as the planter misunderstood and misrepresented the missionary, so for the most part the missionary misunderstood and misrepresented the planter, and thus it always is with the one side and the other as a great reform thunders on to its climax. Bitterness grows. Men misrepresent their opponents because they misunderstand their motives and their point of view. The air grows dark with exaggerations, vituperation, and by and by with deliberate mis-statements, and all this was particularly true of the struggle for emancipation of the slaves as that struggle is reflected in Jamaica history.

It is doubtful whether there is any group in the population which when its rights, privileges and property are attacked, as were the rights, privileges and property of the planters, would not offer stern and determined opposition to change or reform. But the planter's great failure was his inability to recognise the inevitable. And so 1838 found him with his face still set towards the shadows of the past, with his sullen gaze seeing in the present only the difficulties, the dangers, and the possible disasters. The future to him was only gloom, although in the sky of time bright as the star of dawn shone the morning light of liberty and of a new era. The brave, sturdy, enduring class of men who had served their island so well amid the storm and tumult of the centuries back to 1655, failed the island at the beginning of her modern story, because they lacked vision, and they lacked vision largely because a part of their powers had become atrophied by the long continued habit of arbitrary control of slaves.

The Emancipation, then, left Jamaica in a disturbed condition.

There was legislative stagnation and deadlock. There was a refusal to carry out the vital business of the country, and to make it possible to fulfil every-day administrative functions. An example of the tone and spirit of the Legislature towards the Governor, whoever he happened to be, is the incident in connection with the Marquis of Sligo, who was Governor from 1834 to 1836. His opening address to the Assembly was conciliatory and guarded in the highest degree. A little later, however, the Assembly having undertaken to order an enquiry into the action of commissioners who acted under the authority of the Imperial Parliament, the Governor courteously informed the House by a message that these gentlemen were under the authority of the Imperial Parliament. At once the Assembly began a long search after precedents, and then voted the message a breach of privilege, about which they continued to quarrel until Sligo, whose action had been technically wrong, left the island.

Lord Melbourne, then at the head of the Whig Ministry in Great Britain, sought a remedy for the position of deadlock in Jamaica by introducing a measure to suspend the island's constitution. Over this his Government was defeated, but when it almost immediately returned to power, it passed a measure for the execution of which a new Governor was sent to Jamaica. In case the Legislature there continued to refuse to pass measures necessary to maintain the public administration, the Governor had power to enact or to re-enact those measures. The new Governor was Sir Charles Metcalfe, who came with a fine record of service in India, and who passed on from Jamaica to be Governor-General of Canada. The task to which he was sent in Jamaica was a most difficult one, but his wisdom, self-control, broad vision, and above all his gift of conciliating men while maintaining the line of policy which he was sent to direct, enabled him to restore to the Legislature good-will and the spirit of co-operation. The Legislature having once more recapitulated its long list of grievances, then settled down to legislation. After Sir Charles Metcalfe came the Earl of Elgin who gave a great impetus to the island's industrial life. In after years Governor-General of Canada and Viceroy of India, he stands out as one of the great statesmen of the Empire. In Jamaica his term of office seemed the dawn of a new day, but just beyond it the island entered a zone of economic stress and depression. Great Britain had adopted Free Trade. Whatever her need of it, and whatever its larger results, its reaction in Jamaica was deadly, and whatever other causes contributed to the industrial paralysis that spread so heavily over the island from 1846 to 1866, giving due weight to the

evils of faction, class cleavage, obdurate race antagonism, a lack of vigour and vision combined on the part of the planters, we must regard the results of Free Trade as one of the chief factors in producing that condition of inertia to which I have referred.

Under a very ordinary Governor, Sir Charles Grey, the struggle and stress of retrenchment began, and once again the Legislature was plunged back into the wranglings and deadlocks which had marked periods of the 18th century. Ultimately when Grey left, the British Government took the opportunity to bring in a new Governor specially charged with securing a change of the constitution, practically the only change between 1729 and 1865. The new Governor came from British Guiana. He was Sir Henry Barklay, afterwards known for his service in South Africa and elsewhere.

