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ENGLAND'S EXILES ;

OR,

A VIEW OF A SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION
AND DISCIPLINE,

AS CARRIED INTO EFFECT DURING THE VOYAGE

TO THE

PENAL COLONIES OF AUSTRALIA.

BY

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“My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge.”—Hosea, iv. 6.

“The great God, even our Saviour Jesus Christ, gave Himself for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.”—Tit. ii. 13, 14.

“I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.”—Luke, xv.

Prov. xiv. 34; Ezek. xviii. 27; Matt. ix. 13; Luke, xix. 10.

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P R E F A C E .

WHEN, in the year 1831, on being appointed to the *Surry*, the duties and responsibilities involved in the surgeon-superintendency of a convict ship, were, for the first time, imposed upon me, I felt myself greatly at a loss from the want of anything like a plan or system of management and instruction; and my consciousness of unacquaintance with the nature of the service on which I had entered, and with the manner in which I ought to proceed with the details of the duties of my new appointment, caused me no small degree of perplexity and painful anxiety. I had, it is true, a copy of the printed instructions; but these, although they afforded me a general view of the duties of my station, supplied me with nothing like a scheme of education

and discipline, and necessarily left much of the *minutiæ* of duty to discretion, and to the suggestion of circumstances.

The whole of my first voyage was, I may say, expended in observation and experiment; and a considerable portion of our invaluable time, particularly during the first third of the passage, was in some measure lost to a great proportion of the prisoners, as it respected their advancement in knowledge and moral improvement.

On my second charge—and which was in the ship *Arab*, in the year 1834—I entered in possession of the system of instruction and government which the experience of my first appointment had enabled me to form; and, during our progress to the Colonies, made such additions thereunto as circumstances suggested, and as seemed necessary to its perfection. As my third voyage advanced, my plan received farther additions and improvements, and was finally brought to the state in which it is exhibited in the following pages. It has now received the approval of my own mind; and I am not aware that it contains anything to which objection can reasonably be offered. An *outline* of my system appears in the journal which has been submitted to the

inspection of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; and I have not heard of any objections having been taken to any of its details.

My present conviction is, that the system followed out in the *Elphinstone* might possibly receive, in some of its minor points, slight modifications, but that its grand principles admit not of change, and its framework of little alteration.

My chief object in printing these pages is, to put those officers who may, in future, engage in the service to which they refer, in possession of *a* plan of management, which they may adopt, either wholly or in part, as their judgment and sense of responsibility may lead them to determine. When I entered upon my *first* appointment, I should have been exceedingly glad to have been furnished with such a system; and to those who may be placed in similar circumstances, it may, at least, supply some useful hints. That *any* scheme of education and discipline followed out in transports has been given to the public, I am not aware. That which is developed in the following pages may be considered as deserving of regard until it is superseded by a better.

To several enlightened and pious persons who are experienced in the instruction, with a view to their moral

improvement, of the hitherto neglected portion of our population, it has appeared that the scheme now submitted to the consideration of the public, might be turned to good account, not only in transports, but on board emigrant ships; and likewise in all our country prisons, and in houses of correction, and, perhaps, also in large factories.

It will readily be perceived that I regard sound views of the Divine Character and Government; of man's nature and relation to his Maker; and of all that is involved in that relation, as lying at the foundation of all useful instruction and efficient discipline: and therefore it was that a special object contemplated in the system I was led to adopt, was the impartation to the people of scriptural perceptions of God and of themselves, and of the principles of sound and acceptable obedience.

We hear much in our days of the *separate*, and *solitary*, and *silent* systems of prison discipline; but, unless the CHRISTIAN SYSTEM be brought to bear with Divine power on the understandings and consciences of criminals, every other system which professedly contemplates their reformation, must, to the shame and confusion of its projectors, prove an utter failure. If we would see

an efficient system of moral discipline in operation in our prisons, and penitentiaries, and convict hulks, we must provide for the effectual instruction of their inmates in the great facts and doctrines of Christianity; and must take care, that not only those who are especially intrusted with their religious instruction, but all who are connected with their management, from the governor down to the humblest warder, are truly spiritual and consistent Christians, whose temper and general demeanour are calculated to commend the Gospel of Christ, and afford to all with whom they may come into contact, a happy illustration of its sanctifying influence upon the heart and life.

We are quite willing to concede to all human systems of prison discipline the importance to which experience has proved, or may yet prove, them to be entitled; but it must be maintained that the attempt to reform our criminals by any means short of those which God Himself hath provided and ordained to that end, as set forth in the sacred Scriptures, involves not only the most ignorant presumption, but even practical infidelity. If the schemes we adopt with a view to the instruction and reformation of prisoners, dishonour God, by contemning or neglecting the Divine power of His word and SPIRIT,

they must, as hitherto, and of moral necessity, disappoint and put to shame the hopes of our legislators and philanthropists, and leave the State to the oppressive and destructive influence of increasing vice and crime.

I have intimated that, as I always speak to the prisoners from mere mental arrangement of the subject, or from very brief notes, I do not pretend to give my "addresses" precisely as they were delivered. From those I have *written*, it must just be inferred what those *spoken* were likely to have been; making due allowance for the impressive and elevating influence of the actual presence of two hundred and forty immortals deeply interested in every sentiment which was uttered.

From the sacred volume—the book of God, I endeavoured faithfully to set forth, and for the most part in the language of the inspired penmen, the great doctrines of man's apostasy; of the depravity of his fallen nature; of salvation through the obedience, sacrifice, and mediation of Christ; of the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit; and of the necessary tendency of Divine truth, *believed*, to purify the heart, and lead to holiness of life; while it inspires the mind with the cheering hope of a blessed immortality.

The circumstances in which these pages have been

written, must be permitted to account for several repetitions and other imperfections they exhibit. With respect to their style, I consider it quite unworthy of criticism. The same thing, however, cannot be said of the statements they embrace : and, if I had not believed the most of them to be of incalculable importance, I should not have presumed to submit them to the consideration of the reader.

There is but one request which I feel I ought to make of those who may be disposed to peruse what my views of duty have induced me to write ; and it is this—that every sentiment to which I have given expression may be brought to the test of the writings of inspiration, that by their decision it may be determined whether it deserves to be rejected, or is worthy to be held fast as being in accordance with the faith delivered unto the saints.

Her Majesty's Ship Hercules, at Sea,

Lat. 24° 18' N. Long. 29° 28' W.

Oct. 23rd, 1838.

P.S. Since these pages were written, an opportunity has been afforded to the author of ascertaining how far the scheme they exhibit admits of being carried into

practice on board *female* convict ships: and he is happy to be able to affirm, that it is equally well fitted for the management and instruction of women, as of men. The modifications required are exceedingly slight, and chiefly consist in the mere change of the designations of office-bearers. As for example, chief and second *matrons*; *matrons* of deck, of divisions, and so forth; *schoolmistress*, and *inspectress* of schools. The duties are precisely the same, with such exception as may be involved in the operation of the regulations which *prohibit all communication between the prisoners and any person on board, save of their own sex*; which permit them not to quit the place assigned them, or to go before the barricade which separates them from the fore-castle, or abaft the break of the poop; and which require that the *matrons of the deck* do not, under any pretext whatever, *quit their posts* until they are duly relieved: for, it is here most emphatically asserted, that *the women themselves must supply their own guardians*.

Brighton, August 1st, 1842.



ENGLAND'S EXILES.

CHAPTER I.

EMBARKATION OF THE PRISONERS—FIRST ADDRESS.

ON the 13th day of January, 1836, *One Hundred and Sixty* Prisoners were embarked in the transport "Elphinstone," from the "Justitia" and "Ganymede" hulks, at Woolwich; and on the 15th, *Eighty* from the hulks "Fortitude" and "Euryalus," at Chatham, were embarked at Sheerness; amounting, in all, to *Two Hundred and Forty Men and Boys*.

Previously to their removal from the hulks, the whole of these prisoners were, by myself, agreeably to instructions from the Admiralty, carefully inspected, with the view of preventing, as far as possible, the embarkation of any, the state of whose health and constitution might appear to be such as to render a long voyage hazardous to their lives.

In conducting the inspection here referred to, it is necessary, as painful experience has taught me, that the medical officer be close and particular in his observations; minute and searching in his inquiries; in order to prevent his being imposed upon, and men being embarked, who, from their state of health, are likely to fall victims to the voyage, or to die from its effects soon after its accomplishment.

Although I have myself used every precaution that has suggested itself to my mind, and solemnly warned the prisoners themselves, previously to my inspection, on the subject of their attempting to practise upon me imposition, and have faithfully stated to them the probable consequences of such conduct; yet I have never been able to prevent the embarkation of some individuals, whom I afterwards, and when too late, discovered to be quite unfit to meet the circumstances incident to a long voyage, performed in a crowded ship.

Before the prisoners were sent on board, certain preparations were made for their reception: for example, all the mattresses were stamped with numbers, beginning at 1 and ending with 240, corresponding with the number of prisoners to be received. Each mattress had its little pillow firmly tacked to one end, and such as were designed for hospital use, were directed to be marked with the letter H. The water-kegs, kits, and wooden platters, were likewise ordered to have carved upon each of them the number of the mess to which they were to be respectively assigned. The im-

portance of these and similar apparently trivial arrangements, can only be known by experience.

The moment the prisoners were mustered on board the transport, and the usual receipts signed, they were requested to put intelligible marks upon their knives and all cutting instruments, as well as on other articles which accompanied them from the hulks, and to deliver all over into the charge of the chief mate.

The whole of the people were then assembled on the quarter-deck—the guard being drawn up on the poop—and received their first address.

Immediately after the address was delivered, the boys were separated from the men; all had assigned to them their *new* or “*ship's* number,” each received his mattress and blanket; and the whole of them were disposed of in their respective sleeping-berths below on the main-deck. Of the men, *eight* were allotted to each berth, four at top and four at bottom; and of the boys, *eight*, or *ten*, or even *twelve* to a berth, according to its extent, and the age or size of the boys.

Two of the prisoners were appointed to act as cooks, *ad interim*.

Here I beg leave to observe, that it would greatly tend to facilitate the quiet arrangement of the prisoners in their sleeping-berths on their embarkation in the transport, were the Surgeon-superintendent to ascertain with accuracy, previously to his inspection taking place, the number capable of being comfortably disposed of in the boys' ward.

This number could then be selected from amongst the youngest of the people before their removal from the hulks, their names taken down by a clerk, and such instructions given to them as would leave nothing to be done in reference to their disposal on embarkation, but to march them below to their appropriate ward—giving to each his ship's number as he proceeds to his berth. The lowest number of the mattresses ought to begin in the boys' ward; and a proper person should be appointed to assign to each his bedding and his berth, according to numerical order, as he enters the ward. The boys having been disposed of, the men are to be arranged in like manner, commencing with the number immediately following the highest assigned to the boys. It is, I would observe, most desirable to have all the *messes* formed previously to the embarkation or removal of the prisoners from the hulks, and likewise as many of the *petty officers* appointed as possible; in short, to have the organization advanced as far as circumstances will admit.

On the evening after the embarkation of the prisoners from the hulks at Chatham, our appointed number being then completed, the whole body were assembled on the quarter-deck—the guard being again drawn up on the poop—when the address to those from Woolwich was, with considerable amplification, repeated.

ADDRESS, WITH AMPLIFICATION, TO THE PRISONERS
IMMEDIATELY ON THEIR EMBARKATION, AND BE-
FORE THEY ARE PERMITTED TO QUIT THE QUAR-
TER-DECK :—

This day commences a new era in your existence. The moment you set your feet on the decks you now occupy, you came under the *operation*, and I trust will speedily come under the *influence*, of a system which contemplates you as intellectual and moral beings; as beings who are capable of making great attainments; who necessarily exert an incalculable influence, good or bad, upon each other, upon mankind, and upon the moral universe; as beings, moreover, who can never cease to exist, and to exist in a state of perfect happiness or of unutterable wretchedness. The present moment is the link which connects the *past* with the *future*; a moment calculated to bring the past most vividly to your recollection, to awaken in your bosoms a deep and an anxious solicitude respecting your future career and your future experience; it is a moment this, so full of intense interest to you and to me—so pregnant with result to every individual now before me, that I feel it difficult to determine what points of consideration I ought to select, and press on your understandings and your hearts. It is your *advantage*, your individual present and everlasting *welfare*, that I now desire to seek; and perhaps your minds cannot, at this instant, be more profitably exercised, than in honestly and solemnly

calling up to your recollection the days of your life that are gone.

Permit me, then, to ask you, in order that you may put the question, every one of you, secretly to himself, What views do you now entertain of your past life?

What think you of the *period of your infancy*—when you hung a helpless, and, as it respects guilt personally contracted, a guiltless babe on your mother's breast—the tender object of a mother's tender care, over whom, with sleepless solicitude, she watched day and night, and with an anxiety only known to the faithful mother? Can you think on the fond embraces of a mother's love, and on the unutterable feelings awakened in a mother's bosom, when she gazed with delight on the child of her affection? I ask, is there a man or a boy now before me, who can thus think on the days of his infancy, and connect those days with the *present moment*, and his heart remain unmoved by the most touching recollections? Do you now consider how your father and your mother laboured and toiled, to procure, with the sweat of their brow, bread for *you* to eat, raiment for *you* to put on, a bed for *you* to sleep upon, and a house to shelter *you* from the cold, and the rain, and the storm? Can you remember all this, and not put to your own hearts the questions, For whom did my parents thus toil? How have I requited their labour, their solicitude, their love?

Oh, could they for a moment have imagined that

they were rearing up children to bring dishonour upon their parents' name, to be the inmates of prisons and of convict hulks, and to appear, as you now do, loaded with irons on the decks of a Transport, to be removed with forfeited liberty from their native land, to some distant corner of the world, there to reap the bitter fruits of folly and of crime, what, under the influence of such anticipations as these, must have been the amount of your parents' sufferings—the agonies of your parents' hearts.

Remember *the days of your youth*, how much your parents continued still to accomplish for you; how they toiled to feed and to clothe you; in health and in sickness to nurse and to watch over you; how faithful they were to rebuke and check the waywardness of your dispositions; to admonish your negligences; to punish your offences; to encourage you in well-doing, and warn you of the evils to which you were exposed: and let such of you as have received what is commonly called an "Education," recollect how much it cost your parents or others, to procure this for you, and ask yourselves what returns they were entitled to expect to receive at your hands, and how far your conduct has answered, or disappointed, their reasonable expectations!

Perhaps there are before me those who are the children of pious parents—although I apprehend there are *few, very few* such; it may be *two or three*—of parents, who, having believed the Gospel and felt its obligations, dedicated themselves and

their offspring to God. *You* who have been thus privileged, would now do well to remember that you are the subjects of many fervent prayers. Your parents, instructed by the holy Scriptures, and by painful experience in the knowledge of human depravity, of the numerous and powerful temptations to which their children were exposed, and of the necessity of divine teaching and divine influences, to subdue the enmity to God which reigns in the human heart, and fortify the mind against the assaults of Satan and wicked men, carried you, in the arms of their faith and love, to the throne of grace, and there, in the fervour of secret devotion, when no eye saw but the eye of Him alone whose help and blessing they implored for their offspring, did they dedicate you to that gracious and compassionate Redeemer who came to seek and to save the lost, and who has encouraged parents to bring their children to Him, with an assurance that of such is the kingdom of heaven, and that if we, in the exercise of faith, ask anything according to his will, He heareth us. Let such of you as are indeed the children of *such* parents, connect in your minds, with your present situation, your father's and your mother's prayers.

Do you remember *how* they cared for you; how they provided, under God, for your daily wants; how they instructed you out of the Scriptures, and showed you that the way of believing and holy obedience is the way of life; and that the way of obstinate disobedience is the way of death? Do

you remember how they led you forth on the day of holy rest to the house of God, to hear the proclamation of the Gospel, and share in the united prayers of the church? Do you now remember the daily worship of God in your father's family, the offering up of the morning and evening sacrifice of prayer and of praise in connexion with the reading of the sacred records of divine truth? When the hour of retirement to rest arrived, the arms of a fond mother securely placed you in the couch which parental affection and industry had provided and prepared; and you fell asleep under the influence of the tenderest expressions of maternal love. By the bedside of her slumbering and unconscious child she kneels in prayer, and breathes forth her soul to the Angel of the Covenant, for new covenant blessings on the beloved object of her tender solicitude.—Her heart's desire and that of her husband is, above all things, to see their children the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, and give early proof that they have taken up his cross, and thus made choice of that good part which shall never be taken away from them. Such a choice on the part of their children is, to the heart of the *pious* parent, *everything*. It embraces all their hearts' desire respecting their offspring. They know that if their child is turned to God, by the reception of his Son for all the ends for which He is revealed in the Gospel, that child is safe; safe for time, and safe for eternity; will be kept in the path of believing and holy obedience, by the power

of the Eternal Spirit, unto the enjoyment of the heavenly kingdom and glory ; and, *therefore*, their constant and unwearied aim is, by instruction, example, and prayer, to be the humble instruments of bringing their child to the foot of the cross, to submit unto Him that redeemed sinners to himself by his blood.

Do you, the children of such parents, I now ask you, recollect what they did to, and sought for, you, as you advanced in years ; and how you set at nought all their counsel, despised their entreaties, frustrated their prayers, grieved their spirits by your disobedience, and stung their hearts by your ingratitude ? They saw the first outbreakings of the corruptions of your nature, and they laboured, according to the Scriptures, to see these corruptions up-rooted. They observed your disposition to turn your back upon *them* and upon *God*, and they tenderly remonstrated with you, and set before you the fearful choice you were deliberately making. They discovered your selection of corrupt and corrupting associates, and they dealt faithfully with you, and reminded you that it is he who walketh with *wise men* that shall be *wise*, but that the *companions of fools* shall be *destroyed*. But all was of no avail ; the contest was still carried on. Your parents fought and struggled *for you* and *for God* ; you fought and contended *against yourselves*, *against your parents*, *against God*, and in favour of the enemy of God and of man. Your parents desired to see you tread

the pleasant and peaceful paths of true wisdom, but you preferred to run in the rugged and thorny ways of folly and of sin; your parents wished you to become Christ's freemen, but you preferred remaining Satan's voluntary slaves; your parents desired to see you making choice of the glory and the bliss of heaven, but you have hitherto rejected these for the ignominy and the wretchedness connected with crime—the endurance of the torments of eternal remorse. The instructions, the example, the entreaties, the tears, and the prayers of your parents, produced no salutary and permanent effect upon you; you resisted all, you despised all; you cared not for a father's grief or a mother's broken heart; you heeded not the counsel of the guardians of your youth, you steeled your heart against the whispers of love and the instructions of divine mercy; you were wedded to the companions of your iniquity—to your unhallowed enjoyments, and after them you were determined to go. On the beckonings of the messengers of peace, calling you to return to the paths of holiness and life, you sullenly turned your backs, determined to take the full draught of sin, although you were assured and *knew* that DEATH *was in the cup*. Thus, regardless of the dearest desires of your parents' hearts and of your own present and eternal interests, you ran greedily in your own ways, reckless of all consequences, until justice lays her iron hand upon you, and awards you what *by your deeds you demanded*, and the interests of society require—

namely, *that you be removed from the land of your birth, and be placed in circumstances corresponding with your character and your crimes.*

To you who have not had the benefit of the high advantages of which I have spoken, I would now say, see that you, nevertheless, cherish becoming sentiments and feelings towards your parents. Perhaps they themselves could not read the Scriptures, and knew nothing of the power of Christianity and of practical godliness, and therefore were incapable of caring for the souls of their children. Here I say nothing to *you* of the fearful guilt that *may* possibly attach to them, for remaining ignorant of the doctrines of the Bible, and thus living in the neglect of their own souls, and of the souls of their offspring. I only ask you, in the meantime, to entertain such views of, and encourage such feelings towards, your parents, *as God will approve of*; and during this voyage, I shall, the Lord willing, have an opportunity of showing you what you may, and what you are bound to endeavour to, accomplish for your parents; I mean for such as are yet in the land of the living, and therefore in the land of hope. You will be shown from the word of inspiration, that you are required by God to give first yourselves to Him—body, soul, and spirit, by the reception of Jesus; and then, to wrestle with Him in supplications and prayers, in behalf of your benighted parents. And you will be farther shown, how much you may attempt to accomplish for them, through grace, by means of judicious and affectionate let-

ters, written in the spirit, and in accordance with the precepts, of the holy Scriptures.

But although *few* of you may have enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being born and brought up under the roof of devout and *consistent* Christian parents, there are, nevertheless, many advantages which the whole of you have possessed.

Have you not, ever since you opened your eyes upon the world which you inhabit, and upon the material universe by which you are surrounded, had visible and clear demonstrations of the power, the wisdom, and the goodness of God; and has it not been, ever since you were capable of reflection, incumbent upon you to make a legitimate use of such manifestations of the Divine perfections, and to derive from them those lessons which they are designed and calculated to afford? Hath God, at any time, even to *you*, left himself without a witness? Do not the heavens declare the glory of God, and does not the firmament show his handiwork? Does not day unto day utter speech, and night unto night show knowledge? Although they have no articulate speech or language, yet, without such, is their voice heard, their direction is gone out through all the earth, their words to the end of the world. Do not the construction and the preservation of your own bodies declare to you the perfections of Him who made you, and who has fed and upheld you all the days of your life to the present moment? Verily, God hath not, at any time, left himself without testimony to the truth of his ex-

istence, and of the glorious attributes of his nature, in that He hath been continually doing us good; giving us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness; giving to all of us life and breath, and all things; teaching us that He is not, at any time, far from any one of us; that it is in Him we live, and move, and have our being; that it is from Him we receive all things richly to enjoy, and that therefore we were bound to seek to know his will, and in everything thereunto to conform.

