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THE
A. B. C.
OF
COLONIZATION.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

BY
MRS. CHISHOLM.

No. I.

ADDRESSED TO THE GENTLEMEN FORMING THE COMMITTEE
OF THE
FAMILY COLONIZATION LOAN SOCIETY,

VIZ.

LORD ASHLEY, M.P., THE RIGHT HON. SYDNEY HERBERT, M.P.,
THE HON. VERNON SMITH, M.P., JOHN TIDD PRATT, ESQ.,
F. G. P. NEISON, ESQ., M. MONSELL, ESQ., M.P.

HAVING APPENDED

A LETTER TO LORD ASHLEY,

AND THE

RULES OF THE FAMILY COLONIZATION LOAN SOCIETY.

LONDON:
JOHN OLLIVIER, 59, PALL MALL.

1850.

TO THE COMMITTEE
OF THE
FAMILY COLONIZATION LOAN SOCIETY.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR having done me the honour to comply with my solicitation in becoming Members of the Committee of the Society which I have ventured to suggest with the view of carrying out a comprehensive and self-supporting system of Colonization, I feel myself called upon, considering your position as public men, and the onerous and numerous duties you may have to attend to, to explain more fully to you and to the public at large the principle of the proposed Society, and how I think it may be worked in detail in the Australian Colonies. Although it is not yet three months since this plan was first submitted to the public, I have the pleasure to inform you that without any prominent move whatever having been made in the matter, that about 370 individuals have already enrolled themselves into groups, consisting of respectable families of the working classes, a few young men, and some friendless young women; the whole party can contribute £.1200. towards their passage; some reside in London and its immediate vicinity, while others have sent in their names from the rural districts in England and Wales, and I have had several applications also from persons in Scotland and Ireland, anxious to join the Society, but who at present

are unable to state how much they can contribute. This first step is highly encouraging to the benevolent who may feel disposed to aid struggling families and deserving individuals.

In propounding any new plan, it is usual, and it may become desirable, at times, in order to elucidate one's own, to refer to some existing system of the same nature; if then I have to revert to the mode of emigration carried on by her Majesty's Emigration Commissioners, and have to remark that some grave evils exist which ought to be rectified, I must at the same time allow that they have had to compete with many difficulties, and that I know from long tried experience in these matters, that the greatest care cannot at all times prevent abuses. In this emigration it must be borne in mind, that the Board of Commissioners are but the agents of the squatting interest, or men of capital in the Australian Colonies, and that they are often necessitated to enforce rules which their best feelings must shrink from. Indeed, it has always been a source of deep regret to me that an office which is precluded by stringent regulations from carrying out a national system of colonization, should ever have been called, Her Majesty's Land and Emigration Commissioners; for I would have her Majesty's name connected in the minds of the peasantry of England, Ireland, Scotland, and of the Colonies, with every feeling that could cherish their loyalty and conciliate their affection,—I should like every one to feel that under that revered name it mattered not, when they made application for a passage, what country they came from, so that they were British subjects—what creed they professed, so that they were loyal and peaceable men. I hold it to be derogatory to the high and moral feeling of Englishmen, that under the insignia of

the Royal Arms of England, modest British matrons should be asked the question, "Whether any increase to the family is expected, and when?"

I consider it a gross outrage to humanity—a violent rending of the tenderest ties of nature, and injurious to morality, that heads of families above 40 years of age and those who have a certain number of children under ten years of age, should be excluded from the advantages and rights of emigration—that under other rules children beyond a certain number should be taxed £7. each on account of passage-money—that again single men passed the age of 35 should not be considered eligible, and that the "candidates most acceptable are young married couples without children." These, indeed, are evils, trials, temptations, and stumbling-blocks thrown in the way of weak human nature, which ought not to be; humanity should forbid it, and religion ought to raise her voice against it; the aged, if able to go, should not be left to pass the remainder of their days round a lonely and cheerless hearth, or to find their way to the workhouse. These evils, however, must not be charged to the Commissioners, for they are only the agents of a system, and I should not be doing justice to those Gentlemen, or to my own feelings, if I did not here acknowledge the many obligations I am under to them. But the country which had cheerfully paid twenty millions sterling to strike off the cankering chains of slavery, is not likely to countenance this violence to the dearest feelings of our nature. Colonization then, must be the instrument which must be used for breaking asunder these barriers thrown up against the natural egress of the people. Viewing it in a political light, I consider it highly injudicious for a Government to be in connection with an

agency, the principles of which are calculated to wound irritate, and annoy the best feelings of a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects. If the Commissioners will but cease to act as mere agents of a party, and convert their office into a National Crown Land Office, it will become the most popular department under the Crown, always provided that impartiality on the one side, and justice on the other balance the scales. Why should not a Government gain and hold the affections of a people the same as a parent does of his children? What has it to do but to fulfil the laws of God, and to act equitably towards its people? The one is the natural guardian of his offspring, the other the deputed one of those who form the commonwealth.