The Jamaica Treasury was bankrupt. To finance a new start the Imperial Government advanced half a million pounds, but at the same time it required some constitutional readjustments. These were, however, rather in the direction of extension than in that of contraction. The chief change was that the Governor was to appoint an executive Committee of three or four members of the Legislature. This was a kind of Cabinet or Ministry, bringing the Governor into contact with the rest of the Legislature as his official organs of communication, and it was semi-“Responsible Government” as well as representative government, because if the executive Committee suffered defeat that was significant the Governor could remove its members. Under this amended constitution individual members of the Assembly could no longer introduce financial measures unless these were recommended by the executive Committee. The old Legislative Council was abolished, and the new Council, instead of consisting almost exclusively of officials, had only five officials among its 17 members. It was now for the first time given the power to initiate any legislative measure, provided this did not propose the raising of taxes, or the spending of public money. The qualification of an unofficial member of the Legislative Council was the owning of a freehold estate bringing in an annual income of £300, or paying direct taxes of £30. In the House of Assembly, where the number of representatives continued to be 47, a member was required to be a freeholder with an income of £150 from lands, or £200 or £300 otherwise. The electors were men with freeholds of an annual value of £6, with a salary of not less than £50, or who paid direct taxes of at least 20s. The population being estimated at about 442,000, the electors were about 1,800, and, in 1863, of these 1,482 voted.

This was the constitution as it stood in 1865 when, towards the

end of that year there occurred "the Morant Bay rebellion." After the rebellion, the Imperial Government appointed a Royal Commission. The evidence taken before it and which fills a very large volume, was given by men and women, by the rich and the poor, the lettered and unlettered, by professional men, officials and labourers. The then condition of Jamaica is spread out in it as in a panorama. It is a picture which at almost every point presents inertness, deterioration, and inefficiency, the clamour of faction, discontent, and distrust. Roads neglected, public buildings decaying, an unskilled judiciary, a feeble police! It was a saddening scene on which in 1865 the curtain fell. By a vote of the Assembly the old constitution was given up and Crown government was instituted.

That is one of the most fiercely discussed periods in the history of the island, and round it the air is dark with fierce denunciations, bitter criticism, and rhetorical abuse, and yet he who enquires into the facts calmly will see that it was with Crown government beginning in 1866 that Emancipation, enacted in 1838, was at length effectively and practically applied to the conditions of the population as a whole. It was the final breaking up of the caste system, and the placing of all sections of the community on an equality before the law. There was an emergency to be met, and it had to be met by special methods. It would probably have been much better for Jamaica if in 1838 Great Britain, putting aside her sometimes too tender regard for the forms of self-government, had then applied Crown government to Jamaica, given the island ten, fifteen or twenty years of constructive administration, and then re-established representative government.

The new Governor in 1866 was Sir John Peter Grant. He had made his mark in India. Allotted in Jamaica to difficult administrative work, he was given full power to do it. By an Order in Council a single Legislative body was created. It consisted of six official, and six unofficial, members. Sir John had to do his work, especially at first, in an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion, surrounded by criticism and passive resistance. The condition of the country was one of neglect. There was a load of debt on the Treasury, and in addition there was a large bill to be met in connection with the recent rebellion. The country in its poverty already felt the existing taxation to be galling and irksome, but Sir John had no choice. His first step had to be an increase of taxes. By 1868, however, a surplus had been created, the first known in the Jamaica Treasury for many years. When Governor Grant in 1874 retired from the governorship, he had begun to reduce the taxes imposed under his hand, and he had organized or laid the

foundations for almost all the public services now in existence in Jamaica. He had driven out corruption and the worst kinds of inefficiency from the public service. He had organized scattered administrative groups. The Public Works Department was created, and the Judiciary was remodelled, so that it acquired a new position in the confidence of the country. The Medical and Educational Services were put on a new footing, and so were the Police, who in 1865 had shown themselves weak to a pitiable degree. The system of irrigation from the Rio Cobre gave new wealth to the plains of St. Catherine round the old capital, public buildings were restored, and roads repaired and built. It was at this period that the fruit trade of Jamaica, now represented by the export yearly of many millions of bunches of bananas, was begun by private enterprise, marking the beginning of a return of confidence in outside capital towards the island, of whose condition during the mid-period of the interval between the departure of Elgin and the coming of Grant, Sewell in his *Ordeal of Free Labour* presents such a dark picture. In Jamaica, Sir John Peter Grant proved himself an able, resolute, great and successful administrator. He has been bitterly reproached for spending largely. That expenditure, however, was the necessity of the situation. Its justification was that under his hand there arose a reconstructed country.

By 1884 Crown government had destroyed itself by its very success. The island, which had recovered its normal political and industrial health, felt the need of a change. By an Order in Council the present constitution was created, and if, as is the case, that constitution now needs some modification to bring the Privy Council into more direct touch with the people, and to give the elected members more power of initiative, this is not because the constitution has not given Jamaica a very good government, absolutely free from graft or corruption, stable, capable, and steadily aiming at doing justice to every section of the community.