And what have you to say to CONSCIENCE—that moral faculty which God has placed in every man's bosom, the power by which he distinguishes between *good* and *evil*? Have you been careful to enlighten conscience—that is, to give to it all possible information? and have you studiously hearkened unto, and faithfully acted upon, the intimations which conscience has, from time to time, given you? What does every man's conscience at *this moment* tell him, when he calls up to his recollection the history of the secret workings of his heart? Do you remember, when the days of your years were yet few in number, with what a clear and distinct voice conscience spake to you; how it told you of some immediate duty, some good act to be done, and bade you make haste and do it; or remonstrated with you in reference to some sinful omission to which you were inclined, or some evil deed that you were disposed to perpetrate; and how, in your bosom, the faithful conscience strove with you, and


entreated you to pursue the good and abstain from the evil, giving you honest warning of the fruits which would result from either line of conduct? And do you recollect the long and painful struggle you maintained with conscience—with what conscious *sophistry* you laboured not to meet, but to *turn aside*, her reasonings, to silence her voice, to impose upon yourself, and so, by what you *felt* to be an iniquitous effort, to attain the gratification of your unhallowed and sinful desires? And in this way it was, that you endeavoured to put down and stifle conscience, and to rid yourself of her kind, but, alas! unwelcome intimations and warnings; and unhappily for you and your fellow-men, you were but too successful in your work of self-destruction. Conscience became seared as with a hot iron. You have endeavoured to enjoy the alarming calm afforded by her forced insensibility—a calm which you know has been occasionally disturbed by her faithful and friendly efforts still to secure a hearing, that you might be awakened to the consideration of your highest interests, and be yet rescued from the fearful destruction which you appeared determined to choose. But her honest struggle still proved unavailing, and you have thus far gathered the bitter fruits of your triumphs over your convictions—triumphs which have afforded *you* an abundant harvest of guilt, infamy, and suffering; and have yielded to the prince of darkness and his associates the satisfaction which, to them, results from your shame and the destruction of your peace.

Besides the admonitions of conscience, have you not received many warnings from the *dispensations* of *Divine Providence*? Have you not been visited, perhaps, again and again, with affliction? Some of you, it may be, have been brought, in all appearance, to the very gates of death; but your life has, in great mercy and long-suffering, been prolonged, to give you time and space to return unto God by the obedience of his Gospel. But how have you improved these kind chastisements? Have they been permitted to produce the effect they were designed by a gracious God to produce on your heart and mind? Conscience has answered the question; and let your present appearance here answer the question. You know that your afflictions either produced no salutary impressions upon you at all, or that such as were produced, you soon forgot and utterly obliterated by your wonted pursuit of the desires of your corrupt hearts, in despite of the calls and entreaties of true and heavenly wisdom. Not only have you had the warning visits of disease in your own persons, but also in the persons of your friends and relations; and what man is here present that cannot recollect a near relative, a beloved friend, or an intimate associate, who has been cut down by death, perhaps, suddenly and unprepared, or it may be at the close of a long and a lingering disease, during the whole of which he was by his sufferings—the intimations of his mortality—preaching a loud and intelligible sermon to all around him? Was your friend arrested, and by

death carried off in the midst of his iniquity, in the disbelief and rejection of the mercy published in the Gospel? Oh, how loudly does *such a death* speak to your reason and your conscience! And could you but hear the voice, how loudly does your friend, at this moment, address you from the regions of despair and of everlasting burning!

Was your friend a faithful follower of Christ? Did he walk with God in the holy obedience of his revealed will, and died he in the scriptural hope of a blessed immortality? What was the language to you of his holy example, of his peaceful, his triumphant death? and how does he now beckon to you from the heavenly mansions of eternal rest, and call upon you to turn at once your feet from the paths that lead down to the abodes of death, and enter into the way that conducts you to God and to endless joy!

Has your attention never been arrested by the holy and useful lives of godly men, rich or poor? Have you not witnessed one or more individuals in the course of your lives, who appeared to you to possess a spirit far different from that which influences the men of this world—evidently acting on principles which belong not to man's fallen and corrupted nature—engaging in pursuits and seeking enjoyments which suit not the taste of the children of pride and carnal propensity, but are sought and prized only by men of a renewed and heaven-born nature—men who live above the world, and so regulate their temper and conduct as to evince that



they are denizens of no earthly city, that their hopes are not bounded by time, but reach forward to a blessed and glorious eternity? In one word, have you never come into contact with the humble, useful, consistent *Bible Christian*, who proved his faith in his Lord by his obedience to his revealed will? And how did you dispose of such characters? You were bound to dispose of them, and you *did* dispose of them. Either you *approved* of them, or you *disapproved* of them: either you thought them *right*, or you thought them *wrong*. If you considered them right, and approved of them, why did you not, then, follow their example, and secure to yourselves their happiness? If you considered them wrong, and disapproved of them because they endeavoured habitually to live agreeably to the will of God revealed in the Bible; in this case, in disapproving of obeying God, you prove yourselves to be the enemies of God, and up to the present day you *appear* to have acted in accordance with such a character.

As to your telling me that you reckoned all the *apparent* and *avowed* followers of Christ *hypocrites*, this is too absurd to deserve at present our notice; we shall show you how such a malicious slander is to be disposed of, on a future occasion. I shall only stop now to tell you, that I *know* that you are all perfectly convinced that, *if there were no GOOD shillings*, there *COULD* be in *circulation* no *BAD ones*; and you are as fully satisfied that, if there were no *real* Christians, there would be no *hypo-*

critical professors of Christianity. What, then, have you done with the example of the sincere and consistent follower of Christ? How shall you answer this question when you meet the Christian at the bar of the Judge of all the earth; where, if you live and die in a state of opposition to Christ, an unchanged, an unconverted character, you shall appear on his *left hand*; whilst the despised but faithful disciple of Jesus shall stand upon his *right*? Is any one of you now foolish and presumptuous enough to flatter himself that he will then be able to ward off the question with levity, resist the convictions of guilt, and escape from the bitter feelings of remorse and self-reproach which must, of necessity, assail him on that day? Even *now*, at this very moment, your reason and your conscience tell you that, in resisting the calls and the instructions addressed to you from the pious and consistent lives of the people of God, you have been manifesting the enmity of your hearts to God himself; that it was because you *hated the Lord*, that you hated his faithful servants and true worshippers; and, to the narrow path and strait gate which conduct unto life, you preferred the broad way and the wide gate which lead downwards to the chambers of death.

But again, I ask you, have you never heard of a book called the BIBLE? Is there a man now before me, who can say that he never heard of such a book? Nay, you have not only *heard* of such a volume being in the world, but it has been inti-

mated to you, again and again, that the book in question makes no ordinary claims upon the attention of mankind. You have heard that it contains a revelation from God; that it declares his truth; that it deals with the understandings and the consciences of men. You have heard that it gives an account of this world's origin, of the origin and character of man; that it furnishes us with the history of Divine Providence; that it acquaints us with the perfections and character of God; with the nature of his new Covenant; with the relation in which the human race stand to Him; with the duties which every one of us owes to our Creator and Preserver; with the provision which He hath made for the salvation of mankind; with the principles on which He will deal with them; and with the vast and interminable prospects which lie before them. In one word, you have heard that there is in this world *a Book* that tells you plainly *what* you are, tells you what God *requires* you to be; that tells you of a gracious and almighty Saviour; of a way of life and a way of death; of a day of final judgment; of the torments of hell, of the bliss of heaven, and the eternal duration of both. Now, you have all heard of the existence of such a book; and I apprehend that there is not one individual here present who has not *seen* a copy of it, or has not *had it in his hands*.

I ask you, then, most solemnly, how have you disposed of the Bible? You know that it declares it was written by men inspired by the Spirit of

God; that it speaks to you individually, or rather, that by the Bible God himself speaks, and speaks to your understanding and your heart. Is there a man now standing on the deck before me, who will presume to say that his reason and his conscience do not tell him that, when the God of heaven and earth addresses him, HE has a *right* to be heard? Is there a man or boy present who does not feel persuaded in his heart that, when the ALMIGHTY is pleased to send a message to man, it must be a message that is important for man to hear, to understand, and to observe—a message that involves his own glory and man's best and eternal interests? Your Maker graciously sent to tell you of your rebellion and your danger, and of his love, and the provision He has, in his great mercy, made for your deliverance from that danger, and recovery to himself and to happiness; *and what reception have you given to his message, and to his Bible through which that message was conveyed?* His message have you not refused to receive? His Bible have you not treated with indignity and neglect? You know that you have *not* made it your business to search diligently the Scriptures, and in the spirit in which they require you to search them; that you have *not* used them for the purposes for which they were graciously written for, and preserved to, you; that you have not yielded to them the obedience they demand, and that it is your duty and privilege to yield; and *therefore* it is, you are *this day* standing on these decks, and in *your present unhappy and*

degrading circumstances. Obedience to your Bible would have prevented all the evil to which you have exposed yourselves, and which you now of necessity must endure.

Are there a number of you who tell me you *cannot read*, and that, *therefore*, you could not read your *Bible*, and are not, in consequence, deserving of blame for not having read it? But I ask you, *why* cannot you read? You *knew* that a written message to you from Heaven must deserve to be by you perused and examined; and that it must be worth your while—to say nothing of your *duty*—to use your utmost endeavours to be enabled to read and understand such a message. Now, let your conscience tell me, or rather, tell *you*, as you at this moment stand in the presence of the great Searcher of hearts, what efforts, what *strenuous* exertions you made, in order that you might be able to read and examine the writings of inspiration—the book of God? Had you, I ask every individual before me, no access, by any means, at any period of your life, to a school? Did you use your utmost endeavours to gain admission to one; or in the event of your efforts failing in this particular, did you apply to your friends or acquaintances, and entreat any of them to be so kind and humane as to teach you to read the Bible? and did you persevere in your application, until success crowned your efforts, or became absolutely hopeless? Do you remember how many you begged and entreated to give you lessons, that you might be enabled to

peruse the Word of Life? How many *refused* to afford you help? Have you not manifested a palpable and a shameful *indifference* about the matter? And in preferring any amusement, and any enjoyment, however low or pernicious, to the laudable and manly exercise of learning to read the Scriptures, you have chosen to remain in utter ignorance of all that it was most important for you to know, because most intimately connected with your present and eternal happiness. And think not that your ignorance, under such circumstances, will furnish any palliation of the crimes of which that ignorance has been the fruitful source. The ignorance which you had it in your power to correct, but did not, is itself most aggravated iniquity, inasmuch as its continuance is referrible to your own criminal neglect of divinely appointed means of instruction; and inasmuch as it is the parent of every species of immorality—the parent of suffering and of death. I can scarcely suppose it probable, that there are many men in Great Britain and Ireland, at least in Great Britain, who have been, during the whole of their lives, placed beyond the possibility of learning to read the sacred Scriptures: and it is very likely that there is not among you one individual but who *might* have been able this day to read his native tongue, had he duly exercised his reason, and, to his utmost, manfully done his duty, in diligently availing himself of all the means of instruction that a gracious Providence placed within

his reach. For such wilful ignorance, and for all the crimes, guilt, and sorrow, that spring therefrom, is that man answerable to his conscience, to society, and to God.

Once more, you heard of, and had access to, *places of public worship* where the sacred Scriptures are read, prayers offered up unto God, and the Gospel of salvation is freely published. Did you thankfully and cheerfully avail yourselves of every opportunity afforded you, in the course of a gracious Providence, of meeting with the people of God, when they assembled to wait upon Him in the observance of his appointed ordinances? You cannot complain of the want of time, for the Lord hath not only *permitted* you to appropriate a portion of your time to the spiritual and temporal concerns of your souls, but hath, in his great love and mercy, most solemnly *commanded* you to dedicate to his worship and to your spiritual improvement, a *seventh part of your time*, which He hath consecrated, or set apart, from a common to a holy use.

How have you employed the first day of the week — *the Lord's day*? Have you faithfully devoted that day to the purposes for which it was hallowed, or divinely set apart? Has it been to you a day of rest from worldly labour and worldly *thoughts*? Have you cheerfully spent it in attending to the best and eternal interests of your own never-dying spirits, and likewise of those whose souls have been committed to your care, and for the care of which you must render an account on the great day? Look

back upon your Sabbaths ! What speak they *now* to your consciences ? Are you prepared to hear their voice at the judgment-seat of Christ ? What do they witness ? Do you tell me they witness against your *parents*, or that they witness against your *masters* ? These are not replies to my present questions. What testimony do your Sabbaths bear to you ? Is their testimony in *your favour*, or is it *against you* ? God gave to man His Sabbath, that man might be possessed of the means of remembering his CREATOR and REDEEMER—His work of creation, and His work of redemption ; and might secure the everlasting welfare of his own soul, and of the souls of his fellow-men, especially of his own household. Have you used His Sabbaths for the ends for which He graciously gave them to you ? What language do they *now* speak to your *heart* ? What is the language of your *guilt* ? Did you regard the day of holy *rest*, as the day of *slothful* indolence ? Do you remember how much of God's holy day you spent in *idleness* ; how much in sinful and gross indulgences ? Where were you when you heard the tolling of the bell, when the people were gathering themselves together, to hear the word of pardon and peace, of holiness and life ? What said you to the *loud call*, or to the *whispers* of conscience, when your neighbours and their families were proceeding to the house of prayer, to hold solemn converse with the Father of their spirits, and to contemplate the unseen realities of an unseen world ? Whither did your feet carry you ?

To the place where the blessed JESUS hath promised to meet, and receive, and pardon sinners, and to fill them with the joys of His great salvation? or did they bear you to the haunts of vice, the abodes of darkness and of the children of darkness—the gates of death, which lead down to hell? You recollect how you debated the point with conscience, and with your pious and faithful friends; how you yielded at length to the influence of those corruptions which ought to have been subdued, and to the enticements of those wicked associates whose temptations you ought to have rejected, and whose society you ought to have shunned.

But, instead of fleeing from temptation, you turned your backs upon God, His house, and the fellowship of His saints; and preferred the company, the pursuits, and the enjoyments of the wicked. The *Tavern* was more suited to your dispositions, than the place of *Divine Worship*; the destructive draught from the poisoned cup was swallowed with a greedy relish, while the rich provisions of the Gospel table, and the pure water of life, were utterly loathed and rejected; dust, the serpent's meat, was preferred to the Bread of Heaven; the low and corrupting ribaldry of the depraved and the wretched was more pleasing to the ear of your licentiousness than were the truths of the Divine law and of the Gospel to a corrupt heart and an oppressed, yet struggling, conscience. The song of the drunkard was preferred to the hymn of salvation and devout praise. Shame,

poverty, disease, and death, were chosen rather than respectability, competency, health, and life. You rejected against yourselves the counsels of Heaven; you have hitherto cast in your lot with the ungodly; the character of the wicked you have determined should be *your* character, and you are this day reaping a portion of the fruits of your choice.

Finally, you knew *the laws of your country*; you knew that you were bound, both by the laws of God and the laws of man, to speak truth, to be honest and upright in your dealings, and to do violence to no man—to wrong no man. You knew that it was your duty to be industrious, to be frugal; to provide, by some lawful calling, for yourselves, and for those whom Divine Providence had made dependant on your industry; and that you were bound to exert yourselves, to promote the prosperity, the peace, and the harmony of the community. In one word, you knew that, whatever you could reasonably wish men to do to you, you were bound to do to them. Can you plead ignorance of these laws? You know that you cannot. When you were in the act of breaking the law, you *knew* that you were breaking the law; that you were contracting guilt, and subjecting yourselves to the penalty. You were perfectly aware that the welfare of individuals, as well as the peace of society, required that the laws of the land should be maintained and enforced; yet these laws you deliberately, and the greater number of you, it is

more than probable, oftener than once, violated. You pursued a line of conduct which you knew was not only *unjustifiable*, but deserving of the strongest *reprobation*, as tending to mar the harmony, destroy the security, and entirely upset the quiet and comfort of the community; and this course you have followed, not merely in opposition to *conviction*, but in the face of many practical warnings, which have been furnished to you by hundreds, alas! by thousands of your countrymen, who, by their unprincipled and lawless conduct, rendered themselves obnoxious to justice, and paid the penalty in the forfeiture, in many instances of liberty, and in not a few, of even life itself.

But all these loud and solemn warnings appear to have been lost upon you, and you have pursued the path from which you were so often, and so distinctly, urged to flee.

Thus have you forgotten the tenderness and care which your parents exercised over you in the days of your infancy, childhood, and youth; their wholesome instructions, counsel, and reproof, you have neglected and despised; their supplications and prayers in your behalf, you have hitherto frustrated; upon the manifestations of the perfections of God in creation and providence, you have shut your eyes; the voice of the faithful conscience you have endeavoured to stifle and put down; the fearful and impressive warnings afforded you in the course of the Divine dispensations you have turned aside; the consistent and holy example of the peo-

ple of God, which invited you to cast in your lot with them, and share in their privileges, enjoyments, and hopes, only served to excite the enmity of your carnal minds, and call forth the rancour of your depraved hearts, in malignant charges of self-seeking and hypocrisy. The writings of inspiration with which, in the infinite mercy of God, you were furnished, you either neglected or perverted; the house of prayer you forsook for the abodes of sin and of death; on the sound of the Gospel of peace you closed your ears; the Lord's day you profaned; the laws of your country you have trampled under your feet. On a verdict of a jury of your own countrymen, the judges of the land have declared that the security and peace of society demand, that you should be placed under restraint, and forthwith removed to a distant corner of the empire: and when you view this decision in connexion with the injuries you have inflicted on the community, and the dishonour you have cast upon God, you cannot fail to feel and acknowledge—*provided that you are now in a becoming and hopeful disposition of mind*—that your sentence is *just*, and that the Judge of all the earth, who knows your heart, and is intimately acquainted with all your ways, hath, in the dispensations of His holy providence, acted towards you, not only in *righteousness*, but likewise in wisdom, and in GREAT MERCY.

These reflections may be painful to your minds, but it is because I think them *profitable*, and at this hour most *seasonable*, that I have suggested them

to your most serious consideration. You are, at this moment, entering upon a new career. You now come under a system of moral discipline, which contemplates, not only your present, but your future character and enjoyments through endless ages. It is right, and of the utmost importance, that you should entertain just views of the past, and have your minds duly prepared to enter upon, and appreciate, what lies before you.

Should there be—as the case is *possible*—one individual amongst you who has in *truth* reason to conclude that he is *not* guilty of the crime or crimes with which he has been charged, and on account of which he is suffering transportation; let that person remember that, however much such an evil is to be deprecated and lamented, and whatever degree of guilt it *may* reflect upon the agents of his sufferings, there are nevertheless *other* crimes with which he is justly chargeable before God; and that although *man* may have sinned in tearing him from his friends and the land of his birth, yet, viewing the infliction as an evil which the all-wise and sovereign Ruler of the universe has *permitted* to overtake him, he will feel that his past life deserves, at His hands, a far severer chastisement; and if he think soundly and wisely, he will *even now* be able to perceive that the dispensation of which he complains, *may* be, and *ought* to be, so improved as to secure its being overruled to the unspeakable advancement of his best interests for time and eternity.

You will observe that I merely admit the *possibility* of such a case as that to which I have referred (and I do so because I know that it is not a rare thing for men in your situation to allege that they are *guiltless* sufferers), but the *probability*—the *decided* probability—is, that there is not here present amongst you *one* individual who is not guilty of the *crime* or *crimes* with which he is charged, and on account of which he is now about to be removed from his native land.

In withdrawing now to your berths, you will do so in deep and solemn thought. Let every man's mind retire within himself. Lay to heart the hints I have now given you to aid your reflections, and assist you in your self-examination. Let there be no *talking*, but let all be *deep consideration*. Look back upon your lives; silently meditate upon and faithfully apply, every man to himself, what has been now spoken in great kindness to you all. Let every one now consider, that to talk to his neighbour on retiring from this place, is to *invade his neighbour's rights*, and to interrupt that solemn and secret communion that he is now required to hold with his own heart, and with Him who is the Searcher of the heart.

In my next address, I shall give you a view of the exercises in which you shall, God willing, engage during the voyage; of the principles upon which the discipline shall be conducted; and show you the great ends which, in all our labours and

plans, we shall, through the Divine blessing, seek to attain.

You now retire to your wards; and let me beseech you to take care that your demeanour, on your embarkation, augurs favourably, not only of your behaviour during the voyage, but of your conduct in the country to which you are destined.



CHAPTER II.

SECOND ADDRESS TO THE PRISONERS, WITH AMPLIFICATION.

THE following day was chiefly occupied with the organization of the people. They were formed into three divisions, and placed under the superintendence of three captains, who were cautiously selected from amongst their fellow-prisoners, according to the character which they had received from the officers of the hulks, and the impressions produced on my own mind by the expression of their countenances, and their general outward demeanour. Besides the appointment of captains of divisions, as many more of the petty officers were nominated as could be fixed upon consistently with prudence.

In the afternoon, and just in time to conclude by the hour appointed for mustering the people below for the night, they were assembled, as formerly, on the quarter-deck—the guard being on the poop—to receive the *second* address; of which the following is the substance, with some additional observations, introduced chiefly into the paragraphs contained in brackets.

In my first address, I endeavoured to assist your recollections of your past lives, in order to aid you in your secret examination of your hearts, to produce feelings and sentiments suited to the condition in which you are now placed; to awaken in you proper desires in reference both to the present and the future; and thus prepare you for entering upon a *course of instruction and discipline*, with a view to your intellectual and moral improvement. What use you have already made of my suggestions and observations, you yourselves know. *Probably* there are some amongst you who have treated all I have said, just as you treated the wholesome counsel kindly tendered to you by your friends and relatives on former occasions. But I would cherish the hope, that there are not among you many individuals of this description of character. I would rather have cause to believe that the whole of you have attentively listened to what I have said; that you have solemnly and prayerfully reflected upon it; that you have been secretly dealing with your own hearts, and that He to whom the night is as the day, and the darkness as the light, hath seen the unfeigned sorrow and contrition of your minds; observed your self-loathing and self-abasement in His sight; and recorded, in the book of His remembrance, the earnest longing of your souls to be delivered from sin and from death, and recovered to a state of holiness and life.