The evils connected with emigration which are now before the public, though they may be pretty familiar to those who are conversant with the system, shew the deep responsibilities which a Society like the one proposed will have to incur, and the great necessity that will exist for its devising every precautionary means to lessen, and if possible, entirely to do away with the abuses complained of. A Society such as that contemplated would commence its labours with many advantages over those which Her Majesty's Commissioners have enjoyed, or a mercantile House can command. The objects of such a Society's care are not deterred from emigrating by the mercenary and calculating consideration of age, or whether their families number many or few children; nor would the Society, like a mercantile firm, enter into any scheme of mere speculative emigration. A Society of this nature, if judiciously managed, may converge the moral force of the nation into its service, and engage the sympathy of every local committee, and every benevolent contributor. If an

act of oppression is perpetrated—if a scandalous insult is offered to female virtue, it is not the Colonial office, —it is not a ship-broker, or a mercantile agent, that is to institute an inquiry into the alleged abuses, and try to defend the accused and the guilty, but the moral feelings of the country will stand as the arbitrator; the benevolent from all quarters will in fact be the agents of this Society; each may feel an interest in some individual or families he or she has helped over. Nay, such emigrants may have friends, relatives, or benevolent contributors ready on the distant shores of Australia to take up their cause: thus a moral guardian will be formed; a phalanx of the good, of the rich and the powerful will be raised, which may prove ample to protect the defenceless and the innocent.

It may be well, however, to view the two systems; the present Government Emigration, and the one proposed under the surveillance of this Society. The emigrants sent by the Government assemble at Deptford or some other port: not two families know each other, or perchance until their meeting at the depot had ever seen one another before: young females find themselves there as perfect strangers. But what scenes take place before they have got thus far: what conflicts of nature are endured ere they leave their homes; what harrowing scenes arise out of the taxation clause; at times young children may be seen handed over to the care of a grandfather, an aunt, or a cousin, or as one poor man in Australia said to me: “my wife was obliged to take the child from her breast by the side of the ship, and hand it to a friend.” Others, on account of having just passed the prime of life, are necessitated to remain behind. What wailings in the cottage! what sad farewells outside the village! how nature will then exclaim, “Never

see that dear face no more—never look at that venerated parent again,” now sunk in agony in the darkest corner of his own dreary habitation. This is not a piece of romance, but one of the scenes of real life. Which are most to be felt for, the intending emigrant, or the desolate beings left behind? These heart-burnings of nature are not extinguished here; the same feeling, which a benign Providence, for the wisest of designs, has implanted in the human heart, keeps the flame alive in the distant colonies; the child longs for the parent—the father or the disconsolate mother sighs for the offspring. I cannot tell how often I have been entreated by sons and daughters in New South Wales to do all I could to see their parents sent to them, or the numerous applications I have had made to me by parents to forward to them their children. These appeals follow me to this country. I have lately had a letter handed to me, written by an Englishman out there to his brother, wherein he says, “First try Park Street (Government office), if you cannot get a passage that way stick to the parish, but if you get no good from neither, go to Mrs. Chisholm, for I have written to her and sanctioned her to manage.” Another poor widow writes to me, and to whom I sent four of her children in 1848: “They have safely arrived, all well; the eldest girl got well married; two of the boys I have got apprenticed; you have my most heartfelt thanks for your kindness in sending out my children, and you have my prayers night and day.” So many and such heart-rending applications I had made to me shortly before leaving the colony, that I ventured to appeal to the local Government in their behalf, and I have since had the comfort of seeing some hundreds of children and young people sent out through the Government Commissioners; but I grieve to say

that I have still a painful long list of children and of families—the victims of circumstances—for whose passage I am unable at present to arrange. But the affection of the human heart does not stop here; it braves stormy seas, and traverses 16,000 miles of ocean; I have seen children come home for their parents, or to see them, and return, and parents for their children. I have seen one poor man arrive here for his only boy—sought for him in his native place, Ireland, and could not find him, traced him after a painful inquiry to London,—found him in a hospital, on a sick bed, with his leg amputated, a complaint having been brought on through the want of parental care; after a time this fond father returned to Sydney with his boy. I hope, Gentlemen, the cause will plead my apology for thus laying before you some facts, out of many, and from which I am unable to separate myself.

I trust to witness through your instrumentality and that of a benevolent public the consummation of wishes which both humanity and religion emphatically call upon us to see carried out. Putting natural affection aside, I may be permitted to ask would it be wise or prudent in parishes to do in such cases what parties under a well organized system can do for themselves? for there are hundreds and thousands situated in the colonies as I have just referred to; would it be right? would it be charitable in the benevolent to do this? Is it not the province of religion to encourage the best feelings of the human heart? Is it not our duty in every possible manner to stimulate children to fulfil the laws of God and the dictates of nature by helping their parents and rescuing them from pauperism? We must be careful how we interfere with such sacred duties, lest by an injudicious and ill directed charity we retard