My object in assembling you together now is, to acquaint you with the exercises in which it is pro-

posed you shall engage during the voyage before us ; to exhibit to you the nature of the discipline under which you are to be placed ; and thus to impress your minds with a just consideration of the grand objects which, in all we undertake for you, we desire to see accomplished.

I. I call your attention, in the *first* place, to the nature of the exercises in which you are to be occupied during the voyage ; and, in doing this, you will observe, that I do not address you merely as *prisoners*, but as *my fellow-men*. Of the causes which have brought you here, I say nothing at present ; I have just now to do only with the *fact*, that you *are* here. I do not at present notice the circumstances which led to your being placed in prisons or in hulks, and ultimately on board this transport. To some of these we have already alluded ; to others we shall advert on a future occasion. All that I have to do with at this moment, are the facts, namely, that *I find you here*, and *I find myself here*, charged with the care of your persons, your health, your improvement, and your happiness. You appear now before me as *a portion of the human race* ; as so many members of that family to which I also belong. I now look upon you as the creatures of God, the offspring of our common and almighty Parent, the Creator and the Preserver of the universe, the Former of our bodies and the Father of our spirits. I contemplate you as standing in certain relations to God, to one another, and to the world ; relations out of which necessarily

arise many interesting and important duties, and as necessarily involving great responsibilities and peculiar enjoyments. You are not only the offspring of God, but His *rational* offspring, the *moral subjects* of His *moral government*. He made you, and He made you *for Himself*. He made you, at the first, in His own moral image, and under the influence of His blessing; you have lost that image, and have fallen under the influence of His disapprobation. Still you are accountable to Him for all you *think*, and for all you *believe* or *disbelieve*—that is, for your *belief* and *unbelief*; and for all you *say*, and for all you *do*. And He, as the righteous and immutable Judge of all His rational offspring, must deal with every one of you according to the eternal and unalterable principles of justice and truth. Not only are you *accountable*, but you are likewise *immortal*, beings. Every one of you is in possession of a *deathless* spirit; a spirit which must soon quit that tabernacle of clay it now inhabits, and, leaving it to return to the dust from which it was originally taken, must make its appearance before God, to receive at his hand *according* to the deeds done in the body, whether they be good or whether they be bad. In the meantime, the sentence of death, under which transgression has brought you, is, in its full execution, delayed. God is unwilling that any one of you should perish. Though under a sentence of condemnation and death, He has, in His infinite love and compassion to you as His creatures, placed you under a dispensation of mercy.

The apostasy of man from his Maker was quickly followed by intimations of a gracious scheme of redemption. The covenant made in the counsels of the GODHEAD from the ages of eternity, was published to the fallen and guilty rebels even before their removal from their forfeited paradise. He who is not a man that He should lie, nor the son of man that He should repent, announced to the guilty and desolate hearts of our ruined progenitors, the joyous appearance of a Divine Deliverer. The Eternal WORD, by whom all things were made—even the beloved Son of the Father, is to clothe himself in the nature of the fallen and the lost, and appear the “*Child born,*” the “*mighty God,*” the “*Prince of Life.*” He is to magnify the law and make it honourable, and bring in everlasting righteousness; vanquish the power of the great adversary; accomplish a complete salvation for the human race, to be published in due time to *all*, and to be enjoyed by every one of whom it should obtain acceptance. This is that great salvation which was exhibited to the antediluvians, to the patriarchs, to the nation of the Jews; and was proclaimed to the Gentile world by the apostles of the Lord; and, ever since their days, has been published in the Scriptures of truth to every one who will either read or hear the Divine oracles, in which the glad tidings of great joy are proclaimed, at this day, to the sinful and perishing children of men, without distinction of rank or condition; proclaimed to *you*, for *your* deliverance from sin and its bitter fruits,

for *your* recovery to God and to holy and blissful obedience. And according to your treatment of the message of mercy and peace, will be your future, your eternal condition. If you receive it, you receive pardon and life, and glory everlasting; if you reject it, you choose condemnation and death, and never-ending wretchedness. But the holy Scriptures not only reveal to you the way of pardon and of life; they furnish you with all that you really require to know, in the present world, respecting God, yourselves, and the whole human race, considered as the subjects of the Divine government. They tell you what you are to *believe*, and what you are to *practise*. They clearly exhibit to you the duties you owe to your Maker, your fellow-men, and to yourselves. They inform you on what principles you are to act so as to please God, and under the influence of what motives. They declare unto you, not only what God *requires* of you, but how you are to obtain strength to do His will. They not only apprize you of the enemies, temptations, and dangers to which you are exposed, but they show you how they are to be avoided or overcome. These writings of inspiration constitute the chart, according to which you are to steer your course through the present life, to the shores of a boundless eternity. They are the magazine whence you are to be furnished with the whole Christian armour, by which you are to meet and to vanquish all your spiritual enemies. In them you have set before you the Bread which

perisheth not with the using; even the Bread of Life, of which if a man eat he shall never die. In them you have the raiment which waxeth not old, the robe of righteousness, the garments of salvation and praise. They supply you, not only with white raiment whereby you may be clothed, but with gold tried in the fire, that you may be rich. They conduct you to that great and gracious Physician, who is able and willing, without money and without price, to heal all your wounds; to remove all your diseases; to renew your spiritual youth; to enable your eyes to see, your ears to hear, and your hearts to understand and receive the things which belong to your present and everlasting peace. When you are cast down, they will raise you up; when you are bewildered and perplexed, they will prove the men of your council; when you are in doubt and know not your path, they will direct you aright, and say unto you, in a language you will understand, "This is the way, walk ye in it." When your heart is disconsolate and sad, they will fill you with that joy with which a stranger intermeddleth not; when you are in darkness, they will give you light; when you are weary and ready to faint, they will supply you with strength, endow you with courage, and fit you for all the demands of the day; when you are filled with self-loathing, they will show you in whom the Father receives you, and regards you as "complete;" when your spirit is elated with the joys of salvation, they will keep you humble at the foot of the cross. In health they will quicken you

in the execution of the work your heavenly Father hath given you to perform; in affliction they will sustain you, and enable you to exercise resignation and hope; and in holding fast the truth concerning JESUS even to the end, you will realize the accomplishment of the Divine promises, when you enter into conflict with the *last enemy*, over whom, through faith in Him who died and rose again, and who loves you with an everlasting love, you will be made more than conquerors; and from whose power, as well as from that of all your spiritual adversaries, you shall be completely delivered, and made partakers of that eternal life and glory which the Lord hath secured to all those that love and obey Him.

Your principal exercises during the voyage, then, will be to read the Scriptures, and to hear them read; to search them diligently; to commit them to memory; to store your minds and your hearts with their precepts and doctrines; to endeavour to understand their instructions, and to perceive their bearings upon your condition, your character, conduct, and future destiny; to learn from them the nature, character, and perfections of God; to observe the gracious dispensations of His providence towards the world, and especially towards His church and people in every age; to understand the nature of the moral government of God, the revealed principles of the Divine procedure, the laws He hath laid down for your guidance, and according to which you shall be judged at the great

day; and especially to study, and, I trust, to *discern* and *admire* that GRAND REMEDIAL SYSTEM, made known and developed in the Scriptures, which contemplates the restoration of sinful men—and therefore of YOU—to the Divine favour, to *holiness*, and to bliss.

As the writings of the Old and New Testaments evidently contain all that is most important for man, considered as an intellectual and a moral being, to know; it is clearly of material moment that you should be put in possession of at least an outline of the evidence that is to be adduced in proof of their being what they profess to be—namely, documents written by men inspired by the Holy Spirit to communicate to man a revelation of the Divine will. And since you are continually surrounded by the enemies of God and of your own peace, who will endeavour to seduce you from truth and from happiness, and draw you into error and destruction, it is the more necessary that you should be able to defend the cause of God and of your own souls from the attacks of the wicked, and be capable of giving to every one that asks it, a reason of the hope that is in you, with meekness and fear; we shall, therefore, devote a portion of our time to the consideration of the subject of the *evidences* of the truth and inspiration of the holy Scriptures.

Your Bible abounds with the most beautiful and sublime descriptions of the wonderful works of God; descriptions intended not only to set forth the glory of the Divine attributes, but designed to

contrast the true God with all false gods, and to exhibit JEHOVAH, the God of Israel, as being infinitely superior to all the countless and miserable idols of the heathen nations. But how can you sufficiently *appreciate* these appeals of the sacred penmen, as it has, I think, been asked by a popular writer of the present day, unless you have *some* acquaintance with those stupendous works to which their appeals are made? Doubtless, the humblest and the most unlearned among you cannot survey the earth you tread upon, or lift up your eyes to those heavens which are spread abroad over your heads, without being struck with manifestations of the perfections of God; and without being compelled to acknowledge that there are no works to be compared with His works, and that, therefore, there is no God like unto the one *living* and only *true* God. But still, it is clear, that the more intimately you are acquainted with the operations of His hands, the more distinct, full, and impressive will be your knowledge of His attributes; and, of consequence, the more vivid will be your perception of the argument of the prophets, when they demonstrate the unutterable superiority and incomparable dignity of the eternal God, and contrast His Divine character with that of the vanities feared and adored by their poor ignorant and degraded votaries who make up the pagan world. A small share of your time, then, will be given to the investigation of the works of creation, especially the world we inhabit; extending our inquiries to the whole of our solar

system, and merely glancing, for a little, at those more distant orbs, the fixed stars. And, if our time permit, I shall endeavour to give you also such a view of your own systems, your minds and your bodies, as will be calculated to elevate your souls to God, and to fill you with wonder and gratitude, admiration and praise.

Our investigations of the sacred Scriptures will necessarily lead us to study, to a certain extent, the history of nations and the character of man. And, as our instructions proceed, you will have an opportunity of putting to me questions, and of proposing your difficulties: the former I shall answer, and the latter I shall solve, *when I am able*; and, when they are beyond my reach, it will become me to acknowledge that I cannot afford you the information you require.

I have been enabled, through the generosity of pious friends, who are kindly interested in your spiritual improvement and happiness, to provide for your use a considerable variety of tracts and other valuable works, chiefly selected from those published by that active and most useful institution, the London Religious Tract Society. With these you will, in the manner afterwards to be described, be supplied for your perusal during the voyage; and I do earnestly hope that you will read them with diligence, and demonstrate, by your conduct, that you have read them with profit.

But it is the Bible itself that I am most anxious that you should read and study; and, since the

Government supply of Bibles and Testaments is far from being adequate to meet the demand which I am quite sure will be made by you, the British and Foreign Bible Society has, together with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at my request, most generously placed at my disposal as many copies of the Old and New Testaments as will enable me, with the Government allowance, to furnish the whole of you with a copy of either the one or the other. Every one of you who can now read, will immediately have access to the Word of Life. Others will, so soon as they can, with tolerable ease, peruse it: and the whole of you will, I trust, be found, at the termination of the voyage, able to read with so much accuracy as to warrant my putting you in possession of a copy of the Scriptures, either a Bible or a New Testament, previously to your debarkation.

Influenced by past experience, I am prepared to find on examination, that a large proportion of you are totally uneducated. Indeed, I am quite sure that, when I come to put you, one by one, to the test of trial, I shall discover that a very great number of you are as yet *wholly unacquainted even with the letters of the alphabet*; and many of those who do know their letters, I shall find incapable of *reading*; and not a few, I anticipate, will be found to read so very *imperfectly*, as not to be able to peruse even the easiest authors with *profit*, much less with *enjoyment*. Such of you as are so circumstanced, will find at school abundance of employ-

ment during the voyage. Idleness can have no place with us; the whole of your time will be in demand. The most willing, cheerful, and active exertions will be required on your part, to remove from you the *calamity* under which you now lie, in not being able to read at all, or not with facility; and to possess yourselves of the means of acquiring useful knowledge, *especially the knowledge which God communicates to you in the pages of inspiration.* So actively engaged will you be in the business of your education, that the period occupied by your voyage will insensibly glide away; and, when it comes to a termination, you will feel that it has been too short for the delightful and profitable exercises in which you shall have been engaged, and you will ardently wish for a few more weeks of such useful and happy occupation. The discharge of the duties of your regular school hours, then, besides the filling up profitably, in private, all your spare moments, will constitute a most important branch of your employment on board the transport.

When the proper time arrives—that is, when you shall have learned to read *well*, you will be allowed the additional privilege of learning to *write* and to *cypher*. In fine, I observe that a number of you will be occupied, during a portion of your time, in *teaching*, and in discharging the duties of *petty officers* according to instructions which, in due time, will be issued. Such is a very brief outline of the principal exercises and engagements in which you will be most actively employed during the voyage.

II. I have, in the *second* place, to set before you a view of the character of that *discipline*, under the operation of which you are to be placed during our continuance on board this transport; and, as I am most anxious that the youngest amongst you should perfectly understand me, I shall, as I have hitherto done, endeavour to express myself in the plainest and most simple language.

The discipline to be now exercised over you will be, as much as possible, a *moral discipline*; and I hold that the perfection and efficiency of such discipline must ever correspond with its approximation, in *principle* and *end*, to the Divine government, or moral discipline of the universe.

[In order to our thinking correctly on the subject of the Divine government, it is requisite that we should bear duly and solemnly in mind, that God is a holy God; that His throne is established in *holiness*; that His law is a *holy* law; that all His ways are *holy*, and in perfect accordance with principles the most absolutely sound and fixed. In His government there is to be found nothing, properly speaking, *arbitrary*. And we should be justly chargeable with using language the most unbecoming and impious, were we to dare to affirm that any of His acts are, in the slightest degree, *capricious*. The whole of His procedure is founded upon the eternal and immutable principles of truth and justice, and is in perfect harmony with the dictates of infinite wisdom and love.

You are to remember that God is perfect; that

His will is perfect; that He is perfectly blessed in Himself; and that He delights in the happiness of His creatures.

The highest end which God, in all that He does, can possibly have in view, is the accomplishment of *His own will*; and whatsoever He willeth, must, of moral necessity, be, in the highest and most superlative degree, the thing *most desirable*.

God willeth—that is, *desireth*, the happiness of all His creatures. But such is the nature of all His intelligent and moral offspring; such the relation in which they necessarily stand to their Creator, that their happiness must, in the very nature of things, depend on the conformity of their character and conduct to His revealed will: in other words, must depend on the will of God being accomplished *in* them and *by* them. The manifest tendency of all that God has revealed to man of Himself and of His government—the tendency of law, of precept, of promise, of threatening, of ordinance, and of dispensation, is, to accomplish, in and by man, the Divine will; to produce in man a moral conformity to his Maker, and therefore to advance and secure his true and only happiness. *Your* happiness, then, is necessarily involved in the accomplishment, *in* and *by you*, of the revealed will of God.

From these brief observations, it must appear very evident to every serious and reflecting mind, that whatever laws and regulations are enacted by man or by any body of men, and put forth for the guidance and government of his or their fellow-

men, in order to be sound, safe, binding, and fitted to promote and secure the end which ought to be contemplated—namely, the happiness of the whole community—must be in [perfect harmony with the revealed will of the Sovereign of the universe. Whatever is opposed to the Divine will must be regarded as an evil; all that is in unison with the Divine will must, on the other hand, be held as being *good*.

Again, all men are the subjects of the moral government of God; to their supreme affection and universal obedience He has an inalienable right. His law is, in its authority, infinitely above all the enactments of the creature, and renders null and invalid every opposing or conflicting decree or command. My conviction, then, is, that all human legislators in framing a code of laws for the government of the people, are bound to bear solemnly in mind, that they are legislating for beings who are *already* the subjects of a government which is infinitely superior to all other governments; the subjects of a King whose dominion is from everlasting to everlasting, and extendeth over all; whose law is *the truth*, whose power is omnipotence, whose wisdom is unerring, whose judgment is justice, whose disapprobation is death, whose favour is life, and from whose decisions there is no appeal.

But again, any man in constructing laws for the governance of his fellow-men, is required to recollect the *nature* of the obedience which God demands, both from him and from them. He claims the

heart ; the obedience of the heart ; the willing and cheerful obedience of holy and supreme love to Himself. And it is His revealed will that, in all we do, whether in making laws or in obeying them, we act with a single eye, a pure and superlative regard to His glory, or, in other words, to the holy requirements of His inspired word.]

In laying down rules, then, for the regulation of *your* conduct on board this transport, as it is my *duty*, it will also be my *care*, to see that such rules are in perfect keeping with the requisitions of the revealed will of your Maker ; so that you shall *not* be required to do or omit anything which would imply an infringement on the Divine law ; but on the contrary, in obeying me, you will be found yielding obedience to the great Ruler of us all. I charge it alike upon my understanding and my conscience, to endeavour to frame regulations in perfect harmony with the requisitions of the moral law of the universe, as promulgated in the pages of revelation, and to impose upon you such exactions only as will at once afford you occasions of yielding obedience to me, and of serving and honouring your Father who is in heaven.

It is required of you, then, that your language, your manners, and the whole of your conduct towards each other, be in keeping with the spirit and precepts of *Christianity*. The grand rule for your guidance is so summarily expressed by the Divine Author of the Christian faith, and in such beautifully simple language, that it requires only

to be heard to be understood; and with the slightest desire to remember it, never can be forgotten: it is this, "ALL THINGS WHATSOEVER YE WOULD THAT MEN SHOULD DO TO YOU, DO YE EVEN SO TO THEM." Keeping this rule in view, and carrying it out in the whole of your intercourse with one another, your behaviour cannot fail to be such as will secure the approbation of your own minds, and give satisfaction to me, and to all who act with me in the public service. In accordance with the spirit of this heavenly precept, it is enjoined upon you, that you regard each other as *brethren*, and that you cherish towards one another those sentiments and feelings which are in unison with the relation in which you stand to one another, not only as *men*, but as *fellow-transgressors* and *fellow-sufferers*. Although there are amongst you unquestionably *degrees* of guilt, yet you must remember that you are *all* in fact *guilty*; and since you are all involved in one common calamity—namely, that of *being guilty*, it is fit that you should all sympathize with each other under such a heavy calamity. Your guilt having been established, you are all consigned to endure a corresponding punishment, and therefore an additional demand is made upon your mutual sympathies. The least depraved amongst you, however, will regard the calamity of being *guilty* as far more severe and difficult to sustain, than that of being subjected to a wholesome and necessary *punishment*; and therefore it is that the circumstance of having *merited* punishment ought to call

forth deeper and more tender sympathies towards one another, than the mere *endurance* of the punishment you have deserved. Let, however, the remembrance of the guilt, and the suffering of its reward, produce each its appropriate influence on your hearts and conduct; and let it be manifest that this influence is duly felt, by its affecting—as it ought—your demeanour towards each other and all around you.

From what I have said, you will perceive that not only does the relation in which you stand to one another as the offspring of one common Father, the subjects of one universal government, require that you cherish feelings of kind and affectionate interest in each other's happiness, but that these feelings ought to derive a peculiar tenderness from the circumstances in which you are now placed, as offenders reaping the bitter fruit of your crimes. Every one of you who understands the situation in which he is placed, and experiences becoming feelings, will know what are the probable convictions and feelings of his fellow-prisoners, and the nature of the compassionate and brotherly affection which ought to stamp the whole of his social intercourse with them, as his companions in offence and in suffering.

The opportunities, during the voyage, of exercising the best and kindest feelings of humanity, will be ample. Every moment, indeed, will of necessity furnish occasion for the manifestation of such feelings. United together as one large family,

not only *personal* but *relative* duties must be perpetually recurring, and making their demands on your understandings and your hearts. I request, therefore, that you will be continually on the watch to ascertain the duties which may be immediately incumbent upon you; that you set about the performance of them with a cheerful alacrity, and likewise in a manner calculated to produce the happiest impressions on the minds of all who observe you. I entreat you to get rid at once of the debasing principle and feeling of *selfishness*. In seeking deliverance from the governing influence of selfishness, you seek, in the most effectual manner, the advancement of your own peace, and the comfort of all with whom you have to do. But if, on the contrary, you suffer your minds to be influenced, and your conduct directed by the repulsive and degrading principle of selfishness, you will not only debar peace from your own breasts, and destroy the serenity of your own minds, but you will excite and foment discord amongst your associates; and thus inflict upon them a most serious injury, and counteract all my efforts to advance the best interests of the whole of my people. Let me, then, see every one of you habitually influenced by a *most excellent spirit*—a spirit of self-denial and universal benevolence. Let not each be bent on securing his own individual comfort, irrespective of that of his fellows; but let every one *prefer his brother to himself*, seeking first of all *his* welfare and convenience, and *then* his own; or at least let his own and

his brother's interest have an equal share in his regard and attention. Should you at once come under the influence of such a generous, elevating, and ennobling principle of action as this, how delightful to me will be the discharge of the task—if *task* it could then be called—which devolves upon me! Why, your government will be your own!—your own spontaneous rule; the government of sound principle, of generous and manly feeling; a government springing up out of the rule which each member of our large family exercises over his own heart and mind; the government of brotherly affection and of disinterested regard to the general good; the government of supreme love to God!

This being the character of our little community, our ears shall never be assailed by the boisterous language, or our eyes pained by the savage tug, of a grasping and an all-appropriating selfishness. The calmness of our moral atmosphere will not be disturbed by the revolting contest for personal mastery and personal enjoyment, accompanied with the appropriate language of a sordid self-seeking. We shall have no angry and selfish contests about supposed or real personal rights and privileges, but we shall hear the language and observe the actions of brotherly affection. You will be all mutually anxious to help forward and secure the comfort of one another, and *self-denial* will take the place of *self-indulgence*.

Thus the strife amongst us will be the strife of brotherly love; not who shall do least, but who

shall do most for others' comfort: not who *shall have* this or that good thing, but who shall be most ready to *wave* the privilege in behalf of another.

You will not only be careful of each other's comforts, but you will be kindly watchful over each other's speech and behaviour, as well as your own. None of you will suffer evil upon his brother, but he will "in *anywise rebuke* him;" but his rebukes will be in soft and gentle language—language fit to be spoken by one who feels himself to be more weak and erring than the brother whom he corrects: and thus his words of reproof will be like soft oil, which will not break the head or wound the feelings of the reproved, but will prove refreshing and salutary to his spirit.

You will not only be attentive to each other's comfort, language, and behaviour, but you will, with a prudent and affectionate zeal, seek for and embrace every possible opportunity of doing the greatest *possible good* to one another in every respect. You will remember the relation in which you stand to each other as accountable and immortal creatures, and you will study to abide habitually under the influences of the unchangeable obligations you are necessarily under, to promote to the utmost your mutual happiness and highest interests.

To my instructions also in reference to your demeanour towards your petty officers and schoolmasters, who shall be chosen from amongst yourselves, you will be, in a special manner, attentive. You will not only bear in mind that they act for

me, but that the object of their appointment is *your* advantage, *your* improvement and happiness. Towards them, therefore, you will cherish the most suitable temper and feelings, and ever exhibit the most becoming behaviour. You will so act as to insure to them the enjoyment of unmingled pleasure and satisfaction in the discharge of their official duties. In so acting, you will vastly augment *my* comfort, and equally promote your *own*; as well as improve your character, and advance your claims on the approbation of all good men.

It is almost unnecessary for me to tell you, that any act of disobedience or of other impropriety of conduct shown to a petty officer or schoolmaster, will be always regarded by me as being more aggravated than if such disobedience and misconduct were to be manifested immediately towards myself; and will therefore be visited with severer expressions of my displeasure. Offences committed directly against petty officers, I always consider as not merely implying that dereliction of principle which is involved in every offence, but as being aggravated by the admixture of more or less of meanness of spirit and baseness of disposition. All such offences will, therefore, be visited with that degree of punishment which accords with the view which not only I, but all the sound thinking among yourselves, entertain of them.

With regard to your demeanour towards the officers of the guard and the soldiers under their command, the master of the ship and the ship's

officers and crew, let it be ever under the influence of that spirit which you have been enjoined to cultivate in all your intercourse with each other, and then no one on board will have cause to complain of you. Let your language be always becoming and respectful, your manners most unequivocally polite, and your whole conduct in unison with the dictates of sound and enlightened reason, and in harmony with the regulations laid down for your guidance.

The guard have imposed upon them duties with the performance of which you are not, in the slightest degree, on any account whatever to interfere. To none of the soldiers do I allow you to address yourselves, unless in cases of necessity, and in the discharge of your duties. And when, at any time, you are addressed by any of the soldiers, you will uniformly reply in language the most becoming, most creditable to you, and most suitable for them. To the sentries you are, on no occasion, to utter a word without my permission; than the person and office of a sentry, none under the crown are more sacred. Towards the sentries you will therefore ever manifest the most watchful respect, and will promptly attend to all their prohibitions. But it will be your business on all occasions so to conduct yourselves, as to avoid ever coming into contact with the sentries at all, or with any of the guard, excepting—as already observed—in the performance of the duties required of you.

To the master of the ship, his officers and crew,

your behaviour will always correspond with that required of you to the officers of the guard and those under their command—to all you are to be respectful and obliging. With the working of the ship, or with any of the *ship's duties*, you are never to presume to interfere farther than you may, from time to time, be required; your assistance when asked, and which, to avoid interference with your assigned duties, especially with your school-hours, must always be with my approbation, you will cheerfully and readily afford. In one word, towards all on board you will ever study to cultivate the best and most kindly feelings; and will uniformly so carry yourselves towards them, as to put the existence of such feelings most decidedly beyond all question.

I might now proceed to specify some of those more active duties which arise out of the external circumstances in which you are placed on board a transport; but I apprehend these will be more definitely and advantageously stated to you, in connexion with the appointment of your petty officers and schoolmasters. My observations, too, on your anticipated attainments, the grand and ultimate objects which, in all our plans and labours, we shall keep steadily in view, I shall reserve to another opportunity of addressing you.

At present I shall only remind you, that I most distinctly and most positively prohibit everything that in the slightest degree tends to corrupt the mind, destroy social harmony, and retard intellec-

tual and moral improvement. All indecent language, low unmanly vulgarisms; all offensive slang; all profane oaths, cursing and execration; all expressions derogatory to the honour of God, calculated to pain the ears of those who love and reverence His name, but familiar and not displeasing to men of an opposite character; all such speech, let it be remembered, I most solemnly forbid. A regard to your best interests, present and future, a respect to good order, and a due regard to the protection which every man and boy amongst you has a right to expect from me, demand that all such language be wholly and entirely banished from amongst you.

On the same grounds, I forbid the use of all irritating and provoking speech or gestures in your intercourse with each other; the employment of all vulgar epithets, unmanly "nicknames," the use of which always indicates a low and undisciplined mind. In a word, I most earnestly request, that your addresses to each other—as already intimated to you—be always couched in plain and chaste language, such as can give no possible offence to any one, even the most virtuous and refined. If you duly recollect that you are *men*; that, though depraved, you are still the highest order of beings which inhabit this world; and if you understand and keep in mind—as you ought—what every man has a right to expect from another, as well as the respect which every one owes to himself, it will become easy and natural to you to employ, in all

your intercourse with each other, the most becoming and respectful language. And I do desire, that I may never, on any occasion during our voyage, have cause to reprove any of my people for anything unbecoming in speech or behaviour.

As nothing is more subversive of confidence and social order, than the practice of uttering falsehoods or telling lies, it is most strictly enjoined upon you, that you do always *speak* TRUTH. At all hazards, whatever may be the consequence, speak nothing but what you do really believe to be *true*. What is more *base*—more *wicked*, than to tell a lie? What more dishonouring to the God of truth? What more injurious to society; what more deserving of punishment? With us, lying must, like other crimes, be ever visited with expressions of disapprobation; in other words, with some appropriate infliction.

Bearing *false witness* is lying accompanied with high aggravations, and therefore merits a severe punishment.

You are required to cultivate the strictest habits of honesty, and, in accordance with the golden precept laid down to you, to respect your brother's interest in his own property, as you would desire him to regard your interest in that which is *yours*. If you are wise and virtuous enough to act on the principles on which you are solicited and bound to act, we shall not have a single case of theft to detect and punish during our voyage; not one case to cast a *stigma* upon *you*, or cause *grief* and *disappoint-*

ment to me. I do not, at present, remember one instance of theft committed by any of my people during the voyage, escaping detection sooner or later. But honesty arising from the fear of detection and punishment, is *not* honesty. To be honest you must be honest *on principle* ; honest, not merely because your duty to your brother and to society, your respect for yourselves, and your own interests, require you to be honest; but because the Sovereign of the universe commands that you should. Such is the honesty which I desire to see the whole of you cultivate and practise. But on the high principle of action here alluded to, I shall have occasion to speak more particularly, and in reference to the whole of your personal and social duties, on a future day.

Again I have to request, that you unite cordially with me in endeavouring to secure, as far as is practicable, the calm and profitable observance of the first day of the week, "the Lord's day." I can have no authoritative control over your *spiritual* observance of that holy day; but it is my imperative duty, and it shall be, God helping me, my aim, so to arrange our affairs as to preserve *quiet* and *peace* on that day; to prevent, as far as in me lies, everything calculated to annoy the minds, or distract the attention of those who may desire to honour the Lord according to His revealed will on His own day. The observance of the Lord's day for spiritual exercises and enjoyment, is *every man's right* ; and it is my incumbent duty to preserve to

every man placed by Divine Providence under my care, *the uninterrupted enjoyment of that right* which God hath given him. To you God hath given the day; and to you I am bound to secure, as far as is possible, the opportunity of availing yourselves of the use of His gift. I cannot, I know, and more than this, I *dare* not, attempt officially to interfere with the secret exercises of your hearts, and with that spiritual worship which God requires every one of you to render to Him conscientiously, according to His revealed will; but I owe it to you, considered as individuals, and as forming a community, to afford you, according to my ability and the power vested in me, all that *outward protection* which is necessary to your peaceful, uninterrupted, spiritual enjoyment of the appointed day of holy rest. I shall therefore take care that nothing be done on that day, save works of absolute *necessity* and of *mercy*. And it will be a source of peculiar pleasure to me to observe, that you faithfully and voluntarily dedicate the Lord's day to the *cheerful* and *delightful* pursuit of biblical knowledge, and, as far as circumstances permit, to the *happy* observance of all divinely appointed ordinances, public and private.

Playing at cards, and every species of *gambling*, at any time, on *any* day of the week, are most positively prohibited. It is quite unnecessary for me to state here the many strong reasons which might be urged in vindication of this prohibition. To the more reflecting and experienced among you,

some of these reasons must be familiar. By men of sound mind and good principles, gambling must, in all circumstances, be denounced as a crying evil, and most assuredly must be regarded in this light by *us*. No good man, no man that is influenced by a proper regard for his own and his neighbour's comforts, can engage in, or encourage in any form, the dishonest and pernicious practice of gambling; for it is a practice which I must regard as being both dishonest and injurious, and most unquestionably at variance with the law of *brotherly love*. But even were it lawful to gamble, *we* have no time for such trifling, or for any unprofitable amusements at all, much less for amusements which are in themselves sinful. Just views of the value of time, and of the account which, "*at that day*," we must all render of its use and of its abuse, will not permit us to divert any portion of it from the purposes for which it is given to us. You will enjoy abundant relaxation in your night's rest, and in the constantly successive *change of duty*. And you will have wholesome exercise in your marches, by divisions, around the decks every evening, or as often as the weather and other circumstances will permit. Such of you as may be called to fill the situation of petty officers, will find that the zealous discharge of your duties will secure to you abundance of exercise.

From what I have now and on a former occasion said to you, the youngest among you must, in some measure, have learned the nature of the discipline,

under the influence of which you are now placed. You perceive, and you will fully understand before I have done with you, that it is in the strictest sense of the expression, a *moral discipline* which I desire to see in operation on board this transport. And in farther proof that this is its proper character, I shall give the necessary directions that those irons—the badges of your disgrace—with which you are at present fettered, be removed from the whole of you, at as early a period as is consistent with the discharge of *other* duties. And I do most ardently hope that, when I have once caused them to be struck off, you will not, by your conduct, *demand* their being again replaced. For what can be more disgraceful to you, and painful to me, than the *clanking* of these irons as you walk along the decks?

A view of the petty officers and schoolmasters, and of their duties respectively, I shall give you at our next meeting on the quarter-deck.

CHAPTER III.

VIEW OF PETTY OFFICERS, WITH SPECIFICATION OF THEIR DUTIES.

HAVING made choice of the petty officers, the earliest opportunity was embraced of again assembling the people on the quarter-deck, for the purpose of having those appointed to fill offices of trust, set before them; of hearing, in detail, the nature and extent of their duties, and a very brief outline of what was reciprocally incumbent upon the people and those placed in authority over them.

The following is a view of the designations of the petty officers selected and appointed, and whose names were now announced to the people assembled.

PETTY OFFICERS.

- One first, and one second, captain.
- Three captains of divisions.
- Four captains of upper deck.
- Two captains of fore-castle.

Four captains of main-ward.

Three captains of boys' ward.

To these appointments were added,

Three cooks, one of whom to be supernumerary.

Three barbers.

One head to each mess.

Two delegates of the day.

A clerk and librarian.

SPECIFICATION OF DUTIES.

FIRST CAPTAIN.

To be at the head of the whole establishment; to have an eye upon all the people; to use his utmost effort to maintain order, and promote the improvement and comfort of his fellow-prisoners. When *required*, to superintend, and also to assist, in the serving out of provisions, and to be in constant communication with the surgeon-superintendent, whose views, in references to the prisoners, he is to endeavour unceasingly and most strenuously to forward.

SECOND CAPTAIN.

To attend to all who may be under punishment; to see they receive their allotted provisions; to cooperate with and assist the first captain in the discharge of all his duties; and, with him, to observe every proceeding amongst the people.

Both first and second captains shall be furnished



with a list of the names of the whole of the prisoners as they are formed into messes—noting also their respective divisions; and with a small book of reports, into which they shall enter every observed offence, with the name and number of the offender.

The offences recorded in the second captain's book, shall be transferred to that of the first, and, after they have been duly investigated and prepared to be brought before the surgeon-superintendent, shall be submitted to him every morning, after the muster of petty officers and schoolmasters, at 9 o'clock A.M.

CAPTAINS OF DIVISIONS.

To be at the head of their respective divisions; to muster their men every morning at half-past 9 o'clock, for inspection; to report when they have done so to the first or second captain, for the information of the surgeon-superintendent, who, attended by the reporting officer and captains of divisions respectively, shall proceed to pass through the ranks and carefully inspect the people.

To superintend their respective divisions, when engaged in washing their persons and clothes. They shall also observe, at all times, whether their men are orderly, clean, and apparently healthy; see that their clothes are kept in good repair; attend to the "*stopping*" of washed clothes on the clothes-lines, and the lowering down of the same at the appointed times; and strictly attend to everything connected with their several divisions.

CAPTAINS OF UPPER DECK.

To have charge of the main-deck—two the star-board, and two the larboard side; to superintend and assist (if required) in washing of decks in the morning, and to see that the main-deck is kept as clean and dry as possible during the day; to superintend the hanging up and lowering down of clothes-lines; the stowing and unstowing of bedding; the wringing, along with the captains of the fore-castle, of swabs; have charge of the canvass drawing bucket; taking care that it never, on any account, be allowed to tow overboard, or its lanyard cast loose. To observe that none of the prisoners go up the rigging, or get up the bulwarks of the ship, excepting those who, in the execution of their duty, have the surgeon-superintendent's permission; and to report immediately to the first or second captain every observed neglect of duty or disobedience of orders.

All the captains of the upper deck shall be at their posts, when the decks are being washed in the morning. Through the day, they shall be in "*watch and watch.*"

CAPTAINS OF FORECASTLE.

To have charge of fore-castle; not to suffer more of the prisoners than the surgeon-superintendent permits to be on the fore-castle at one time; to see that the sentry is not interrupted in his walk, or the seamen hindered or interfered with in the working

of the ship, or discharge of other duties.* To allow none of the prisoners to lie over, or pass, the bulwarks, or, on any pretext whatever, to go out on the bowsprit, or climb up the rigging, with the exceptions specified in the instructions of captains of deck. To see that none of them place themselves in *any* position in which they shall be exposed to the smallest risk of falling overboard; in short, to observe that all keep their proper place—that is, *have their feet on the deck.*

They shall likewise observe that none of the people, *on any pretext whatever*, tow their clothes overboard, or use any vessel to draw water, excepting the canvass bucket.

CAPTAINS OF MAIN AND BOYS' WARD.†

To have charge of their respective wards, which they shall see thoroughly cleaned, and with the use of as little water as possible, every morning immediately after “one bell,”‡ or the reading of the morning portion of Scripture. To observe that the appointed means for ventilating and preserving as dry as possible the wards, be carefully employed; and to take up, and clean under, the bottom boards every morning.

* It is now seldom necessary to appoint captains of forecandle, or, that any of the prisoners should be admitted to that part of the deck,

† The word ward is used instead of “prison.”

‡ Half-past eight o'clock.

They shall use their utmost endeavour to maintain and promote good order and propriety of conduct amongst the people whilst below; observe that no one has in his possession a tinder-box, flint, or any kind of instrument or material for striking fire or affording a light, or any instrument by which any of the people might be accidentally or otherwise injured; and to permit no one to go below or enter the wards with a lighted pipe.

When the people are ordered to be on deck, the captains of wards shall not suffer any one to remain or go below, without the surgeon-superintendent's permission.

They shall also observe that every water-keg is furnished with a leathern spout and secure stopper; and, on no account whatever, allow a keg to be brought into the wards unprovided as here directed.

COOKS.

(One of whom to be supernumerary.)

To have the charge of cooking the people's victuals. They will see that the meals are ready at the appointed hours; that the food is well cooked; that the utmost *cleanliness* is observed in all their operations; that there be no waste and no misappropriation. They will be careful of the fire; consume no more fuel than is absolutely necessary; put out the fire at the appointed time; keep the people, to prevent accidents, at a proper distance from the coppers, and have their persons cleaned in time to attend afternoon school.

Two of the three will attend church on the Lord's day; and all of them the recital, and catechetical exposition of Scripture, at two o'clock P.M.

BARBERS.

The barbers shall shave the people twice a-week—namely, on Wednesday and Saturday.

They will be very careful in the performance of their duty, that no accident occur; as soon as they shall have done shaving for the day, they shall give in their razors to the hospital steward, under whose charge they shall remain until the next shaving day.

DELEGATES.

The two delegates who shall be appointed daily from the several messes in rotation, shall attend the serving out of the people's provisions and water, and carefully observe that all the messes receive their due allowance. Should they have, at any time, occasion to object to weight or measure, their objection must be stated *at the moment*, and *before* the article is suffered to be carried to the main-deck, after which no objection can be entertained.

HEADS OF MESSES.

The members of each mess shall make choice, subject to the approval of the surgeon-superintendent, of one of their own members, who, should the

choice meet the surgeon-superintendent's approbation, shall be their "head," and whose duty it shall be to attend to everything connected with his mess and its interests.

The heads of each mess shall superintend the making of the pudding, &c.; shall see that the mess-utensils are washed immediately after meals, and kept perfectly clean. And this duty he may either perform himself, or direct the members of the mess to take it in rotation, or choose a stated messman; still holding himself answerable for the proper discharge of the mess-duties. He shall use his influence to preserve peace and harmony amongst his messmates, for whose conduct he shall be held responsible; and shall report, without fail, to the proper authorities, every impropriety in language or behaviour.

When any member of a mess is sick, his messmates shall wash for him his dirty clothes, and show him all kinds of needful and becoming attention.

To relieve the heads of messes from a portion of the mess-duty, they shall, with the approbation of a majority of their messmates, appoint one of their number to be "mess-carrier," whose duty it shall be, when the number of their respective messes is called by the ship's officer, who serves the water and provisions from the hold, to be in immediate and ready attendance to receive their rations.

HOSPITAL ESTABLISHMENT.

Consisting of a steward and two or more assistants; one of whom to act as hospital cook.

The steward shall be at the head of the hospital establishment, and shall assist the surgeon-superintendent in the composition and administration of medicine. The assistants shall perform the duties of sick nurses; and with the steward, and *under his direction*, shall show every possible attention and kindness to the sick; and be most punctual in the execution of the surgeon-superintendent's orders, and in the discharge of every incumbent duty.

The steward will immediately report to the surgeon-superintendent any case of sickness which may present itself, or any change which may be observed in the symptoms of any who are already under treatment. He shall superintend the hospital mess, and see that the prescribed drink is provided for the sick. He shall take care that the hospital be well cleaned every morning, and kept continually as clean and as dry as possible; that it be well ventilated and sprinkled according to orders, either with vinegar or the solution of chloride of lime. Besides, at the morning and evening visit, the sick shall be seen by the surgeon-superintendent as often as circumstances may require.

As those connected with the hospital establishment cannot always attend to their meals at the appointed hour, arrangements will, in due time, be

made with a view of having the whole of them, with the clerk and as many more as may be required to complete the number eight, to form a mess.

THE CLERK.

To act as clerk to the surgeon-superintendent, and execute with accuracy and neatness such writing as shall, from time to time, be required.

LIBRARIAN.

To have charge of the books, and perform the duty of servant to the surgeon-superintendent. He will supply the inspector of schools with such books as shall, from time to time, be required, and receive from him such as he may wish to return; and shall keep a correct and regular account of issues and receipts. He will likewise endeavour, as much as he possibly can, to keep the books in good order, using his ingenuity to mend the binding when necessary; and will form the tracts into small well-assorted volumes, furnished with strong brown paper covers; with materials for which he shall be provided by the surgeon-superintendent.

DECK-WASHERS.

Should the master of the ship require it, eight or ten volunteers, who shall be denominated "deck-washers," shall be appointed to assist in washing, in the morning, the main-deck.

The petty officers being drawn up in line, and placed before the people assembled on the quarter-deck, the third ADDRESS was delivered as formerly from the poop, and was in substance as follows:—

THE men appointed to fill places of trust and responsibility, are now placed before you. The brief recital of the duties connected with their several stations, while it exhibits to them the demands which will be made upon their attention and exertions, intimates also to you what will be required of you, both in reference to yourselves and to those intrusted with your comfort, and charged to watch over your conduct.

The whole of you set apart to occupy situations of trust, I most earnestly exhort duly to reflect on the nature and object of the duties connected with your several offices.