and frustrate what we wish to promote,—lest we encourage idleness and pauperism, and much that is evil instead of checking them. If, however, the humane and natural feelings of our people are wisely directed, and if by their own individual exertions are helped and patronised, we may make the evils that have accumulated under the Park Street system of emigration, the ground work for a sound plan of Colonization,—we have nothing to do but to follow the yearnings of human nature, in order to carry out a system that will support itself. But to return to the Government Depot, here we find congregated together broken up families ; young couples without children, or single young women, perhaps perfect strangers to all around them ; each party leaving behind them in all probability, parents, brothers, sisters, &c., without almost any hope of re-union ; here is a mass of human beings inwardly lamenting their separation from those most dear to them ; they go on board under harrowed feelings, and the young women are placed under the care of a matron, who is viewed as a very subordinate character. These are trying situations for human nature, and a dangerous position for young women to find themselves in, for amongst them there exists no common feeling, except that of perfect indifference to each other,—the innocent and the helpless stand there exposed to the wiles of the snarer. Who has not been shocked by the frightful details we have read in the public papers, how orphan after orphan had been victimized on board emigrant ships by men calling themselves Christians ; how modest maidens have been brutalized over and insulted by those whose peculiar duty it was to protect them. With such facts before the public, let us hope the first attempt at Colonization will be viewed with indulgence, and

that humanity will find the means to attempt something better. There are many evils that will doubtless present themselves to every reflecting mind attending our present mode of filling ships, but may we not hope that we shall go on suggesting and improving until our young women can be sent into a ship with the same confidence with which females now enter our trains and mail coaches ; something more humanizing is required than the present mode ; something that will bring all our social and religious feelings to bear upon one common object. Fortunately for the cause of Colonization, the Press is now exposing those evils,—the intelligent conductors of that palladium of man's rights are at present looking into Blue Books, and reading Emigrants' letters ; the outrages committed against the orphan, and her wails have aroused this indomitable foe to tyranny and oppression. This stern censor of public acts, and chastiser of private wrongs, will now look into the moral conduct of those in charge of emigrant ships, and will make the man of evil design quail even on the wide deep, for he will feel the conviction that his deeds will be chronicled when he lands.

I have observed that the principle of this Society will admit of emigration being carried out under a more popular form than what at present exists. The temporary separation or breaking up of families as shewn in group No. I. appended to the rules of the Society is only contemplated when such families admit of it, and can pay but a small portion of their passage ; the hope, and I may say certainty of reunion, within a year or two would stimulate them to double exertion. It would bring into operation the best feelings that actuate the human heart, and would have a salutary effect upon the minds of those who should be chosen as the family

pioneers. Those so selected would feel the sacredness of the charge, and the trust thus reposed in them. The parties named in the group attached to the rules are actual families in the north of Scotland, and the names of some hundreds of which I have received as being anxious to emigrate, but the necessity which may exist in cases like these in breaking up families, and they will be most numerous, need not hinder those who may be enabled to pay half their passage money, or more emigrating together. A society of this nature must use due precaution not to allow families to incur too heavy a debt to the Society, such as families No. 1 and 5 of the group in question would stand in, were the Society, considering the smallness of their contribution, to give the whole of them a passage at once. The Rules which have been submitted are only "PROPOSED RULES,"—they may be modified if required,—for instance, debt incurred on account of loan by emigrants may be legalized and recovered in the usual manner, if found necessary, families and individuals being held responsible only for loans contracted by themselves, though in groups they will have to consider themselves morally bound to use their utmost exertions for the recovery of loans granted to their own party, by aiding the agents in such recovery; such a revision, as it would lessen the responsibility of parties, and would make the Society liable to greater losses through defaulters, may make it necessary that in the spirit of Rule 22, each adult be required to pay 10s. each as a fee, and 2s. for each child in addition to their passage money, this sum to be paid with their last instalment to the Loan Society, and that further they be called upon and bound to pay such fees, in due proportion, of such parties of their own group as may become defaulters, and that in order to

to carry this out, no person be received into the Society's list who is not a member of a group, unless in particular cases, where the Society may see fit to make exceptions, for I consider the honesty of the people the base, and the group system the key-stone of the Society.

In suggesting the Family Loan Society, one of the chief points sought is to raise the character and moral standard of the people, and I consider the group system as one of the elements that may be applied for attaining this object. I contemplate Colonization as what it may be, when every district may have its local committee or society that will afford information and procure protection for those that stand in need of it. I have commenced an elementary one in the "Emigrant's Home," next to my own residence, leaving it to time and means to complete what I cannot at once accomplish. Any thing in this way cannot be too simple and practical for the industrious, and working classes. I propose then to have arranged in a room original letters, when they can be procured, from emigrants, Colonial Papers, &c. I will then invite families and persons anxious to emigrate to meet here on the evenings of the 1st and 3rd Saturday of every month, at 7 P.M. where they may quietly talk over the matter, peruse the various letters, papers, &c. laid before them, or hear them read and explained. In commencing this first Group meeting, which will be on the 13th of April, I have been kindly promised the valuable assistance of a highly intelligent Australian matron, now in London, and who had been four-and-twenty years in the colonies, having branches of her family respectably settled both in New South Wales and Port Phillip, and to which colonies she purposes shortly to return.