You will remember that it is MEN with whom you have to deal; men who are possessed of feelings and capabilities similar to your own; men who, like yourselves, are God's creatures, whom He pities and loves; whose truest happiness He seeks to promote and to secure; and whose interests He requires you, to the utmost of your power, to endeavour to advance. You will ever keep distinctly in mind, that the very object of your office is the people's comfort in connexion with your own; and that the end in view can only be attained by a strict adherence to the regulations laid down for your guidance; and this in the manly spirit of meekness

tempered with firmness, and in the exercise of forbearance guided by true benevolence. You will be required to exercise great vigilance and zeal, activity and self-denial. You will accustom yourselves to *consideration* and *forethought*; endeavour to acquire the *habit* of being always on the alert; always, by thoughtful anticipation, to be prepared for the duties of the present and the coming moment. Remember for what *purpose* your minds are given to you, and that it is a *reproach* to a man to have occasion to say in reference to the performance of any *duty*, "*I forgot!*" You will keep in mind, then, that nothing is more essential to the peace and comfort of all of us than *order*; and that, to the maintenance of order, *punctuality* is an indispensable requisite. That man who is not habitually prepared to make every hour accomplish its own duties, is most unfit to be intrusted with authority over his fellow-men, or with the management of their interests, or even of his own. I do therefore confidently trust, that my petty officers will so discharge their duties, as not only to avert the necessity of their being superseded by other men, but so as to give me entire satisfaction, and secure the cordial approbation of all the well-disposed among the people. To secure this happy result, it will be requisite that you always live and act in the true spirit of your office; always speak to the men with kindness; let the very tones of your voice mark the kindly feelings of your heart. In carrying on duty, whilst you speak with a voice

sufficiently audible and distinct, never suffer yourselves to be misled by the mistaken and absurd idea, that boisterous vociferation is necessary to the maintenance of authority, much less that unmanly and unbecoming language is requisite. Always address a man by *his own name*. That officer who, in carrying on his public duty, thinks it is necessary to mix up with his orders the language of cursing, execration, profanation, blasphemy, or abuse, proves, beyond all question, that, of all men, *he* is the most unfit to command, and the most unworthy of confidence. Such a style of speech in conducting duty, not only degrades him who uses it, but grossly disparages the office which he fills; and, moreover, most materially weakens his influence over the human mind, especially the mind that is duly enlightened and accustomed to reflect, and tends to defeat the very object contemplated by all sound government and discipline. The practice, too, of addressing a man by nicknames, and by the colour of his coat, or the shape of his hat, or the patch upon his jacket, or, what is still worse, by a reference to any peculiarity in the formation of his body (I mean some bodily deformity), cannot be too strongly reprobated. Recollect, I suffer no such practice to prevail, in any degree, amongst *you*, but fully calculate on your carrying on duty, during the whole of our voyage, in the most manly language of propriety and decorum.

It is almost unnecessary for me to remind you that, in selecting you to fill office, I not only confer

upon you a special favour, but give you an illustration of the importance of rendering yourselves, by your dispositions and conduct, worthy of preference and of trust. Although I hope there are many well-disposed men amongst you—nay, I ardently trust, that the whole of you, without one single exception, are *now* inclined to well-doing, and anxious to give, in your conduct, the most indubitable evidence of your reformation in principle; yet, such of you as I have chosen to fill places of confidence, have, in your selection, a special expression of my reliance upon you individually, and a proof of the value of good deserving: for you must be aware that, in making my selection, I have been influenced (whether I have been mistaken or not) by an apprehension of the existence of some good qualities in all those on whom my choice has fallen.

To the body of my people it is surely not requisite that I should, on the present occasion, and after what they have already heard, address many observations. When you consider that the duties imposed upon the men now selected from your number, have for their grand and immediate object the furtherance of your individual and associated comfort; the whole of you cannot fail instantly to perceive, and to feel, that it would be at once most unwise and ungenerous in you to throw, by your temper, language, or behaviour, any obstacles in the way of the pleasurable discharge of those duties. I anticipate, on the contrary, the most becoming demeanour in you towards all in office; that it will

be your constant aim, to give them as little to do as possible; that you will treat them as you yourselves would desire to be treated, were you in their place; that you will recollect, that they act *for me* as well as *for you*; that their duties they are required to discharge *conscientiously*, upon *principle*, and that therefore it is not in their *power* to suffer any one of them to lie neglected, or a single rule or regulation to be infringed. *I* am required to *obey*; your *petty officers* are required to *obey*; and you are simply required to *obey*. The *nature* and *importance* of *obedience*, I shall have occasion to set before you by and by. In the meantime, let us all be zealous and prompt in its *practice*; and let each one of you conduct himself with as much thoughtfulness, good feeling, regularity, and zeal, as if the peace and comfort of the *whole of us* depended upon the spirit and behaviour of *each individual* amongst us. And let not any one think himself too insignificant to exert an influence upon others. This is a point that seems to be but little understood, and one to which I shall endeavour to direct your attention at an early period of our voyage. Let it suffice for the present to be observed, that the humblest and most insignificant amongst us does, and of necessity, exert a tremendous—yes, an incalculable influence over every mind and every character with which he happens to come into contact. In fact there is, strictly speaking, *no such thing* as an insignificant *human being*. What! an insignificant *intelligence*! an insignificant immortal! The ex-

pression implies a glaring *solecism*; a gross impropriety of speech. No member of the human family *can* be insignificant. Remember you have all a vast influence upon each other; a perpetually operating influence; that to each other you must be ever doing incalculable good or evil; and it will be to your credit and happiness, as much as it can possibly be my desire, that every one of you use his influence to the utmost, with a view to the advancement of his brother's present and future good. And if you are all careful to act towards each other with those good feelings and that courteousness which every man is bound to cherish and exercise towards his fellow-men, my expectations of you, both as men and as petty officers, will not be disappointed.

To-morrow we propose, should circumstances permit, to set about the organization of our schools and the appointment of schoolmasters.

CHAPTER IV.

FORMATION OF SCHOOLS—ADDRESS TO TEACHERS AND PUPILS.

IN the hulk lists which accompany the prisoners on their embarkation, there are columns in which it is noted after each name, whether the individual can “read and write,” “read only,” or “neither read nor write.”

The reports contained in these columns, however, are not to be relied upon. The only way in which I could ever determine with accuracy whether the prisoners could really read or not, and with what degree of correctness, was, by putting a book into every one's hand, and requesting him to read; and his capability of writing also, could only be known by observation. The people were accordingly mustered by messes, according to their ship's numbers, and a book was put into the hands of each, when he was requested to read in my own hearing according to the best of his ability—a list of the names of all having been previously prepared, and furnished with columns headed thus, “can read and write;” “read only;” “read a little, or imper-

fectly;" "knows his letters;" "knows *not* his letters." The fact, whether any one could read or not, and with what measure of accuracy, was readily noted; and the entire examination accomplished with great ease, and in a very short period of time.

Of the 240 prisoners embarked, thirty-seven only, it was found, could read and write; forty-five read only; seventy read a little or very imperfectly; twenty-two barely knew their alphabet, and sixty-four did not know a letter. One had imperfect vision, and one alleged he could read Welsh. Subtracting the thirty-seven who could read and write, and the forty-five who could only read, in all eighty-two, from our total number, will leave 158, whom I have in my journal reported as being *uneducated*; so very imperfectly did those read, who were assigned to the column headed "read a little."

The business now was, to form the whole of the people into schools; the junior consisted of those who had yet to make themselves acquainted with the form of their letters, and were *six* in number; the second class of schools embraced such as did know their alphabet, and could just *attempt* to put letters together; the third class of schools was made up of those who "read a little," or "very imperfectly;" and those who could "read and write," and "read only," formed the senior schools.

Thus were twenty schools organized; to each of which a teacher was appointed, and who was chosen with great care from amongst those who appeared

to combine, with the most proficient *scholarship*, the best natural *abilities*, the most amiable *disposition*, and the greatest apparent degree of *moral integrity*. The peculiar tact necessary to communicate instruction with success, had, with little exception, to be acquired. With the exception of the two senior schools, the number of pupils contained in each amounted to nine or ten, according to our adopted regulations.

Over the whole SCHOOL ESTABLISHMENT, was appointed a GENERAL INSPECTOR. The want of such an officer I had, from the almost endless multiplicity of my own avocations, on former voyages deeply felt; and I anticipated much positive advantage to the people, as well as assistance to myself, from this additional appointment. We were now prepared to assemble again the people on the quarter-deck, for the purpose of announcing the schoolmasters and inspector, and rehearsing a written outline of their respective duties. These, like those of the petty officers, I extract from my journal, with, I believe, scarcely any material alteration.

SCHOOLMASTERS.*

The *whole* of the people shall be arranged in schools, according to their several attainments; each consisting of nine or ten pupils only, save the higher,

* Extracted from the "rules and regulations" which I had drawn up *previously* to the embarkation of the prisoners.

which shall embrace those who are partially educated, and may contain fifteen pupils. Each schoolmaster shall have due authority over the pupils committed to his care. He is to see that they attend school punctually during the appointed hours; to use his influence to encourage them to apply with zeal to the business of their education, and make every exertion to facilitate their progress. He will take charge of their school-books. He will be furnished with religious books and tracts, which he will lend to his pupils, collect them when read, and, on returning them to the inspector of schools, will receive a fresh supply. He will do his utmost to promote in his pupils the love of useful knowledge; afford them all the instruction he can, and report to the general inspector every instance of inattention, negligence, or other irregularity of behaviour. Those pupils who may appear to be deficient in common abilities, or dull of apprehension, shall have a private teacher assigned them from one or other of the higher schools; such pupils, however, being still under the superintendence of their respective schoolmasters.

All the petty officers and schoolmasters shall *co-operate* in their endeavours to maintain amongst the people the most perfect propriety of speech and behaviour; and all shall make prompt and correct reports to the first or second captain, or general inspector of schools, of every instance of neglect or violation of orders.

INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS.

The inspector of schools shall be furnished with a correct list of all the schools, and with a small book into which he shall enter all his reports. It will be his business to see that the schools are assembled and dismissed at the appointed hours; to visit them assiduously, with a view of ascertaining whether or not the pupils are present, of observing their conduct, and of receiving any reports which the schoolmasters may have to communicate—which reports shall be entered into the “book of reports,” together with any statements which the inspector himself may have to make: all of which, when duly sifted and prepared, shall be submitted every day to the surgeon-superintendent, at 9 o'clock A.M., at the inspection of petty officers and schoolmasters. The inspector will also observe how the schoolmasters perform their duty, and shall unite his efforts with theirs to promote to the utmost the efficiency of the schools.

The recital of duties incumbent upon the teachers and inspector, was followed with an ADDRESS to the whole of the people considered in their new relations of teachers and pupils, and of which the following is the substance.

THUS I have formed you into schools and appointed your instructors. You have all heard a brief outline of the momentous duties incumbent on schoolmasters: to *you*, therefore, on whom it now devolves to teach your fellow-men the art of

reading, and to impart to them sound and useful knowledge, I shall, in the first place, offer a few words by way of encouragement and advice.

I would have you to recollect, that the situation of a teacher is one of the most important that obtains in society; and with us its importance derives additional and peculiar interest from the circumstances in which we are placed. Other teachers have, in common with you, to deal with the never-dying souls of men, on which they exercise an influence that may, in its effects, prove interminable; but your pupils, in addition to their being immortal, are taken generally from a most depraved and unhappy portion of the community, who have been suffered to grow up the victims of a most pernicious and destructive ignorance; who are now, with yourselves, actually undergoing the punishment due to transgression; whose opportunity of learning to read with facility the word of life, is, in all probability, limited to the period to be occupied by our voyage to Australia; and which period, should it be suffered to pass away unimproved, may leave your unhappy pupils to reap *for ever* the bitter fruits of a wilful and a culpable neglect!

In order to secure success to your efforts, it is indispensably necessary that you not only maintain uniform meekness of temper, but that you habitually and carefully, in all your intercourse with your pupils, exercise the greatest patience and long-suffering. You will recollect that your pupils are, with scarcely any exception, totally unaccustomed to

those habits of application and of fixing the attention which characterise the scholar. These habits they have yet to form ; and their success in forming them, in any profitable degree, will greatly depend on your gentle and persuasive manners and unwearied perseverance. It is of great moment, too, that you make yourselves well acquainted with the dispositions and capabilities of your pupils ; and that you endeavour to accommodate yourselves to them as much as possible. You must act towards them with the lowly simplicity that is suited to children, and with the respect that is due unto men. You must be prepared to repeat *again* and *again* your instructions, until success shall crown your labours ; and you must see the necessity of strenuously guarding against your temper becoming, in the slightest degree, ruffled, or your voice or manners betraying the least indication of peevishness. The due recollection that your *work* is *arduous*, will tend to prepare you to put forth *arduous exertions*. And if you are *determined* to succeed, you will, generally speaking, inspire your pupil with a corresponding determination ; and then success will not only become sure, but will ultimately be attained with comparative ease.

Those minds that are under the influence of just apprehensions of the nature of their work, will receive no inconsiderable impetus from the due recollection, that the future condition in life of your pupils will be greatly affected by the extent to which the end contemplated by your labours is ac-

completed ; and your vocation derives an impressive solemnity from the consideration, that all your endeavours are the dealings of immortals with immortals ; of accountable beings with accountable beings ; of the subjects of the Divine government with the subjects of the Divine government ; of sinful and dying men with sinful and dying men. That your impartation to your pupils of the power of reading with ease the English language, will be to them the security, in ordinary circumstances, of access, of *constant* access, to those sacred and inspired records of Divine truth, which acquaint them with the way of salvation, and reveal to man all that, in addition to the intimations of creation and providence, it is in his present state desirable, or at least requisite, he should know, and necessary to his usefulness and to his happiness.

Secondly—After what I have now said to schoolmasters, it is not requisite that I should address many words to you who have now become their pupils. Your own reason and good feeling will spontaneously tell you what you owe to your instructors. It will well become you to treat them with due respect ; to cherish towards them feelings of affectionate gratitude ; to be most attentive to their instructions ; to put into exercise your best energies ; to apply your minds, with unflagging zeal, to the acquisition of useful knowledge ; to exercise a fixed determination to surmount every obstacle, and not to desist from your delightful toil, until you have mastered all your difficulties, and become

such proficient in the art of reading, that its practice will prove to you at once a source of pleasure and of profit. Let me beseech you whose youthful days have passed away, not to suffer yourselves to be discouraged on account of your advancement in years, or of any other consideration whatever. *Indefatigable application will, through the blessing of God, make every difficulty to bend before it.* On this point I can speak from experience—I mean from observation. I scarcely remember an instance in which I have been disappointed in my expectations, where there was the possession of reason and vision, and the exercise even of moderate diligence and determination. You will remember that this voyage presents to you a golden opportunity of securing a most useful education; an opportunity, the like of which you cannot reasonably expect ever again, in the whole course of your lives, to enjoy. Neglect your present privileges, and perhaps you seal your ruin for ever!

And what must be the character of that bondage which is not only *voluntary*, but chosen in *preference* to emancipation? What the nature of that destruction which is *preferred* to deliverance, and preferred, too, in the face of the most friendly and affectionate entreaties, that you should make a different choice and pursue an opposite course.

Reflect, for a moment, on the advantages you secure to yourselves by learning to read the English language. You secure to yourselves access to every kind of *useful* book, which may come *lawfully* within

your reach. You can acquaint yourselves with geography, history, voyages, travels; can peruse descriptions of the wonderful operations of God; examine and glean from every useful work; and, above all, you secure to yourselves access, at all times, to THE WRITTEN WORD OF GOD, WHICH IS ABLE TO MAKE YOU WISE UNTO SALVATION, THROUGH THE FAITH AND OBEDIENCE OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST. For I need not tell you, that it is not merely the power of reading *for its own sake*, which I am so extremely anxious you should all possess, but *for the sake of its proper and legitimate use*. And here I would be most distinctly understood, and have you for ever to bear it in recollection, that my object in teaching you to read is, that you may peruse FIT AND PROFITABLE books, and NOTHING ELSE! I faithfully tell you, that the man who shall pervert, or in any way misapply the education he shall receive on board this transport, by reading *unprofitable* or *pernicious* works, must be considered not only to have broken faith with me, but to be chargeable with a base perversion of his instruction; a most wicked conversion to the greatest evil, of a gift which he was bound to turn to the greatest good—the very, and *only*, end for which that gift was bestowed. Do not imagine that the mere power of *reading* deserves to be called *education*. To teach a man to *read*, and add thereunto no profitable instruction; to generate in his breast no sound principles, and to foster no decided preference for useful knowledge, is just to put into his

hand a most powerful weapon, and a weapon, too, which must prove a *good* or an *evil*, a *blessing* or a *curse*, according to the use made of it by him who possesses it. I have already told you, that my grand object is, humbly and in reliance on Divine aid, to lead you to just views of GOD and of *yourselves*, of the relations in which you stand to HIM and to one another, and of the duties which these relations involve: my aim, therefore, in teaching you to read, is, to further the attainment of this great and paramount object—that is, to make you *better, happier, and more useful* men.

I do then require and expect, that *you*, in entering on your labours, will keep this momentous end ever in view; and that, at no period of your existence, will you so forget my design in teaching you, as to read books which are not calculated to profit and improve you, but, on the contrary, must tend to defeat the accomplishment of my most anxious wishes in reference, not only to your present, but your future welfare. It will be my devout and daily care during our voyage, to impart to your minds sentiments, and to aid you in the cultivation of principles, the tendency of which will be, to dispose you to use the whole of your instruction for the end for which it is given to you; and thus to promote your own best interests, as well as those of society at large; and so to advance the glory of your Father who is in heaven.

In conclusion, I would remind both the teacher and the pupil, of the duty and importance of unit-

ing humble, believing, and earnest *prayer* with your own most strenuous exertions. I remember meeting in the days of my boyhood with this sentiment: "Study without prayer is Atheism; prayer without study is presumption." Study and prayer, then, are to be joined together: they can neither lawfully nor safely be separated. And nothing can be more truly *manly*, than the habitual feeling and acknowledgment that the success of *all* our endeavours depends on the help and blessing of God. But in recommending *prayer*, forget not, that I do it only *as the Scriptures do*. To pray with *acceptance*, you must pray in *faith*; in humble reliance on the teaching and influence of the HOLY SPIRIT, and in the name of JESUS, the one Mediator between God and man, through whose merits and advocacy alone, sinners can have access to the FATHER. But then, it is as much the *duty* of every man to *believe* the Divine record concerning Christ, as it is the duty of every man to *pray*; and the performance of the former duty cannot long be unaccompanied by the discharge of the latter. My conviction is, that the advantage which study derives from believing and humble prayer, according to the word of God, is incalculable.

There is just one point more to which, on the present occasion, I wish to solicit your attention; and that is, your obligation to that movement of the wheels of Divine Providence, which brought about your embarkation in a transport, in which, through the benevolence of those unknown friends

who have so liberally provided copies of the Scriptures and other books for your use, there should be afforded you such an opportunity of securing a wholesome education, and, I ardently hope, of becoming acquainted with, and obtaining an interest in, the rich and inexhaustible treasures of the everlasting Covenant. It is not to man ultimately that you are to refer the circumstance of your being placed on board this vessel; you are to look beyond the pen of the clerk who transcribed the lists, or the instructions which emanated from the Home Office; and, remembering that the hearts of all men are in the hands of the Lord, you are to trace your embarkation on board the *Elphinstone* to the gracious purpose of that God who is able to avert evil, and to cause good to arise out of those crimes for which you are justly subjected to severe chastisement: and you are to regard it as one of the most important events of your lives—an event, for your improvement of which, you must render an account at the *great day*; and an event, moreover, which cannot fail to extend its influence over the whole of your future condition, experience, and agency, through endless ages. As for myself, I must consider the whole of you as being placed under my care, not merely by my earthly superiors and rulers, but by the great Sovereign of the universe, who numbereth the hairs upon your head, and without whose knowledge and permission a sparrow lighteth not down upon the ground; and that it is to Him I am accountable, as well as to the Admiralty and

Government of England, for the manner in which I endeavour to discharge the duties which I owe to you and to my country, and for the fidelity with which I labour to advance you in knowledge and in happiness. And it is this view of the *origin* of my charge, and of the *responsibility* which attaches to it, which gives it, to *my* mind, its most impressive and solemnizing character.

CHAPTER V.

THE DAILY ROUTINE FOR THE PERIOD OF ONE WEEK—ADDRESS.

THE people having now been formed into divisions and messes, the schools organized, petty officers and schoolmasters appointed, and instructed in reference to their several duties; the first convenient opportunity was seized, to assemble them to hear the recital of the *routine* of every day for one week; and to be made acquainted with *sundry regulations* not previously stated. And I conceive that I cannot do better than transcribe here the detailed routine referred to; because it presents, in connexion with the working apparatus above exhibited, a condensed view of the whole of our internal economy, and, moreover, of the entire proceedings of the voyage—barring a few subordinated circumstances and incidents to be hereafter noticed.

It may here be observed, that, in order to avoid as much as possible all unnecessary repetition in my official journal, the routine as now exhibited, is inserted in its pages immediately after the columns which contain the names of the prisoners embarked.

When the routine is fully observed, it is only requisite to note the fact in the records of the day; when an omission in the routine occurs, that omission is stated together with its cause.

ROUTINE—*Monday.*

At 5 A.M., captains of deck and deck-washers are called to wash decks; at the same time the cooks are admitted on deck, and proceed to prepare breakfast. At 5h. 30m., or as soon as the light of the day will admit, the whole of the people are turned up in separate and successive divisions, under the superintendence of their respective captains, to wash persons. Decks to be dry, if possible, before, but not later than six bells (7 A.M.) At 7 A.M., the hospital bell is rung, when the sick who can with propriety leave their berths, proceed to the hospital, into which they are called according to the "sick list," and are successively examined and disposed of. Those who are confined to their berths are there visited. At 7h. 30m., decks being dry, and weather admitting it, the bedding is brought on deck and stowed in the hammock nettings. At 8 A.M., the people go to breakfast; 8h. 30m., the morning portion of Scripture, after offering up a short prayer, is read to the people assembled and closely seated together, either in the main-ward or on the main-deck, as weather and other circumstances will admit.

At 9 A.M., petty officers and schoolmasters are

mustered and inspected on the main-deck; their respective duties examined into, reports received, and schools inquired after, and orders issued. At 9h. 30m., all hands, except petty officers and schoolmasters, are mustered "by divisions" for inspection—first by captains of division, and then, when reported ready, by the surgeon-superintendent, accompanied by the first or second captain and captains of divisions respectively; the three divisions being drawn up according to muster list, in lines around the main-deck. When dismissed, all reported offences are investigated and disposed of, and discipline administered.

At 10 A.M., both wards having been cleaned and inspected, the schools assemble, as many on the main-deck as can be accommodated, the rest below; in bad weather all of necessity below: 11h. 50m., or 10 minutes before 12 o'clock, the schools break up, and preparations are made for dinner, which is served out at 12 o'clock; as many messes dining on deck as can conveniently be accommodated, provided the weather be favourable.

At 1 P.M., an antiscorbutic beverage, consisting of water, wine, lime-juice, and sugar, is served out on the quarter-deck; the people being called according to their messes, entering at the starboard door of barricade, and, having drunk their allowance, cross the deck and return to their place through the larboard door.

At 2 P.M., schools again meet and proceed till 4 P.M., when the people go to supper; and as soon

after supper as possible, the people being assembled, either on the main-deck or below, according to the state of the weather, a popular lecture, in colloquial style, is delivered on geography, astronomy, or natural philosophy, or other departments of knowledge; such points being selected as may appear most calculated to interest, enlighten, and improve the minds of the hearers; and, in connexion with the books of Divine inspiration especially, to correct and enlarge their views of the perfections and character of God.

After lecture, the evening visit to the sick is paid. As soon after seeing the sick as possible, the people are, for the sake of exercise, marched around the upper deck in successive divisions, and to such music as can be commanded—fifteen or twenty minutes being allotted to each division. The bedding having been previously taken below, under the superintendence of captains of deck, all hands are mustered down before dusk; the petty officers and schoolmasters being permitted, in rotation, to remain on the deck about half-an-hour after muster, when circumstances will permit of the indulgence being granted—but are mustered down before dark. Immediately after the muster below, the people assemble in the main-ward, for the reading of the Scriptures and other devotional exercises. In fine weather, when no circumstances offer to forbid it, the evening devotions are conducted on deck before mustering below.

TUESDAY.

Duties precisely as those of Monday, with the following exceptions and additions.

At 4h. 30m. A.M., captains of deck and "deck-washers" are turned up to wash decks. At 5 A.M., all hands by successive divisions, under the superintendence of their respective captains, are turned up to scrub and wash clothes; the captains themselves having been permitted to scrub and wash their own clothes, while the deck was being washed; or they are allowed to do so along with each other's divisions, in order that they may be enabled to devote their undivided attention to their men.

The washed clothes are tied on the clothes-lines, and the lines hoisted up, under the superintendence of those appointed to attend to this duty.

At muster at 9, the petty officers and schoolmasters; and at 9h. 30m., the divisions exhibit bared feet, legs, and arms.

Washed clothes are taken down as soon as dry, and under the appointed superintendence.

WEDNESDAY.

Hands turned up, and duties performed as on Monday, excepting that, at muster by divisions, the people exhibit in their hands their washed clothes for inspection; petty officers and schoolmasters having previously done the same. On this day likewise, the people are shaved.

THURSDAY.

As Monday, save that the people muster in their clean shirts.

FRIDAY.

As Tuesday.

SATURDAY.

As Wednesday, with this addition, that in the morning the people by divisions scrub overalls, if they shall have been worn through the week. In the afternoon, schools do not assemble, but the people are allowed to read any useful books they please, or to commit to memory the passage of Scripture to be publicly recited on the following day: they are also required to mend their clothes.

THE LORD'S DAY.

Routine as on Monday, with the following exceptions and additions. Schools do not assemble; the popular lecture on geography, &c., is not given; and no secular work is permitted, but such as *necessity* and *mercy* demand. In the morning, the Scriptures, from pressure of duty, are not *publicly* read. The wards cleaned as soon after breakfast as possible, and at muster the people appear in their clean clothes.

At 10 A.M., the bell tolls for "church;" when—the guard and ship's company being on the poop—all the people, excepting one cook, and such as are by sickness necessarily confined below, assemble, and are closely seated (the state of the weather being favourable) on the quarter-deck. As much of the Church of England morning service as time and circumstances will admit of, is then read, and in the usual mode. The chapters or "lessons" of the day are chosen according to the judgment of the surgeon-superintendent, with a reference to the dark and unenlightened condition of the bulk—it may generally be said, of the *whole*, of the people; commencing at the beginning of the Old and New Testaments, and passing on to such portions as are likely to prove most impressive, and afford the most seasonable and obvious instruction; leaving the intermediate chapters to be read in the course of the week, either at school, or at the morning and evening devotions. After service a plain, instructive, and impressive Gospel sermon is read; generally selected from the sermons of the Rev. Edwar Cooper; or "Cottage Sermons" published by the Tract Society; or the "Village Sermons" of the Rev. George Burder; and sometimes from the first and second volumes of those published by the Rev. Robert Walker, of Edinburgh.

Church generally dismisses about half-past eleven ("seven bells"), and in time for the master of the ship "to take the sun."

At 2 P.M.—the guard being on the poop—the

people are again, by toll of bell, assembled, and seated on the quarter-deck, where a portion of the Scriptures, from ten to twenty-four verses, or so—and which was announced early in the preceding week—is recited by such of the people as may have voluntarily committed it to memory; which passage, together with the chapters read at church, becomes the subject of catechetical exposition and practical instruction; and such observations and exhortations follow as may at the time appear most seasonable. These exercises are intended to occupy one hour; but generally they extend to the hour and a quarter, and occasionally to a longer period; they ought, however, generally speaking, seldom to exceed the hour.

The people are exhorted to occupy, when not engaged in public religious exercises, the Sabbath day, in reading their Bibles, and such religious books and tracts as may have been furnished to them; and in reflection, meditation, becoming and profitable conversation, and prayer.

Bedding, which was stowed in the morning before breakfast, and to be taken down, as on other days, before evening muster.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1st. The schools to be *visited* by the surgeon-superintendent as often as his multifarious duties will admit of.

2nd. The people to be occasionally mustered, and inspected by schools, instead of divisions.

3rd. Individual schools and individual pupils to be *examined* by the surgeon-superintendent as frequently as may be convenient; especially such pupils as are behind in their education, or under the care of private teachers.

4th. The people will bear in mind that, as soon as any of them shall be found able to read the Scriptures with correctness and ease, they shall, as an additional reward of their industry, be permitted to spend a portion of their time in the afternoon, in writing and arithmetic, under the superintendence of an appointed schoolmaster.

5th. When a suitable period arrives, the surgeon-superintendent shall request the officers of the guard, the master, and the chief officer of the ship, to unite with him to form a board of examination, with a view of determining who are the most proficient scholars, and of awarding prizes according to individual merit. The prizes shall consist of copies of the Scriptures, and such religious books as the surgeon-superintendent may have provided himself with previously to his leaving England: observing that such books contain no doctrine but such as is in perfect harmony with the written and inspired Scriptures.

6th. One grand object with the surgeon-superintendent shall be, that the whole of the people, without one single exception, shall be able, at or before the termination of their voyage, to read the

Scriptures; and shall disembark in possession, either of the whole Bible, or at least of the New Testament.

7th. All petty officers and schoolmasters shall exert themselves, to the utmost of their ability, to preserve the most perfect cleanliness, and the utmost propriety of conduct amongst the people; and shall, on no pretext whatever, neglect to report to the chief captain or superintendent of schools, for the information of the surgeon-superintendent, everything they shall hear or observe, which is at variance with good manners, tending to corrupt the people, and derogatory to the honour of God.

8th. The captains of wards will vigilantly guard against any nuisance being committed below. Any one spilling water or any slops on the lower deck, shall be put into the report.*

9th. As much of the bedding to be in succession stowed on deck during the day as possible, and the whole to be shaken and aired occasionally, as the state of the weather may permit, or the surgeon-superintendent direct.

10th. After the wards are cleaned, no one shall be permitted to enter them without permission from the surgeon-superintendent; and as many of the

* As the water-kegs are required to be furnished each, not only with a wooden stopper, but also a leathern spout, medical officers must provide themselves with proper leather for this purpose before they leave England.

It is also requisite that they lay in a stock of strong brown paper fit for forming covers for books and tracts.

people as circumstances will admit of, shall remain *the whole day on deck*; and as many messes as can conveniently be accommodated shall, in *daily* rotation (weather and ship's duties permitting), take the whole of their meals on the main-deck.

11th. The whole of the people are, in an especial manner, required to bear constantly in mind, and habitually to observe, the instructions they have so distinctly and positively received from the surgeon-superintendent, in reference to their general demeanour towards the guard and crew, and particularly the sentries.

12th. All who are in office, or intrusted with the discharge of any specific duties, shall be habitually diligent and zealous in the performance of whatever is required of them; and all the people will be careful to cultivate and manifest kind and brotherly sentiments and feelings towards each other; guarding against every species of offence in look, speech, and conduct; using, to the utmost, their influence to promote and maintain unbroken harmony and peace. Should any disposition to pilfer, or to indulge in any kind of irregularity, unhappily manifest itself among the people after they are mustered below for the night, then, in that case, shall twelve, or fourteen, or more of the most trustworthy be chosen from amongst them to act as watchmen; of whom, two in succession shall keep watch together for the period of two hours; and the two whose watch shall have expired, shall not leave their posts until they have actually been

relieved. At every half-hour they shall, in a tone of voice sufficient only to be heard, report to the sentries at the fore and after hatchways, "All's well;" or, should they detect any impropriety, they shall instantly report the same to one of the sentries, for the information of the corporal or serjeant of the watch.

It will be to the credit, however, of the whole body of the people, should the appointment of such watchmen be rendered *wholly unnecessary*.

The routine and miscellaneous regulations having been rehearsed to the people assembled on the quarter-deck, they are addressed as follows:—

You have now heard in detail the active and principal duties of one entire week; and these, with little addition, will constitute the chief duties of the voyage, should it please a gracious Providence mercifully to watch over us, and preserve us from all disastrous and untoward occurrences; a preservation for which it is the *duty* of all humbly and earnestly to pray, and which all of you who are or may be taught of God, cannot fail, at the throne of grace, daily to implore.

With the duties now exhibited to you, it is requisite, that not only the petty officers and schoolmasters, but the whole of you, should make yourselves perfectly familiar: a task which a very moderate degree of attention will enable you speedily to accomplish. And having familiarized yourselves

with the demands which every successive hour will make upon your attention and efforts, it will be incumbent upon you to take care, that these demands are cheerfully and punctually complied with. It is perfectly unnecessary for me to repeat here what I formerly said to you in reference to the importance of the observance of *punctuality*, and the exercise of *zeal* in the performance of duty. In every state of society, and especially in *our* little community, *punctuality* and *zeal* in the discharge of duty, must be ranked amongst the *cardinal virtues*. Wherever they are found, they must be regarded as "tokens for good." They not only argue most favourably for him in whose conduct and character they stand out as prominent features, but they promise and secure great benefit to all with whom he is associated. It is indeed impossible to calculate either the good or the evil which must necessarily result from the cultivation or neglect of these virtues—namely, punctuality and enlightened zeal. To their habitual exercise *we* cannot attach too great importance.

Their neglect is confusion and wretchedness; their practice, order and comfort. Their observance is not to be limited to those in office; they are to be found amongst the obvious characteristics of every member of our community. On this, the perfection of our social order must mainly depend. And where the required brotherly affection, in its legitimate influence, prevails, the virtues in question cannot, of moral possibility, be wanting.

I therefore expect soon to see the whole of you so intimately conversant with the duties of every hour, of every day of the week; so distinguished by punctuality and zeal; and so under the influence of brotherly love (God of His infinite mercy grant that it may be that love of brother with which His love to you all ought, and is calculated, to inspire you), that our entire apparatus cannot fail to work with the most perfect ease and regularity, and steadily to produce the calculated and anticipated amount of result.

In a society whose organization is complete, even as complete as ours will speedily be, and in which the main-spring or moving power, is LOVE, SUPREME LOVE TO GOD, and *that brotherly affection which such love of necessity involves*, the maintenance of harmony and order, and the punctual and zealous despatch of personal and relative duties, cannot possibly fail to obtain. This is perhaps a view of society which very few of you ever seriously contemplated. It is, however, that state of society which is essential to happiness; and the state, moreover, to which it is the aim and the tendency of all that God hath accomplished for human redemption to bring it: and it is just in as far as men are influenced by Divine love in all the details of their social relations, obligations, and exercises, that the grand *end* of all that the Saviour of the world hath effected for us, is accomplished.

I would have it now impressed upon the minds of all of you, and distinctly borne in recollection,

that the smooth, agreeable, and satisfactory working of our system of moral government and discipline on board this transport, will depend on the spirit and the movements of each individual connected with that system. You all know that, in a piece of machinery—such, for example, as that of a watch—every wheel, however small, in order to secure the accurate working of the whole, must move with absolute precision, and correctly accomplish its assigned portion of effect in a given time. So it must be with us. Not only every man in office, but every individual of the whole body of the people, even the youngest boy amongst us, must move in *prescribed order*, and *at the appointed moment*! Let the veriest child amongst us ever recollect that, on the propriety of his individual temper and behaviour, depends the uninterrupted maintenance of our social order and happiness. If I have succeeded in my endeavours to convince every individual amongst you, that he is a being of great value; bears an important relation to all of us; and must of necessity contribute most materially, either to the furtherance or the hinderance of our mutual comfort and improvement, a great object has unquestionably been attained. Such views it will be your happiness to promote amongst yourselves, both by conversation and in your practice: and should it be your wisdom to follow out the advice now given to you, my expectations, so far from being disappointed, shall be most happily realized.

Before I dismiss you, I shall just remind you of the necessity of "*turning out*" with alacrity when you are called in the morning, either to wash decks, or persons, or clothes. Let there be no hinderance or annoyance in this particular. The petty officer who calls you, will give you "*a good rouse*;" but let its *repetition* be wholly unnecessary. *Five minutes* are an ample allowance of time for a whole division to turn out, and appear on deck. And should any one be absent at any time from muster, morning, forenoon, or evening; or neglect to appear on deck within *ten minutes* after he is first called *in the morning*; his name shall be entered in the book of reports. Nothing is a greater annoyance to me, or operates as a greater hinderance to the despatch of business, and the preservation of order, than *drowsy indolence* and *sluggish tardiness* in your movements. I do ardently trust, then, that your petty officers will never have occasion to report any of you for "*hanging back*," when you ought to be all activity, and each more anxious than another to be first at his post. The cooks cannot fail to perceive, that punctuality with *them* in the cooking and serving out of the people's appointed meals, is absolutely indispensable.

The schoolmasters, too, must be most attentive to the assembling and breaking up of the schools at the hours appointed.

Let it also be observed, that every messman, or mess-carrier, will be held responsible to his mess for his punctuality in attending to his name, or

number of his mess, when called by the ship's officer, whose duty it will be to serve out provisions and water from the hold. The members of messes will themselves observe, that their messmen are at their posts, when the word is passed for their attendance; and as it cannot be expected that the ship's officer should lose his time by waiting beyond a reasonable period (which cannot be more than a few seconds) for the messmen to make their appearance, the consequence of their negligence may be, that they and their respective messes will be deprived, for the day, of the ration which the mess-carrier may have neglected, when called, to receive. In order to prevent the possibility of such occurrences, it will be required of the second captain, or of some other petty officer appointed by him, to muster at the proper periods the messmen, according to their numbers, close to the barricade, that they may be in perfect readiness to answer to their mess-number when called. The serving officer will begin with number *one*, and proceed with the numbers in succession. And he is not to be expected to encourage inattention or negligence on your part, by *returning* to any number he may have passed, and which was distinctly called and repeated by the petty officer in attendance. The messman who shall neglect any portion of his duty to his mess, shall be put into the "book of reports." But if your conduct be what it *ought* to be, and what I anticipate it *will* be, our "book of reports" will remain—what it now is—a *blank*, so far as *impro-*

priety of conduct is concerned. It will then be the record of good and superior behaviour; exhibiting the demonstrable evidence of the happy reformation of every individual prisoner on board; and *such* the book in question *cannot fail to be*, should the whole of you continue under the governing influence of a right frame of mind, and attend to the punctual discharge of all your duties, personal and relative, in the spirit of a well-directed and disinterested zeal—a zeal in harmony with knowledge, and guided by brotherly love.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WORKING OF THE SYSTEM OF INSTRUCTION AND GOVERNMENT—APPOINTMENT OF A COURT OF INVESTIGATION—OBSERVATIONS ON THE ENACTMENT AND ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS.

THE people having been thus organized, rules and regulations laid down for their guidance; their respective duties, as men and petty officers, pupils and teachers, detailed; a general view presented to them of the grand and ultimate objects to be attained, of the principles upon which they were required to act, and of the spirit by which they were to be influenced in the whole of their conduct; they gave, as a body, immediate proof that they had come under the influence of a power whose tendency is, to regulate the operations of the mind, the desires and feelings of the heart, and to secure such a degree of outward order and decorum as is necessary to the enjoyment of quiet and peaceful comfort. A very short period sufficed to familiarize the people with the daily *routine*; and the required duties were speedily executed with a regularity and precision which could not fail to gratify every enlightened and benevolent observer.

There were unquestionably a few, whose behaviour continued for several weeks, to be not only painful and disheartening to me, but grievous to the bulk of the prisoners themselves; but these unhappy exceptions were almost confined to the boys; a class which embraced all aged nineteen years and under, and of whom there were seventy-nine. Fifty of these were under sixteen, and twenty were from eleven to fourteen years of age. Eight or ten of these boys about sixteen years old, were, for some time, rather troublesome, and appeared to resist, in a great measure, the influence of their instruction during at least the first half of the voyage.

It is not my intention to offer, in this place, any observations on the moral character of the people; these will be more appropriately made, when I come to speak of their apparent improvement at the end of the voyage. Here I would only remark that, with the exceptions already made, the general outward demeanour of the whole of the prisoners was strikingly quiet and orderly; and the system of management acted so well, and so much beyond anticipation, that no sooner was the machinery put into motion than it seemed to work by an inherent power—as if, indeed, its *primum mobile* were nothing short of a vital principle. Every hour brought with it its own duties; and it just occasionally required that the petty officers should be reminded of the demands which the approaching hour would make upon them, and that the people should sometimes feel the influence of my voice, in

order to secure that punctuality and despatch which are so essentially requisite to "the carrying on," with efficiency and comfort, "of the public duty."

The working of "the school system" was, if possible, more delightful and interesting, than "the plan of management." It will have been observed, that the whole of the 240 prisoners were formed into schools, of which there were *twenty* put into immediate operation, each provided with a teacher; and that, placed over the whole, was a general inspector. In another chapter, I shall notice the progress made by the people in intellectual acquirements as well as in moral improvement. Here I shall merely observe, that nothing could be more deeply interesting than the appearance our decks, both above and below, now exhibited; all was order, life, and activity. The hum of twenty schools, containing 240 people, of almost every age, from eleven years to sixty-eight, had an effect upon *my* ear, far surpassing the powers of the finest music to produce.

Wherever a school could be conveniently assembled, there the busy group were to be seen surrounding their teacher, and all, generally speaking, eagerly vying with each other in application and zeal. There was, of course, great diversity of *aptitude*, both in communicating and receiving instruction; but whatever might be the apparent difference amongst the people in natural and acquired ability, all, with very moderate exception, appeared

to enter with great eagerness on the business of their education. Almost every countenance betrayed thoughtfulness and attention; and was soon lighted up with more or less of hopeful animation. A number manifested, at the commencement of the voyage, such a degree of dulness and stupidity, and of absolute incapacity of *perception*, as to almost induce me to despair of their ever being able so to master their difficulties, as to read with anything like ease and enjoyment. It will however be shown in the sequel, that this class of persons was reduced in number beyond what could have been reasonably expected; and that, with the exception of a few *foreigners*, even the most hopeless made such attainments as were calculated to secure to future perseverance, final success. Much depended on the character of the schoolmaster. The difference in the effects produced on apparently (speaking generally) the same kind of materials, by teachers furnished with different degrees of skill and of zeal, was indeed very apparent and most striking, and afforded abundant illustration of the value of *efficient* instructors, and of their vast influence on the advancement of useful knowledge, and therefore on the future character and destinies of men. The pupils of a dull and indolent teacher betrayed, in a marvellous degree, the unhappy characteristics of their master; and the spirit and life of the ardent and industrious schoolmaster, whose mind was manifestly influenced by an abiding sense of the importance of his office, were as visibly diffused

through, and influenced, the pupils whose privilege it was to be committed to his care. I was of necessity (as formerly observed) shut up to the choice of such teachers as the people themselves supplied. All that I could do myself personally, was, occasionally to instruct them how to proceed, and to lecture them seriously in reference to the momentous character of the duties they were called to perform. When it is remembered that, besides "the entire management of the prisoners," the whole of the medical duties of the transport devolved upon me, *unassisted*, it will readily be conceived that a large portion of my time could not possibly be devoted to the schools; all I could *daily* attempt, was an occasional and often hasty visit, the influence of which was perhaps increased by the circumstance, that it was always expected by the people, and liable to be made at any moment.

However brief and rapid these visits were, they helped to maintain a constant intercourse between myself and the schools; they afforded me an opportunity of making my observations at once on the teachers and their pupils; of speaking a word in the way of direction, or reproof, or encouragement; and of manifesting a proper interest in the people, and in the success of the work in which they were engaged.

In my general inspector, I had very able and efficient assistance. He was a man of fair education, and had, it appeared, up to the period of his imprisonment, been considered a respectable man

in his station as a managing clerk. He appeared well fitted for the situation to which he was appointed on board the transport, the duties of which he discharged with great judgment and zeal, and seemed to exercise considerable influence, intellectual and moral, on the minds of the people. The assembling and dismissing of the schools he regulated with great punctuality; was most assiduous in visiting them, spending with each a portion of time corresponding with circumstances, and entering into his book of remarks and reports whatever he might judge proper. The issuing and gathering in of religious publications, took place regularly every week, and uniformly on Saturday; and the progress of the pupils necessarily rendered a change in the school-books of one or other of the schools, of frequent occurrence.

In my former trips to Australia, in charge of prisoners, I had frequently occasion to regret that so much of my time should have been consumed by the minute investigations which, with a view to the just administration of discipline, I felt it my duty to make into cases of petty delinquency that occasionally occurred among the people.