Several Gentlemen feeling a benevolent interest in Colonization have also kindly consented to favour the meeting with their presence. When parties have thus satisfied their minds, and have resolved to emigrate, then they may be enrolled into groups, and their "*references*" entered into a roll-book, and to which each may have access. Here the first link may be formed of an acquaintance which may be cemented by friendship by the time they arrive at the antipodes. Here they might make arrangements for their mutual comfort and advantage; their wives and children would be there; a lively sympathy would be created; honourable feelings would be awakened; the pride of an Englishman would be roused: men would feel as men; mothers would look with pride upon their children; that gaunt figure that haunts the poor man's door, pauperism, would at these meetings be shut out. Parents and husbands would feel, not with shame, but with honourable pride, the position they stood in—that a benevolent public was ready to co-operate with them, and thought them worthy to be entrusted with the means to transplant themselves and their children to a land where they hoped soon to be enabled, by their industry and frugality, to repay the advances made to them. This I would call Christian fraternity. How many kind feelings would then be struggling for mastery in the human heart. Those constituting these groups would feel a desire, a longing to do something worthy the confidence placed in them by the nation; they would experience the wish to have an opportunity of testifying their gratitude to a benevolent public, and to a merciful Providence, who had thus moved the hearts of the rich to aid them in their struggles. The opportunity is at hand, it is before them. Let the poor take comfort; Providence is wonderfully

just in all his dealings; the luxury of doing good, or, more properly speaking, the duty of helping our fellow-creatures, can be performed by the poor as well as the rich, and thus God's works of charity may always be known by His allowing all to help. To these heads of families I now turn, and call before them young friendless girls and helpless orphans; I have some on my list. I will ask these parents, "Will you take charge of these young girls? will you protect them on board ship?" Sure I am no right-minded man could, at such a time as this, and under such circumstances, refuse to extend his care and protection to such young females. Equally certain I am that the reciprocity of feeling would be mutual; that the friendless or orphan girl, seeing the protection afforded her, would in turn aid the mother—tend the child of those who thus acted the part of parents; and nature would not be wanting in doing her part; the child would not readily forget the orphan girl that so kindly tended it on board ship, for kindness is in general the origin of affection; the infant mind would easily take the impress, and thus religion would instil "Do as you would be done by;" the rich and the poor, the aged and the young would, in a work of this nature, feel the sacred influence of the God of charity.

That unprotected young women require guardianship on board vessels, I have only to call your attention, Gentlemen, and that of the public, to the case of the Foundling orphan girls from Dublin, and bear in mind how they were sacrificed on board ship by merciless and unprincipled men; I invoke, then, of all honest men and virtuous women protection for these poor girls. How have I seen them agitated with fear when asking me what protection they were to have on board ship! Before, however, heads of families are asked to look

after such young girls on board ship, and before they are entered in the Group, it is due to them, and in accordance with the rules of the Society, that every inquiry should be made as to the character of such young girls, so that families may without fear introduce them to their children. The getting up and arrangement of such a meeting as this—the grouping of the families, and creating that intimacy between them which is so necessary, may be easily managed by any benevolent gentleman or lady. Such group-meetings may be formed in different localities, in villages, districts and towns. These Groups, when once thus associated, may keep together when they even get to Australia; they may help each other, and form what I call bush-partnerships.

Indeed, I deem the Group-system almost essential to the success of such a plan as the one suggested; it places a man in a different position with his fellow-men. He enters a sort of an association; it brings him acquainted with a body of his fellow-creatures with whom he was unacquainted before; it raises him in his own estimation, and he feels that if he tried to evade paying the debt contracted as a loan, he might be branded by his late associates, and shunned as a man unworthy the friendship of his late fellow companions. He would feel within himself the conviction that he would be looked upon as a man that was detaining unjustly the money which justly belonged to the poor and struggling families at home, perhaps some of them his own relatives, to whom this money would be relented were he to pay it as he ought. There is a code of honour, a sort of manly pride, amongst the industrious and working classes, that carries more weight with it at times than a court of law. There is nothing a man of this

stamp feels more than the gibes and sneering cheers of his fellow men ; the finger of scorn, or a bare allusion to a discreditable transaction of the nature alluded to, would have a more deterring effect than the apprehension of any consequence in a court of law, or the severest censure the gravest judge could pass upon him. I do believe a person guilty of this act could hardly exist or remain in a district in the Australian Colonies. He would be known—he would be scouted and avoided—the stigma would attach to his very children—it would follow him wherever he went. His name would appear time after time in the column “ *Not Paid* ” of the Quarterly Return Book published by the Society. It would be seen at home, and it would be seen abroad ; his changing his very name would not save him from the opprobrium. In thus viewing it, it must be borne in mind that this money is not lent to them by Government—not lent to them by their late landlords or masters—not lent to them by the parish ; but that it is a fund raised and devoted by a benevolent public to the relief of struggling families and individuals at home—that it is, in fact, the money of the poor—that they are for a time the treasurers of a sacred trust. It must not, too, be overlooked, that, as each member of a group will have to pay his share of the *fees* due by any of its defaulters, that this will brand such defaulters more deeply, and give additional security to the Society. If, for instance, a group consisted of twenty-one persons, and that one became a defaulter, each would have to pay a *sixpence* for his dishonesty ; the insignificance of the amount would only make his delinquency the more pointed. I cannot, believe, then, that our people are so fallen in honesty and in feeling as to brave the guilt and the shame of all this. To show how this grouping-sys-

tem may work, I shall here mention a case of a respectable mechanic at Lambeth who has a wife, two adult children, and two under ten years of age. He knew of no families in his own locality that wished to emigrate, and he was therefore concerned at not being able to join a group, for he could pay £40. towards the passage of his family; on his informing me of this I directed him to call on a certain evening at my residence, when I offered to place him in communication with a group. The result has been, and as I calculated, very satisfactory; an acquaintance was formed, when they satisfied each other agreeable to Rule 20, as to "references," and they are now on intimate terms and members of the same group.