In order to avoid an evil which—considering the circumstance in which I was placed, and the important purposes to which the time so consumed could be applied—must be considered of no ordinary magnitude, I determined on forming a sort of “court of investigation,” whose prerogative should be to hear all the complaints which might be for-

warded by the chief captain and inspector of schools. This court consisted of *five* members—namely, of four of the most intelligent, judicious, and trustworthy of the petty officers; and my clerk, who acted as clerk of the court. They were empowered to cite before them the parties accused; to call and examine witnesses, for the purpose of obtaining evidence, and enabling them to determine the nature and extent of the alleged offences. They were intrusted with the power of administering *exhortation, warning, admonition, and reproof*; of remonstrating and dealing, according to circumstances, closely and solemnly with such as might, from time to time, be brought before them; and always with a view to the improvement of the offender and the future prevention of all impropriety of conduct among the people. When the offence, upon inquiry, seemed to be of a minor character, attended with palliating circumstances, and the culprit appeared penitent, expressed his regret at his conduct, and promised, with apparent sincerity, to be more guarded and circumspect for the future, the court were authorized to dispose of the case as above stated—that is, by the administration of reproof and advice, as their judgment might direct—the *reprimand constituted the punishment*. When the accused exhibited a state of mind not quite satisfactory to the court, besides being reprov'd, duly advised, and cautioned, he was given to understand that he must consider himself as being in a state of *probation* and under close observation, and was dis-

missed for the present with the assurance, that his next offence would subject him to a more serious punishment; and that therefore he must be brought before the surgeon-superintendent.

This was the severest punishment the court were empowered to inflict; a punishment, too, which they rarely felt themselves called upon to administer; and when a case did occur of a character which required that it should be brought to the "quarter-deck," it was previously so well sifted, the evidence so completely made out, that, in order to dispose of it *at once*, I had only to cause it to be stated in the presence of the offender, to hear the testimony of the witnesses, (who were all assembled at the barricade, and ready to appear in a moment, when called, on the quarter-deck), and to listen to anything which the accused might have to say, whether it were matter of confession, or contrition, or of exculpation. No time was now lost, no delay incurred by the calling of witnesses; all was prepared, the witnesses were at hand, the case was made to appear as clear as the day, and, with scarcely a single exception, the prisoner confessed his offence; and nothing remained to occupy my time but to place the delinquency in a just and impressive point of light, with a view to practical improvement and beneficial result, and to write upon a slip of paper, the nature of the punishment which I might think it expedient to award, and the character and degree of the offence might appear to demand.

I was, I must confess, singularly fortunate in my

selection of men to form my court of investigation. This addition to my working apparatus was made, of course, by way of experiment; but it was an experiment that admirably succeeded, and accomplished a great deal more, both for *me* and the *people*, than I had anticipated. The members of the court conducted themselves with great propriety and deep seriousness; they appeared to understand and to feel the importance of the duties which devolved upon them; and the people seemed to entertain precisely the views of the court which I desired they should. The dealing with them of men of their own class, manifestly produced upon their minds a species of effect different, if not in *kind*, at least in *intensity*, from that which resulted from my own personal and single adjudications. The case was placed before them by their own companions, and its character determined as it were by *themselves*, and appeared to be seen by a light which the law itself, or reason and justice supplied. The influence produced upon the minds of the prisoners was purely referrible to their perceptions of truth and their convictions of right and wrong, unmixed with, and unmodified by, any impressions which might have been produced by my *immediate* presence, or by a distinct and conscious apprehension of my authority. Another beneficial tendency which seemed to attend the working of this court was, to lead the people to set in judgment upon themselves, and to acquire or strengthen the habit of forming a just estimate of their own character and conduct.

As the minds of the people became enlightened, their esteem of my approbation, and dread of incurring my displeasure, increased. Here there was more than the mere apprehension of punishment; both affection and gratitude soon began to exert their appropriate and happy influence: they perceived and felt that I was their *friend*; that my sole aim was their improvement and happiness; that nothing pleased and delighted me so much as proofs of *real* reformation in principle and behaviour; that nothing caused me greater pain and disappointment than their continuance in immoral and irregular habits; except, indeed, *hypocritical pretensions* to a change of character which was not made *manifest* either by their temper or their conduct. It, therefore (as already hinted), soon rarely occurred that the court of investigation found it expedient to forward a case to the quarter-deck. But many weeks (as shall be stated in the proper place) did not elapse ere a considerable portion of the people began to act upon far higher principles than a mere respect to *my* feelings, and a regard to *my* approval.

From the nature of some observations which I have thought fit to introduce into my second address to the prisoners, it will be seen in what light I regard the framing and imposition by man of legislative enactments for the regulation of human conduct. I know nothing connected with human agency, more solemn in its nature, and involving deeper responsibility, than the construction and

enforcement of laws; even where the interests of only a few unhappy prisoners are concerned. In all human legislation a due regard to the relation in which man necessarily stands to his Maker; a conscientious and devout respect to all which such relation implies; a deep, practical, and uncompromising reverence for the authority of the Divine law over ALL the subjects of the Divine government, whether considered as *ruling*, or *being ruled* by, one another, is, in my view, of high and paramount moment, as affecting, to an incalculable extent, the present and future destinies of men. To repeat what I have already said on this subject would be preposterous; it is summed up in the following brief observations:—

God claims the universal obedience of His creatures. This obedience it is at once their *duty* and their *interest* to yield. Every consideration dwindles into utter insignificance, when compared with compliance with the Divine will. No demand of man upon his fellow is, for a moment, to be put into competition with the requirements of the Most High. Every enactment, then, of man upon man, the interests of the universe, the solemnities of the great day, and the awful realities of an endless eternity, require that it be such as man, considered as an imperishable subject of the Divine government, can conscientiously, safely, and honourably observe.

In accordance with these views, nothing was required of the prisoners, which was in the slightest

degree at variance with that authority which is supreme. No regulation was laid down for their guidance, no rule for their observance, but such as clearly harmonized with their duty to God, and the most obvious import of the requirements of His word warranted me to enforce. And as it is difficult to conceive anything more pernicious in its influence on the human mind and character, than inert and dead laws, every enactment was uniformly carried out, and every offence visited with appropriate punishment.

To ordain laws and not to enforce them, or to enforce them irregularly and capriciously, is worse than absurd—it is pernicious; and, in my view, *unmerciful*. A law must either be good or it is not; if it is *not* good, it ought not to have been enacted; or being enacted, ought to be immediately revoked. If the law is good, it ought to be enforced, and its neglect must be regarded as an incalculable evil. All wise and good laws contemplate the preservation of order, and the furtherance of the happiness of individuals and of the community. To appoint such laws, and manifest *inconsistency* in their enforcement, is not only to bring them into contempt, and inflict a serious injury on society, but to engender in the mind of every observer, unsound and injurious views of government generally; and to destroy all clear and influential perceptions of the connexion which necessarily subsists between obedience and happiness, disobedience and suffering. Besides, if consistent uniformity is not observed in

enforcing established laws, men are not only led (as we have observed) to entertain lax views of *all* laws and moral discipline, but are encouraged to calculate on being able to violate the laws with *impunity*, and thus to inflict great moral injury upon themselves, and, through their example, upon others; and to lead each other into a trap set for their feet by the *uncertain operation* of those very laws which were designed to deter from crime, and should, in all probability, have had this effect, had they not been rendered worse than abortive by their capricious administration.

How far the Divine government may be regarded as furnishing a *model* for human governments, I shall not take it upon me to say, or even to hazard an opinion upon the question; but surely, there can be no impropriety in proceeding upon the *principles* upon which the government of God is *obviously* conducted, as far as it is possible for such imperfect and weak creatures as men are to proceed, and as far as is consistent with the Divine will expressly revealed.

Now, in the moral government of God we observe that the laws are all just, all merciful, all necessary; they contain no bugbears, nothing merely to frighten children; all are stamped with dignity, truth, and certainty; they all bear the impress of God. They are made for the advancement of the Divine glory, the maintenance of the efficiency of the Divine government, the security of the integrity and happiness of all the subjects of the one

universal empire, and are therefore *made to be enforced*. In the government of the Most High, we observe nothing like *capricious* or *arbitrary* forgiveness, no setting aside of the claims of justice, no reflection of dishonour upon law; nothing done or encouraged, that is calculated to weaken the authority of the Divine code, to bring it into disrepute with the creature, or in the slightest degree to favour its violation or neglect. *Pardon is indeed dispensed*, but not at the expense either of law or of justice; and therefore not at the expense of the creature's happiness, and of the highest interests of the humblest member of the moral universe. Transgression is forgiven, but forgiven in a way that is calculated not only to maintain law, and secure the happiness of the governed, but fitted unspeakably to *advance* the interests of both. The vicarious obedience unto death of the Son of God in the nature of the race that transgressed, demonstrates to the universe the nature of moral government, and clearly tends to increase, in all intelligent and virtuous beings, their veneration for the Divine code; and to strengthen their disposition to yield to it the required and wholesome obedience.

The conclusion at which we arrive is this—first, that all human governments should, in the first place, enact and promulgate intelligible, wise, merciful, and *warranted* laws; laws which contemplate the prevention of crime, the reformation or recovery of the criminal, and therefore the advancement and security of happiness. Secondly, that

these laws should invariably be carried out—that is, as far as the imperfections necessarily attendant on all things human, will permit. Thirdly, that nothing should be done calculated, in the smallest measure, to weaken the authority of the laws, or countenance their neglect; and that, therefore, fourthly, there ought to be practised no arbitrary or capricious forgiveness. If a law is not to be regularly enforced, it is cruel to establish it; if wisdom, and justice, and mercy, and a proper regard to the Divine authority, are allowed to exert their due influence in all our legislative enactments, the uniform enforcement of the laws could be nothing more than the uniform exercise of wisdom, and justice, and mercy, and of a proper regard to the Divine authority. This is as clear as the light; it is a self-evident proposition: and it is equally manifest that, to set capriciously aside law so enacted, is in other words capriciously to trample upon wisdom, justice, mercy, and the required regard to the authority of the supreme Ruler.

Satisfied that the regulations adopted for the observance of the prisoners came as near the standard—not that I had set up to myself, but which is necessarily set up for me—as I was capable of bringing them; and that they were such as wisdom, and justice, and mercy, and the required respect to the revealed will of God, demanded should be uniformly carried into effect; arbitrary forgiveness had no place in the administration of discipline amongst the prisoners on board the *Elphinstone*. Such

forgiveness was considered not only absurd, but pernicious; hurtful to the offender himself, and most injurious, in its influence and tendencies, to the body of the people. The nature and degree of the punishment corresponded with the character and heinousness of the offence; but it was uniformly inflicted. The people soon began to understand something of the nature and design of *law* and of *government*; to perceive that *crime* and *suffering* are in the very nature of things inseparable; that to do *violence* to their union is itself in a high degree criminal; that, in fact, it is *morally impossible* for a just and merciful ruler to separate the two from each other. If a prisoner should happen to request me "to look over his offence"—a request which was repeatedly made at the commencement of the voyage—I had only seriously and solemnly to request him, in my own way, to show me how the thing could possibly be done *consistently with his own interests*, and the *interests of his fellow-prisoners*, in order to bring him to the apparent conviction, that to grant his request was absolutely impossible, and utterly out of the question. "Forgive you! *how can I forgive you?* Where in the universe do you find warranted anything like arbitrary forgiveness? Do you request me to be *unkind* and *unmerciful* to you? Look at these men! Are you *utterly regardless of their welfare?* Would you sacrifice*

* *Interpretation* of law is very different from the palpable suspension or setting aside of law, of the import of which there is no doubt.

their highest interests as well as your own, that you might secure to yourself the *privilege* of committing crime with temporary impunity? The thing cannot be; you deliberately, and with the knowledge of your duty, transgressed, and by your transgression you demanded the appropriate punishment; and a due respect to your own happiness, as well as to that of the whole of the people, imperatively requires that your demand should be complied with, and the regulations enacted with a view to the comfort of all on board be maintained. You must now take your punishment. I am *sorry* that you should have required it, but I cannot, my man, be unkind to you. I must not encourage you or any other man, in a course which I am assured necessarily leads to destruction. You *know* that I aim at nothing so much as your *improvement* and *happiness*; see, then, that since previous instruction and advice have failed to keep you in the path of honourable obedience, you now so improve all these, and the punishment to which you have subjected yourself, as to secure the good effects they are designed to produce, both as it respects yourself and those by whom you are surrounded. Your business now is, to see that the greatest possible sum of good be brought out of the evil you have done, and that you use all appointed means to guard yourself against all such evil in future. A *personal* injury or offence I am bound to forgive, and trust I shall always be enabled to forgive in the spirit of the Gospel, and as I *need* and hope to be forgiven of God. But the

forgiveness of your present offence is a very different matter; it is an offence committed, not against *me personally*, but against *law*; an offence, moreover, of such a nature, that you are, I believe, now convinced, that for me as the administrator of law, 'to forgive it' (as you call it), were to be at once unjust and unmerciful, not only to you, but to all under my authority. Reflect as becomes you on this view of the subject, and you will not again *deserve* to be brought forward as a wilful transgressor of any lawful regulation."

Thus the people were taught *practically* as well as *preceptively*, to think and to feel correctly, as I conceive, on the subject of government, and from the study of that which is human, to rise to the contemplation of that which is Divine; and to learn, moreover, that *the only one way* by which punishment *can be avoided* is, NOT TO DESERVE IT, or, having deserved it, to expect forgiveness only *in a way that is consistent with the preservation of moral discipline and government.*

With regard to the modes of punishment which obtained on board the *Elphinstone*, they can be stated in very few words:—

First, reprimand, which might be private, or less or more public. Secondly, separation from the rest of the people, and confinement under the care of one of the sentries for a specified time, according to the nature and degree of the offence. Thirdly, in addition to the offender being placed under a sentry, his allowance of wine, lime-juice and sugar stopped for

one or more days; and in cases which appeared to require severer infliction, the allotted rations stopped wholly, or in part, for one or more days, and thin water gruel and a small portion of biscuit only allowed. In these cases the state of the prisoner's constitution and health requires the most cautious attention. Fourthly, the irons which were struck off by my order at the commencement of the voyage were requested to be replaced, and worn for a number of days corresponding with the character and degree of the offence. Sometimes, instead of irons on the legs, handcuffs were ordered to be put on for a given number of hours, as the case might seem to require. Fifthly, the offender's name entered into the "black list," to be submitted to His Excellency the Governor, at the end of the voyage. This was my severest punishment. As to *flogging*, although authorized by Act of Parliament, and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State's letter—with both of which I was furnished previously to sailing from England—it was not practised in the *Elphinstone*. It is a mode of punishment to which I entertain strong objections; and although I admit that cases *may possibly* present themselves in which stripes might be inflicted with advantage, yet, I must confess, that I believe such cases to be of rare occurrence, when a due degree of intellectual and moral influence is sent forth upon the people. Perhaps it is enough to *possess the power*. It appears to me that, when it is thought necessary to have recourse to the use of the cat, there must be a

culpable want of moral power in the system of management, whether it be on board of ship, or on shore. No human means employed in the government and discipline of men can, for a moment, be compared with *sound practical instruction, and the habitual putting forth of an intellectual and a moral power.* And my conviction is, that where such instruction is imparted, and such power is duly exercised, the infliction of corporal punishment will seldom, if ever, be required. And I have no hesitation in stating it as my decided opinion, that the officer or ruler who, in the management of those who may be placed under his authority or command, has *frequent* recourse to the use of the lash, *gives abundant evidence of his unfitness to be intrusted with the government of his fellow-men.*

It is admitted, that to prevent crime, to reform offenders, and to promote and secure universal order and happiness on *right principles*, must be reckoned amongst the most important objects of government and discipline. To attain these important ends, it is requisite that the laws be not only (as already observed) clearly just and merciful, but as much as possible such as may easily be perceived spontaneously to arise out of *moral necessity*. It must be impossible to detect, either in their construction or administration, the slightest degree of unnecessary *severity*—much less, the most obscure manifestations of *vindictiveness*. They ought to be the expression of parental wisdom and affection. Their penal awards ought, as much as possible, to be such as

have the least tendency to debase the mind, or destroy, or even weaken the love of virtue and the virtuous love of approbation. Their natural effect ought, indeed, to be quite the reverse of this. The mind of the offender ought to be led rather to the contemplation of his *guilt* and the *tendency* of his crime, than to the consideration of his *punishment*, and which should be such as might be expected to receive the approbation of *his own* enlightened reason, as well as the approval of all wise and benevolent men.

In all cases MEN should be treated LIKE MEN. Treat them like slaves and you speedily convert them into slaves; act towards them as beings who occupy, or who *ought* and are *expected* to occupy, a high place in the scale of moral intelligence, and you immediately elevate them in that scale; seek to raise them in knowledge, in principle, in motive, and in *feeling*, and you pursue the course most calculated to raise them in character and conduct. What is more likely to secure from man *manly behaviour*, than the *uniform treatment of him as a man*? The more strongly any one is made to feel that he *is* respected, and that manly and reputable conduct is *expected* of him, the more manly his conduct is likely to be, the more entitled to respect he is likely to become.—Let us here derive a lesson from *God's manner of treating us—the whole of us*, His rebellious and guilty apostates. What *importance* does He still attach to us! What a *price* He sets upon us! How high the place He yet assigns

us amongst the subjects of his moral government, notwithstanding that we have debased ourselves to the depths of hell! How valuable, beyond all human calculation, does He yet consider us, even the most debased and wretched amongst us! At what does He estimate a single soul? At the worth of a *world*! The *whole world* is as NOTHING in comparison with the soul of the most despised of mankind. This is the view of the case with which He Himself supplies us. And what is the provision He hath made with a reference to man's reformation, or recovery to Himself and to happiness? Think on the scheme of redemption as unfolded in the Old and New Testament Scriptures. Oh! what hath God wrought for the restoration of man to holiness and peace! Contemplate the provisions of the everlasting covenant; consider the history of the Lord's dealings with the human family, His depraved and perverse children. What expressions of love, patience, and long-suffering do we discover! What unwillingness to afflict! What mercy marks all His chastisements! How clearly *remedial* are His dispensations! How obviously they all aim at the happiness of the universe!—*His justice is merciful; His mercy just; love pervades the whole of His procedure; and, in the history of CALVARY, we have a concentrated display of all the glorious moral perfections of His nature, and of the holy and immutable principles of the moral administration of His universal empire.* Alas! how unwilling are we to receive lessons from the word and the providence of God.

Let us learn from Him the true value of man ; let us treat our brethren as His word, and treatment of us, warrant; and His blessing will attend our efforts in the administration of government and discipline, and secure that success which will redound to His glory, and advance our individual and associated comfort and peace.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INSTRUCTION OF THE PEOPLE—SOUND PRINCIPLES OF ACTION, AND ACCEPTABLE OBEDIENCE—NECESSITY OF ENTIRE RENOVATION OF HEART.

THE course of instruction proceeded with the greatest regularity. Our afternoon lectures on geography, astronomy, and on various subjects connected with natural history and natural philosophy, were listened to with apparent interest, and which was increased by occasional examinations. It is obvious that these lectures behoved to be of the most simple description, and couched in the most familiar and intelligible language. To carry my hearers beyond their depth, and to bewilder their minds with what they could not understand, would have been to waste our time, and defeat the object we had in view. They were, therefore, taught nothing but what every boy should be made acquainted with, and that ought to be taught in every country school. Such views of the earth we inhabit—of its form, magnitude, structure, divisions, natural and artificial, revolutions, and so on ;

such account of the sun, the moon, the planets—their satellites, and of their magnitude and motions, were given, as appeared not only requisite to enable the people to form something like a just conception of the solar system, but most calculated to illustrate the glorious perfections of the great CREATOR, and enable the student of the Bible the better to understand and appreciate the allusions made by the sacred penmen to the sublimities and economy of the material creation. One lecture only was devoted to the consideration of comets and the fixed stars.

With respect to subjects connected with natural philosophy, we limited ourselves to those points with which the people, through the medium of their own senses, were most familiar, and which seemed best fitted to show the wisdom and goodness of God as exercised towards His creatures, in the nature of the laws which He hath been pleased to impose upon matter, the regularity with which they operate, and the important ends they secure. Enough for the use of prisoners on these branches, will be found in Dr. Dick's "Christian Philosopher;" Mrs. Marcet's "Conversations on Natural Philosophy;" and such like popular works. Our glance at subjects embraced by natural history, was necessarily more rapid and brief in the *Elphinstone* than in the *Arab*.

The popular view given to the prisoners, of the structure of their own bodies, as illustrative of design, wisdom, and benevolence; and our remarks

on the nature and capabilities of the immortal spirits which tenant such admirably constructed tabernacles; and our simple discourses on the subjects which came under our notice, as referred to above, certainly appeared to answer important ends: they tended at once to inform and elevate the mind; they afforded subject of rational and improving conversation, and which might be expected to supersede that which can only corrupt and debase; and, in connexion with the sacred truths revealed in the pages of inspiration, were calculated to influence and improve the heart.

Our main business, however, was with the *Bible*, with the consideration of the evidence, external and internal, to be adduced in support of its claims; and in investigating and applying, for practical purposes, the momentous doctrines and holy precepts—the appalling, yet righteous and *merciful* threatenings—and the great and precious promises, both temporal and spiritual, which are contained in its sacred pages.

With those whose minds have been enlightened by Divine truth, it must be a deep and settled conviction, that nothing is capable of producing a *radical* and *permanent* improvement in the character and habits of man, but just and adequate views of *himself* and of his MAKER; and that such views are to be obtained only from that Revelation which the Father of mercies has been graciously pleased to give us. The study of the material universe is unquestionably calculated to inspire us with lofty

conceptions of the natural attributes of the Deity; the uninspired history of His providence may furnish us with imperfect and disjointed notions of His moral character; and a certain acquaintance both with creation and providence is, it is admitted, indispensable to a proper understanding and just appreciation of many passages of sacred writ, and, moreover, requisite to a sound, connected, and enlarged view of the extent of JEHOVAH'S empire. But it is to the *pages of inspiration* that we are indebted for our highest and most valuable knowledge: it is by the study of the Holy Scriptures, that we arrive at anything like a just and satisfactory acquaintance with the *moral perfections* of God, and the nature of His government;—that we learn the relations in which we stand to Him and to one another, as His intelligent and moral subjects—as the members of the one family of man; and ascertain, with precision, the duties which these relations necessarily involve. It is by the humble, diligent, prayerful, and persevering perusal of the written word of God, that we are made acquainted with all that is most important and necessary for us to know, both as the creatures of a day, and the anticipants of eternity.