I shall now, Gentlemen, ask you to view these groups ready and prepared to embark. Grandfathers and grandmothers may be there; the strong and the young will keep them, nay, they will be useful in the bush, for the eye of age is at times of more service than the strong arm of youth. About twenty days since I sent off a family to Australia in which there was one female 72 years old; a relation had sent for them. And shortly before I got a passage for one old man, aged 75, to join an only son near Sydney. Hope seemed to invigorate their frames, and the dread of the Union had left them; one was from Ireland, the other from Scotland. In these groups, then, you will find the aged—those again in the prime of life—the saplings and the shoots of the family—the youth and the child in arms; no exception is to be made on account of age; the only voucher required will be a good character. The groups are now assembled, we will suppose, at the port of embarkation. A very important point now is to be considered, the arrangement of berths—the classification of the parties

on board. It may be assumed that they will consist of aged men and women—the patriarchs and aged matrons of the family—young couples without children, families with children of various ages, single young men, and single young women, single widows, and widows with children. There are now two respectable widows on the list; one, aged 38, has four children—three girls of the ages of 18, 14, 12, and one boy 16. The other widow, aged 60, with a steady looking daughter of 23. These two families can pay half their passage money, and have relatives in the Colonies. Just as I was writing this, a respectable young man has called, entered his name in the Family Colonization Book, and that of two sisters, and another young woman, a near relative, their respective ages being 26, 24, and 23; the girls are in service, and they can pay £8. each towards their passage. In the classification of groups, then, I respectfully beg to suggest the following for the consideration of the Committee and the public. I would not have all the single females placed as they are now in emigrant ships by themselves, perhaps forty, fifty or sixty of them together, but I would have them thus arranged. I will begin from the family cabins or berths. Say, then, that cabin No. 1 is occupied by a family who have two grown up daughters, for no children who are above 14 years of age must sleep in the same cabin with their parents. The next cabin, No. 2 is to be allotted to single females, and is to hold six sleeping berths; I would place the two grown up daughters of family No. 1 in berth No. 2, the widow of 60 and her daughter aged 23 in the same, and two friendless or orphan girls. Here is reasonable protection for these two friendless girls; the parents in No. 1 and the widow would naturally look after the conduct of these two young women, would ad-

monish them if they saw need, and afford them protection if required, for allowing any impropriety would endanger the character of their own daughters. Cabin No. 3 may be also appointed for single females, and No. 4 for a family who may have three grown up daughters. In No. 3 I would place the widow with her three daughters, a girl from No. 4, and a friendless young woman; here, in like manner, is the same protection.

I would now have No. 5 arranged for single females, and in which I would allot berths for the two daughters of family No. 4, and the sister of the young man previously mentioned, and three other single females, thus the heads of family No. 4, would afford protection to two cabins, having a daughter in No. 3, and two in No. 5, they themselves being in the centre cabin; in this manner all the single females may be disposed of and protected. Aged females may be accommodated in the single females' berths, they will give a gravity to the young people. Every evening two of the mothers by turns should be required to accompany the matron and see that the young women were in due time in their berths; the heads of families would soon feel the responsibility and sacredness of this duty, and the necessity there would exist of supporting it. The cabins or berths of the single young men might also be so arranged that parents could have a controlling influence there if necessary; age should be mixed up with youth so as to give a steadiness to the party. To keep up a good feeling, I would place the son, aged 16, of the widow, with a son of family No. 4, one of whose daughters it will be recollected is berthed with this youth's mother and her three daughters. Thus in the single men's berth there would be raised protectors for the females in No. 3, and in like manner throughout the ship,

brothers could be made to stand as sentinels over the safety of their sisters and those that associated with them. It may be worthy here of remark that with regard to the scandalous treatment experienced by the unprotected female orphans from Dublin, and the gross indignities offered to other friendless young women on board some other vessels, that those girls who had their parents, brothers, &c. on board were not subjected to such insults, for brutality and cowardice generally go together. Friendless young lads might in like manner be placed under family protection. In the arrangements of the fitting out of the ship, I would recommend that the poop cabins should be reserved for small respectable capitalists, paying £18. each for their passage; this class might afford additional security to the rest of the passengers, and they might, like the others, take charge of respectable females who paid their own passage. This grouping of families, this system of guardianship is not with me an idea of the day, but I have been working it out on a miniature scale during the last two years, by getting emigrant families to meet at my own residence, making them acquainted with each other, and placing often under their charge single females proceeding to the Colonies. Indeed, I consider family colonization to be the only safe and respectable system by which female emigration can be carried on. There is something in any other mode that does not harmonize with a woman's feelings. I feel female pauper emigration as an insult to the women of England. A gentleman has just told me that as he was passing through one of the largest thoroughfares in London the other day, he saw placarded up on a church, "Female Emigration, inquire in the Vestry, on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays." There is something in this

that wounds the feelings of womanhood. Shiploads of single females from parishes thrown on the shores of Australia! It is far from being complimentary to the feelings or character of the Australians, and knowing the settlers and the manner of living in that colony so well as I do, I cannot but feel apprehensive that a greater evil may arise from such a system than even the present partial disparity of the sexes in the Colonies.

A system, however, of family colonization does not seem to me to carry the same objectionable character with it. The vast proportion of the single females that would emigrate upon this plan would be the relatives or intimate friends of those families or the relations of those already in the Colonies. It was upon this principle, and actuated by such feelings, that I carried out my matrimonial excursions in the Australian Bush. I at times took a number of single young females with me, in company with emigrant families, but then I allowed no matrimonial engagements to be made on the way, at the same time I took care to place the young women in situations from which they might, with that consideration due to the feeling of woman, enter with propriety and respectability into the matrimonial state. A Port Phillip paper, the Melbourne Daily News of October last, says, "The class of labourers most in request in Australia, are agriculturists, shepherds, miners, blacksmiths, and mechanics of various kinds. We would also observe, that emigration in Australia opens an avenue for the relief of the toiling classes of women. Domestic servants, housekeepers, governesses, dressmakers, shopkeepers, and (*let us whisper it*) wives are wanted alike in New South Wales, Port Phillip, and South Australia. We know there is a delicacy which hinders female emigration." With respect then with

family emigration, how easy and how safe it would be for a neighbour to say to a neighbour who was emigrating, "Will you take charge of my daughter, or niece, or cousin, and see that she gets into a respectable situation in the Colony." How easy and satisfactory it would be for ladies and others who might feel anxious to befriend single females to procure them protection through a society thus constituted. This guardianship does not cease at the conclusion of the voyage; the single females are not all at once lost sight of, but the agents of a benevolent and Christian-like Society would be directed, as the rules suggest, that every means should be used to facilitate their respectable settlement, even to the arranging of their correspondence with their relations in Europe. This is a point, the communication with their relatives, that involves the most grave consideration, and calls for the benevolent interference of that reformer of abuses on the high seas, the Earl of Mountcashell, and to whom every humane and benevolent mind must tender the highest meed of praise and respect, for the manner in which he lately scrutinized the monstrous atrocities committed on board emigrant ships, and advocated their remedy. The strong moral feeling and determination evinced on this occasion by his Lordship, to do his duty as a Christian man, and a member of the legislature, will prove the best deck-watchman those poor girls can have on the wide deep. But, with regard to the postal communication between this country and the Australian Colonies, it seems to be very defective, for the irregularities, the miscarriages in this respect are a constant source of complaint and deep affliction with emigrants and their relatives at home.

One of the most paramount objects which this Society

would have in view, would be the re-union of families, for it is calculated this may become eventually the main channel of a wholesome and self-supporting system of emigration; not an emigrant will go out but will write home for some dear relative or friend. These would join the family groups, and the protection which persons would thus afford would be almost certain of being amply repaid to them by the relatives of such emigrants in the colonies. In that case, if they landed as strangers, they would not land without finding *friends* before them, for gratitude is one of the best, the strongest, and the noblest feelings of our nature.

In addressing you, gentlemen, I bear in mind that I am also writing to the working classes, I am therefore anxious to illustrate and simplify to them the intended object of the Society, and to shew how it may work to their advantage. With regard to Rule 17, as in the appended Rules, it may well come within the spirit of such a society, that parties who are desirous of emigrating may subscribe for their own transit such sums as they can pay weekly, monthly, or quarterly, these subscriptions may be arranged by the local Committees, or even by benevolent individuals, and made subject to some definite Rule. A fund of this sort may be formed to meet individual cases, and to which the benevolent may be disposed to contribute, seeing the great desire and determination of some people to emigrate. One poor and hard working man, in a letter I had from him this morning, says, "I am very glad to hear that you have succeeded in raising a Society, and I heartily thank you for giving me the information. If I can only go to Australia by paying my money through the means of this Society I shall most gratefully acknowledge the members of the Society as the greatest benefactors on

earth. I believe we can raise a group from here. I am so anxious to go as ever I was, and others as well; I shall be able to pay £10., perhaps more, but go I must, if I am kept in bondage after I get there for seven years. I shall take it as a favour if you give me further information." This poor man wrote to me about two years ago, telling me that he failed to get a free passage through the authorized channel, because Providence blessed him with one child more than the regulations allowed; these £10. he has since saved by pinching frugality. When then I see daily the ardent desire manifested by the industrious classes to emigrate in order to escape the continual struggle they have to endure in this country, when I know from personal observation the vast resources which Australia offers, the comfort, the abundance the people in these colonies enjoy, when I know again that there are vast regions there which have never yet been trod by the foot of Europeans, save by that intrepid and successful explorer, Sir Thomas Mitchell, and his small party, and who in writing of this new country calls it, "the fairest region on earth, plains and downs of rich black mould on which grew in profusion the panic-læodine grass, and which was finely interspersed with lines of wood, which grew in the hollows, and marked the courses of streams." Of another part he says, "the country is adorned by hills of the most romantic form, presenting outlines which surpass in picturesque beauty the fairest creations of the painter," and the Melbourne Daily News, in calling attention to Sir Thomas' discoveries, observes, "In the course of his (Mitchell's) journey he came upon the largest river he had yet met with in Australia, and which he named the Victoria. The whole country through which he pursued this magnificent river, was,

he says, better watered than any other portion of Australia he had seen, and, he adds, that it seemed sufficient to supply the whole world with animal food." When then we view this in perspective before us, when we survey the vast mass of misery around us, the struggles of the industrial classes, we cannot but exclaim, "What does England mean by keeping this great continent as a sort of preserve," and ask, "For whom?" Are our poor to contend at home with that gaunt destroyer of our people, famine? Have they no other hope but to end their days in a workhouse or a prison, which poverty almost irresistibly forces them into? When there are in the hands of England vast and fair regions unoccupied by man, nature alone being mistress thereof. If we cannot relieve the whole mass of misery around us, let us at least thin the crowd, and co-operate with those who are willing and ready to co-operate with us by applying to their own emigration their own frugal savings.

In order to illustrate the proposed plan let parties consider the case of the subjoined group No. 1. and the same number of persons in this country supported by our parochial system or by eleemosynary aid,—let us then suppose that sixteen charitable individuals devote £10. each a year to the relief of poor struggling families around them,—that eight of this number apply their joint contributions of £80. to the emigration of Group No. 1.; that the other eight give their £80. to the relief of some of the same class in their neighbourhood; let the two cases be placed into juxta-position,—the Australian group become producers,—the home party continue consumers,—the first progresses, the other in all probability retrogrades. The one, the first year of their Australian servitude produce about £400., calcu-

lating the group at twenty-five adults, and that each one on an average gets £16. a year as wages, besides an ample allowance of food. The £80. thus lent to them, would, on the principle of this Society, be refunded towards the end of two years, if not earlier, and which might in like manner and with like effect be re-lent to others time after time. Now, let those who have most experience reckon the expense at home of the same number of the like class as constitute this group. The £80. given or lent to them would but last for a short time; perhaps totally consumed in struggling to keep on,—at least but little or no chance of having it repaid to the lenders. Viewing all this it cannot but be considered fortunate that the enlightend feeling of the present day is in favour of Colonization, and the public through the press, says, “ Let us have something national,—something worthy of the name of England.” The spirit of patriotism is excited, and the credit of the mother country becomes involved in the character of her children; the demand now is for a systematic colonization; The statesmen of the day are alive to the evils of emigration,—they know from past history the national changes with which it is surrounded, and they are now anxious for a sound and wholesome system of Colonization. Amongst those who loudly join in this demand are a class, who, if you ask them to put their shoulder to the wheel, will cry, “ Oh! the parish ought to help,”—while another influential party, to gratify their own indolent apathy, will say, “ It is the work of the Government.” Now, Gentlemen, presumptuous as it may be in me to intrude my opinion, I hazard criticism on this momentous question, when I say, that neither the Government nor parishes can give us a sound and satisfactory system of Colonization; they may give us convict emi-

gration ; exile emigration ; pauper emigration, or Government emigration, but they cannot give us a wholesome system of national Colonization. Nothing but what is voluntary is deserving of the name of national. Loyalty and love of country,—a display of all that is great and glorious in our character will be found to proceed from the result of the voluntary national feeling,—and the great work of national Colonization can only be efficiently, economically, and benevolently worked by the public at large. In a truly national affair all can help,—all who wish may work—our nationality, Gentlemen, is of an uncontrollable force when guided and directed by the love of our country, and the desire to serve our fellow creatures. All our best feelings cannot be made to flow through a jail or a workhouse, nor can we confine our ideas of Colonization to the limited and contracted views which at present direct our emigration system. The discerning spirit of the age is alive to the evils of class emigration ; our national feeling will not be at rest until the great mass of misery that now presses upon our people be in some degree mitigated and removed.

The removal, however, of indiscriminate masses of the poor may be attended with many evils which would only increase with years. We may remove a crowd cheaply, but is it wise ? is it prudent, and is it economical to colonize solely with a class whose education has been so grievously neglected by the nation ? A mass of ignorant and uneducated persons is always a national evil, and if this evil is known and acknowledged when such men have no money, how much more dangerous does that class become when they are possessed of wealth ; ignorance and poverty are serious evils, but ignorance and wealth are much more dangerous. Now, a sound system

Colonization, although it might remove vast numbers of this class, would also make the colonies a desirable home for a more intelligent and better educated body. If, Gentlemen, we have a system of convict or pauper emigration, we in a great measure exclude the class whose residence is as essential for the good of society as it would be advantageous to themselves.

To the benevolent mind there must be something peculiarly pleasing in viewing the subject of Colonization in all its bearings. If we only contemplate the good that a few individuals may do in this way with a loan of even £600.—say, that it is lent to respectable single females; this would arouse the charity of numbers. There are few families that do not know at least one young and innocent girl whom they wish to preserve from the miseries that seem to threaten her; how eagerly would numbers work, who, when they found, that if about £6. were raised, a girl would be eligible to join a family group, and to be received on the list of the Society, while others again would be examining the poor girl's scanty store of clothing, and collecting for her outfit. Such a system would call forth the kindest feelings of all classes, for they would see it was a national work, and that each, if so disposed, could help. To you, Gentlemen, who know so well the temptations and trials of the poor, I shall not even hint at, much less dwell upon the probable fate of a hundred friendless girls left in England; but rather follow the pleasing circumstances attending their emigration, under the protection and guardianship of Family Groups, and the auspices of a benevolent Society, whose agents would see to their getting situations. In all probability, these one hundred girls would shortly get well married, so that the original lenders of

the £600 would need no higher interest; but as it is desirable that all classes should take a share in this National Bank of Benevolence, I must follow these one-hundred girls further, and ask the loyalist to invest a small portion of his capital in it. It would be an act of national blindness to imagine that forced bachelorism can engender loyal feelings; it is preposterous to suppose, and the height of infatuation to expect men to be loyal subjects when the system of Government emigration pursued, has deprived them of the prospect of every domestic blessing. Give them help-mates, and you make murmuring, discontented servants, loyal and happy subjects of the State. I cannot leave these one-hundred couples without soliciting the commercial man to take a few shares in this bank, for these will now become good customers, and each at least consume £7. per annum of British manufacture. There is a monied class again about the Exchange that are so accustomed to compound interest, that I fear they will not be disposed to take shares, except I draw their attention in a more especial manner to the national economy of encouraging industry. The influence of these one-hundred wives in the Bush would soon be visible in the improved sympathy and feelings of their husbands; surrounded by every reasonable comfort, and blessed with children, they would in a more earnest manner remember their parents at home, and this Society would be used on a large scale as the blessed means of conveying aged parents from our poor-houses to the comfortable and well-supplied homes their children would have prepared for them in the Bush, while younger members of families would be likewise assisted and encouraged to emigrate. Following these one-hundred couples into the Bush, I can fearlessly ask the religious man also to take shares,

for if one-hundred more families be added to the number, they would be enabled to support a clergyman in comfort, without his being burthensome to the State, or be obliged to be supported by the contributions of a British public. Those, too, who are anxious to promote education would see that this National Bank would be deserving of their support, and with a virtuous population, clergymen and schools, respectable and religious families would be disposed to settle in the interior, and whose influence and example would be a public benefit. This would be a legitimate way for England putting forth her moral strength; towns and hamlets would spring up; the spires of churches would guide the traveller on his way; civilisation would advance hand-in-hand with religion, and this, Gentlemen, is what I consider Colonization to be.

I shall conclude this letter, Gentlemen, purposing soon to address you a second one on Country Dispersion, &c., by remarking that Loans granted on the principles of this proposed Society, would tend to give a wholesome stimulus to self-exertion, and create a moral emulation amongst the people, for we cannot really be great as a nation except every man be made to feel that his individual conduct is thrown into the national scale, unless he is made sensible that he forms one of the commonwealth, and is an acknowledged and known member of the community. Much of our nationality—much of our character as a people rests upon our self-respect; upon the opinion formed of us by our neighbour, or the public. The people, the mass must feel this, and they do feel it in a much greater degree than some parties are willing to allow such honourable feelings to belong to the working-classes; but even supposing this allegation to be true—that the industrious classes in general

are void of that honourable feeling to pay their just debts, it then becomes a still more paramount duty upon the benevolent and the religious—upon the rich and powerful, to make greater sacrifices in the godly attempt of creating a moral regeneration amongst the people, and instilling into their minds better principles, and more just and honourable mode of action. In a work of this nature, the wealthy and the great, the powerful and the learned ought to consider themselves as the leaders of the people; benevolence and goodness should be the attendants, while religion lighted the way. Unanimity should reign, and party spirit should be calmed down by the oil of charity. If, then, a phalanx is thus formed of all that is great—of all that is good—if the benevolent will unite with the learned—if the rich will co-operate with the religious; if sound judgment and active zeal will work together;—if the good Samaritan be taken as the standard of action, and our common Christianity made the ground-work of the whole, then I shall have the moral courage to believe that the integrity of Britons will not fail as a body. It is true, the proposed repayment of the loan has been called “*The Forlorn Hope*,” and though this was not intended as a compliment, still it appears to me a very appropriate designation; I feel an honourable glow of indignation, when I ask those doubters, when did Britons fail in the breach? Our country’s honour has never been placed in jeopardy by the desertion of our people in the day of trial. To preserve our national character from disgrace has given strength in the hour of danger. How we all love to dwell on the bravery and humanity of our people. A regiment willingly select the youngest in the ranks to bear the flag of glory; they confide it to his hands; if for a moment it



is in danger, how their hearts beat—how they rally—how they fight to secure the emblem of their honour and their gallantry. We may have deserters in our army, so we may have defaulters in a moral move like this. The spirit which has made our soldiers and sailors triumphant all over the world is not an artificial one; the feeling that has made the flag of victory wave wherever England's banners have been carried, is not created by the thrilling thunder of the cannon, the loud call of the trumpet, or the martial strains of the pibroch, but it is one that glows in man's bosom, that he carries into the battle-field, and one which Britons in a special manner inherit from the land of their birth, nurtured and cradled by the relation of the deeds of their sires, at the hearth's fire-side. And do Britons stand so high in these honourable feelings, and, yet will it be said that the peasantry and the people of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland are so fallen—so destitute of still nobler and higher feelings, that they cannot be trusted with the loan of a few pounds? No, no, this must not be believed; and it is this conviction, Gentlemen, that should give us confidence in the moral integrity of Englishmen; that they will uphold as a body the moral banner of England unsullied in the Bush of New South Wales.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Very faithfully yours,

CAROLINE CHISHOLM.

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