Man is fallen, and needs recovery; he is depraved, and needs renovation; he is guilty, and needs pardon; he is ignorant and foolish, and needs knowledge and wisdom; he is weak, and needs strength; he is spiritually dead, and needs to be spiritually quickened again; he is, as the child of

wrath, liable to eternal death, and needs restoration to everlasting life; and it is from the Bible alone he learns that a provision has been made for him adequate to every want, and suited to every stage of his existence. It is from this sacred treasury, and from no other source, that he is supplied with all that is most requisite to fit him both for duty and enjoyment, for time and eternity.

It is admitted that, under the influence of virtuous example, and of a common moral education, and in possession of what is usually designated "natural religion," a man may be what is generally styled a *respectable*, and, in a limited measure, even a *useful* member of the community, while destitute of the characteristic principles of the genuine disciple of Christ, and a stranger to his experience and his spirit; but until he become a follower of Jesus in the regeneration of his heart and of his life—in other words, until he become, in the Bible sense of the expression, a CHRISTIAN, he cannot, in correctness of speech, be accounted either a truly *good* or a *happy* man: for how can a man be justly regarded as being either good or happy, so long as his principles of action are all unsound, and his life, according to the declarations of Scripture, a life of unbelief and of opposition to God?

In order to be in a position in which we can do anything pleasing to God, and acceptable in His sight; or, to use the words employed in the conversation which our blessed Lord had with the



Jews,* to *work His work*," we must "believe on Him whom He hath sent." Without faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, it is *impossible* to please God. Separated from Christ, we can do nothing. It is when we are vitally united to Him by a living faith, that we become living branches of the true and living Vine; and it is by abiding in Him and constantly receiving nourishment from Him that we are enabled to flourish and bring forth fruit to the glory of God the Father. It is not until we become the genuine disciples of Christ, created anew in Him by the power of the Holy Spirit, that our choice, principles, conduct, and prospects, become such as entitle us to be considered truly wise, and happy, and useful men. Even the most *amiable* and *moral* amongst us, are, in the sight of God, dead in trespasses and in sins, until, through the faith of the Gospel of peace, they become a new creation in Christ Jesus by the quickening influences of the Spirit of truth and of holiness; and the same Almighty power is necessary to the conversion to God of a *convict*. And although we are assured that the publicans and the harlots are less prejudiced against the Gospel—less steeled against its humbling doctrines—less likely to resist and silence convictions of sin, than the religious *formalist* and church-going *pharisee*, who think themselves righteous and despise others, and are ever ready to say, "Stand by, I am holier than thou;"

* John, vi. 28, 29.

yet, nothing short of the Divine energy requisite to the conversion of the latter, can effect the renovation of the former. All need to experience the saving power of Him who said, "Let there be light," and there was light.

But farther; not only is it true, that both the moral and the vicious must become the subjects of that saving change, which the word and Spirit of God effect, in order to their being able to do anything upon *right principles*, and *well-pleasing* in the sight of the LORD; but it is, in my apprehension, equally true, that little good is to be expected from a large proportion of what is commonly called "the *crime class* of our population," until brought under the illuminating and sanctifying power of the sacred Scriptures, and the gracious influences of their Divine Author, the Holy Spirit; that there are many convicts who will persevere in a course of iniquity; continue the bane of social order, and totally unworthy of the confidence of society, until they are brought back to God and to godliness, by the faith of the Gospel of Christ. *Even keeping their eternal salvation out of view*, so accustomed are some of them to vice; so hardened in their career of iniquity; so utterly devoid of all sense of propriety and decorum; so insensible to the excellencies and attractions of virtue; so sunk in their own estimation, and (*in their apprehension*) in the estimation of mankind; *that, if we desire to see these unhappy men so far improved as to merit that degree of trust which they must command ere they can be safely per-*

mitted to mingle in general society, WE SHALL AIM AT NOTHING SHORT OF THEIR CONVERSION TO GOD. It is my sober conviction, that *nothing less than a saving change of heart* will warrant our confidence in the more hardened and depraved of those who suffer transportation, or will furnish a sufficient guarantee, that they will ever prove themselves safe and useful members of the community. The same observations will, I believe, equally apply to thousands of our population, who escape the punishments both of imprisonment and transportation.

Supreme love to God is not only the principle upon which *alone* we can perform even a single work acceptable in His sight, but is also the efficient principle which secures active and unwearied obedience to the *whole* of His revealed will. Supreme love to God admits of *no substitute*. Where this Divine principle is wanting, there can be found nothing capable of insuring the required obedience; nothing able to impart an approved character to any one act of life, however specious and fair all to mortal eye may seem. But let this holy and heavenly principle of which we speak—a principle that is generated in the breast of every man, to whom it has, through grace, been given to perceive God's everlasting love to his soul—be once implanted in the heart of man, and, from that moment, he is under the influence of a mighty and transforming power; a power, the tendency of which is, to diffuse itself throughout his whole nature, and reduce to its own holy and benevolent

character, all that its possessor is, and feels, and thinks, and does.

The man who supremely loves God, must, of moral necessity, habitually aim at doing those things which he believes to be in accordance with His revealed will, and well-pleasing in His sight. His possession of such a principle will be made manifest by his conscientious endeavour to cultivate every moral virtue. He will cherish sound views of all the interesting relations of life; and will constantly study to discharge, as he ought, all the implied duties. Influenced by love to God, who first loved him—His sinful creature—and so loved him as to give His beloved Son to die, that he might not perish, but live; he cannot fail to be powerfully and happily constrained to aim, in heart and conduct, at universal conformity to His moral likeness.

Entertaining these sentiments—sentiments with which all true Christians are familiar, and, as I apprehend, cannot fail to sanction—it was incumbent upon me, in conducting the instruction and discipline of the prisoners, to use every possible means which, under the Divine blessing, was calculated to acquaint them with the sacred Scriptures, and bring their minds and their hearts into contact with their momentous and impressive truths. I despaired of seeing any solid and lasting improvement produced amongst them by any other means than those to which I have just referred. *Change of heart* was the only ground on which I expected *satisfactory change of conduct*. But the renewal of the heart is

effected by the Holy Spirit, through the instrumentality of the inspired word. The grand object, then, which I was bound to keep steadily in view, and humbly to beseech God to accomplish, was the communication to the minds of the people, of the knowledge of the oracles of Divine truth. And it was equally binding upon me earnestly to seek, in the appointed way, those blessed, enlightening, and sanctifying influences of the Spirit of all grace, without which *all means* employed to recover man unto his Maker must prove abortive; and, unaccompanied by a confiding reliance upon such Divine influences, every human effort to attain such an end, must be regarded as being not only vain, but in the highest degree dishonouring to God.

He alone, who created the soul at the first, can create it *anew* in Christ Jesus unto good works. The same Almighty Power which called into existence an archangel, is requisite to turn the apostate heart of man back again to God, and to re-stamp upon it the Divine image. Salvation is wholly of the LORD. He only can provide the righteousness in which the sinner can be justified and accepted; and He alone can subdue the enmity and the pride of the sinner's heart, and dispose and enable him to put the provided robe of righteousness on, unto justification of life. In dealing with convicts, it is necessary that our minds be constantly under the influence of these and similar views. We cannot too completely set aside *self* as nothing—less than nothing—than sinful dust and

ashes; we cannot too deeply feel that it is utterly impossible for us to impart to the mind of a fellow-sinner a single truly spiritual idea, either respecting himself or the Divine Saviour: and let it, at the same time, be observed, that we cannot put too much confidence in God, that He will give efficacy to His own word; nor can we too earnestly plead with Him, in humble and scriptural prayer, in behalf of those whose souls He requires us, in His strength, to seek to bring to Him who, by His blood, redeemed them to Himself. Proceeding in this manner, we are warranted to expect that the God of all mercy and grace will, through our humble and unaffected instrumentality, speak to the heart of the convict, and accomplish in him that moral renovation of his nature and principles, which is necessary to his acceptable obedience, and will entitle him to the future confidence of his fellow-men, on whom he had, in the days of his darkness and rebellion, inflicted the wrongs which necessarily result from a life not only at variance with the spirit and the precepts of the Gospel of Christ, but opposed to the spirit and letter of the law of the land. "Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name give glory, for Thy mercy and for Thy truth's sake" (Psalm cxv.).

CHAPTER VIII.

EXAMINATION OF THE SCHOOLS—AWARDING OF PRIZES.

THE names of all the pupils were, in their school-order, beginning with school No. I, entered into a small book, provided with four columns perpendicular to the lines on which the names were written; the schools being divided by a small space from each other, and having written over them the names of their respective teachers. These columns anticipated four special examinations of the schools during the voyage, about the period of a month being allowed to interpose between each. The first three were conducted by myself, in the presence of the general inspector of schools and of the respective schoolmasters. In the first column was stated the date of the first examination, and notes of the progress made by the pupils were entered opposite to their respective names. In like manner were the two following columns filled up.

The advantages resulting from these examinations are very obvious: they afforded so many points, or stages, to which the minds of the pupils were par-

icularly directed, their arrival at which should be marked with a special and faithful report of the diligence and success with which they might be found to have applied their minds to the great business of their education; and opportunity was furnished of giving to each his due meed of praise or reproof, and of exhorting and encouraging all to put the shoulder to the wheel with manly purpose of effort; and to encourage and assist each other, with all benevolent and courteous readiness of mind. And occasion was likewise taken to give such hints, both to teacher and pupil, as seemed to be called for, and might appear calculated to further the grand object we had in view. Sometimes it was thought fit that a pupil should be translated to some other school; and occasionally a "*private teacher*" was appointed to such as appeared of obtuse intellect, to assist the efforts of the schoolmasters, *especially* during leisure hours, when the schools were not assembled. These stated and special examinations of the schools did not of course supersede my daily visits already noticed.

At my second examination, I was under the necessity of dismissing three of the schoolmasters from their charge: two for incapacity, and perhaps wilful indolence; and one for culpable neglect of duty. With the conduct of this last teacher, I had reason to be much displeas'd, when in reply to my inquiries into the causes of his having so shamefully neglected his pupils, he intimated to me, that he belonged "to a communion which did not approve

of the people reading the Scriptures." Such a reason for his conduct as this, could not fail to grieve any man possessed of the smallest measure of soundness of mind and true benevolence; and it afforded no palliation whatever of his treatment of the unfortunate men committed to his care; for all the schoolmasters, without a single exception, were chosen from a body of *volunteers*; and this man, having volunteered to take upon him the care of a school, and having heard my charge to teachers and pupils, and the specification of the duties which they were respectively required to perform, could not possibly take honourable refuge under the prohibition which he, for the first time to me, alleged, had been imposed upon his conscience. If such a prohibition existed, it was known to him before he gratuitously offered his services as a teacher; and had he, upon reflection, found that he had violated an injunction which he believed to be lawful, he could have tendered his resignation. But, instead of pursuing this open, honest, and manly course, he continued to keep his pupils back in their education during a considerable portion of our voyage; and neither voluntarily gave up his charge, nor confessed his reason for conniving at the perpetuation of that ignorance, the tendency of which was, to secure the destruction of his fellow-prisoners—until I had dealt closely and solemnly with his heart, in reference to his character and conduct, and had denounced him as being totally unworthy of the trust I had, unfortunately, reposed in him.

Justice requires that it should be here stated, that all on board professedly of this man's communion, *appeared* highly to disapprove of his conduct.

At my third examination, I was compelled to collect together all those who appeared to have lagged most sadly behind, and about whose ultimate success I had great reason to be alarmed, and commit them to the care of one of my ablest and most successful teachers; a man from the north of the Tweed, whose tact and zeal in teaching were quite extraordinary, and only equalled by the success which attended his efforts. I trust also that this man will give evidence in future life, that he fears God, that he had learned the value of his own soul, and was therefore deeply concerned about the interests of the souls of his fellow-prisoners, whom he so anxiously laboured to teach to read the word of life. More than half of my schoolmasters were men whose hearts were, I trust, brought under the influence of the Gospel of Christ, previously to their debarkation.

When our voyage appeared to be, in all probability, within a fortnight of its termination, our fourth and last examination of the schools took place. This was conducted before "a Board of examiners," consisting of the two officers of the guard, the master of the ship, and one of the mates; all of whom, at my request, politely consented to unite with me for the purpose of hearing the prisoners read, of determining their respective merits, and of awarding the prizes which I had provided

for distribution among them. We assembled at the cuddy table, on which were placed lists of the schools; and each examiner was provided with paper and a pencil for taking notes, and recording his opinion. The general inspector was also present to witness the examination, and to answer any questions which might be put to him, but was not, of course, a member of the Board. The schools, attended by their respective teachers, were, commencing with the junior school, called into the cuddy in succession; and, after being most carefully examined, and all doubts as to relative merit removed from our minds, all, save the inspector, were requested to withdraw, when the Board compared notes and settled the question of merit, which, of course, determined the character of the prize to be afterwards bestowed. Although every prisoner was found to deserve a reward, none of the prizes were designated by *numbers* lower than the *fourth*.

This, our grand examination, had been looked forward to by the prisoners and myself with great anxiety; and its anticipation had evidently exerted considerable influence upon the minds of teachers and pupils. It was conducted with great propriety, and with a due admixture of animation and seriousness, on the part of the Board. A considerable number of the pupils acquitted themselves with modest and becoming self-possession; and several, especially of those somewhat advanced in years, betrayed some degree of anxious trepidation. The

examination altogether was exceedingly interesting, and its character was, no doubt, very agreeably modified by the deep interest which all the examiners took in the whole business, as well as in the result. Several days were occupied with this examination; and several more in writing the names of the prisoners in their respective prizes, together with an appropriate statement of the grounds on which they were awarded. In this work, too, the officers of the guard kindly afforded me their ready assistance.

As each prisoner had one prize, and nearly the whole of them had two; and as a large proportion, almost the whole, had written on the back of the title-page, besides the name of the party, some expression of my approbation of their good conduct on board, and persevering and successful diligence at school; it will not be matter of surprise that so much time was required for preparing the prizes for distribution.

About *twenty-three*, including *six* foreigners, greatly disappointed the hopes of the Board, and were sent back to their labours, with a promise of another trial before the debarkation should take place; and it is amazing the progress they made, chiefly through the exertions of the inspector, and of the successful teacher formerly referred to, during the short period that remained: for although it was necessary that they should yet be reported as reading "imperfectly," they were all found to have advanced so far as to be thought able, with, per-

haps, the exception of some of the foreigners, to complete, by their own unaided perseverance, the work they had begun.

The distribution of the prizes, which were chiefly copies of the sacred Scriptures, furnished quite a "gala day" to all on board. It took place at the capstan, on the quarter-deck—the guard, women, and children, witnessing our proceedings from the poop; and, I believe, the ship's company also were in attendance. Never, I apprehend, was there, on any similar occasion, a happier display of cheerful countenances; never, under my observation, did persevering toil and well-sustained zeal produce fruits which appeared to be reaped with greater satisfaction and joy. The scene would have defied the pencil of WILKIE, or, at least, afforded abundant scope for the exercise of his genius. The officers of the guard, the master of the ship, and myself, called the lists and distributed the rewards. About 320 human faces were concentrated within the space of a very few square feet, each lighted up with an expression of felt interest in the business of the day, modified, no doubt, by cherished expectation, or disappointment, or self-reproach. Not only were the successful pupils highly delighted with this consummation of their labours, and provision for future advancement in the highest and most important branch of knowledge, but every spectator seemed to be under the influence of a sympathy which he was neither able nor disposed to conceal. And the more reflecting

and comprehensive mind will contemplate the scene to which we have been referring, with sentiments and feelings of no ordinary character. The Christian philosopher will view the sight retrospectively and prospectively. He will think on more than the mere fact of 238 human beings* receiving each a copy of the Scriptures, which are able to make them wise unto salvation, through faith that is in Christ Jesus: he will not limit his attention to the circumstances in which we were then placed, on board a transport, speeding her way over the surface of the great Southern Ocean to one of the most distant corners of the British Empire: he will not merely look at the boundless expanse of waters by which we are surrounded, and lift up his eyes to the canopy of heaven spread over us; he will call to mind something of the history of these 238 prisoners; the localities whence they had been taken; the scenes in which many of them had mingled; the neglect with which they had been suffered to grow up; the deplorable ignorance which characterized them at the period of their embarkation; the exercises in which they had since been employed; the advancement they had made in intellectual and moral improvement; and

* Two of our original number were not permitted to be present on this stirring occasion—the messenger of death had been sent to remove them to the world of spirits, to receive according to the character in which death found them, and in accordance with the declarations of that volume which we were engaged in distributing.

especially will he consider the gracious conduct of Divine Providence towards them.

He will likewise view them in relation to the future; he will recollect the *tendency* of their biblical instruction; the fruits which must, of moral necessity, result from its *use* and its *abuse*, not only as it respects the prisoners themselves, but also all those to whom their influence shall extend. With all these considerations borne in mind, the intelligent Christian will be able to contemplate the scene before him with feelings and emotions in harmony both with *its* character and with *his own*. He will view it, we say, not only in relation to the past and the present, but to the future; he will look at it in connexion with the eternal destiny of immortal souls, whose numbers are only known to Him who sees the end from the beginning, and who hath connected the *faith* and *obedience* of the Gospel with everlasting life, and the rejection of the Gospel with *eternal death*.

It has, I think, been observed, that the Government supply of books is not adequate to meet the demand *created* during the voyage.* The regular

* I particularly wish it may be distinctly understood, that I indulge in no animadversions on the Government allowance of books; I merely state the fact, that I never found it "adequate to meet the demand *created* during the voyage." Were the prisoners to continue as ignorant and uneducated as they are at the period of embarkation, the supply referred to might prove quite sufficient, and more than sufficient; but when the surgeon-superintendent fully discharges what I conceive to be his duty to the prisoners, it is indispensably necessary that he provide himself with additional religious books.

allowance of religious books, as exhibited in my printed instructions, is in the following proportion for *one hundred* convicts—viz.

Bibles, 7; Testaments, 13; Common Prayer-books, 26; Psalters, 26; Manuals of Devotion, 7.*

And it is directed that the Bibles and religious books supplied for the use of the convicts, are to be distributed among them in the following proportion—viz.

New Testament, 1; Common Prayer-books, 2; Psalters, 2; for each mess of eight persons. Bible, 1; Manual of Devotion, 1; for each sixteen persons.

There are also allowed in proportion for each hundred convicts:—

Slates, 15; Slate Pencils, 50; Primers, 15.

Such is the provision made for the education of the prisoners during the voyage; and the interest which the Government takes in their intellectual and religious improvement, will farther appear, if the following paragraphs, which I extract from the volume of the surgeon-superintendent's instructions, be duly considered:—

“30. As it is highly desirable to keep the minds

* The supply of Religious Books allowed by the Admiralty has been increased, and it is now, for every *hundred* convicts, as follows:—Bibles, 20; Testaments, 30; Common Prayer-books, 26; Psalters, 26. Or, Two Common Prayer-books, Two Psalters, for each mess of eight persons; and Five New Testaments, Three Bibles, for each sixteen persons.

of the convicts as constantly and usefully employed as possible, he (the surgeon-superintendent) is to use his best endeavours to establish schools under such regulations as circumstances will permit, especially for the boys in male convict ships (who, according to the present mode of fitting, are to be kept entirely separate and apart from the men); and should any of the convicts appear to be of particularly bad and vicious dispositions, they should be separated from the others in the best way in his power, and every means taken to effect their reform. He is to insert in his journal a list of the convicts who can read, of those who can read and write, and of those who can do neither; and also a statement of the progress in learning made by the boys and others during the voyage.

“31. The surgeon-superintendent is to read the Church service to the convicts every Sunday, in two divisions, if advisable for the sake of security; and also a sermon, or some well-selected parts from the religious tracts which are supplied to him. Should there be on board a clergyman of the Church of England, he is to allow him to perform this duty, if he be willing to undertake it.

“He is to use every possible means to promote a religious and moral disposition in the convicts; and, on his arrival in the colony, he is to deliver the books to the Governor, with a list of the names of those convicts who, from their general good conduct, may be considered deserving of having them as presents.”

The provision made, and the instructions given, as above exhibited, evince the benevolent and laudable concern of the Government for the religious instruction and moral improvement of the convicts, during the passage to the colonies. And if the mind of the medical officer be duly affected with the nature of his charge; and should he be deeply and devoutly anxious to turn the time occupied by the voyage to the best possible account, as it regards the instruction and reformation of the prisoners intrusted to his care, there is nothing in his instructions to prevent him from making such judicious and suitable additions to the books with which he is furnished, as the means within his reach may enable him to make. Past experience had taught me to anticipate the wants of my people, and provide for their supply. Whatever I might find their attainments to be at my first investigation, I cherished the expectation that they would all be able, with more or less accuracy, to peruse the Scriptures before the period of their debarkation in the colony should arrive. I therefore, before the embarkation of the guard at Deptford, prepared myself to be able to send every man and boy on shore in possession of a copy of the Holy Scriptures, either a Bible or a Testament; and since I had always found the "London Primers," that are usually supplied, unsuitable for the purpose for which they are intended, and causing a painful loss of time, I took care to lay in a sufficient stock of school-books, in my judgment

of a more fitting description, and much more likely to facilitate the progress of the pupil. The Government's New Testaments were so much worn, through being in daily and constant use during the voyage, that they were returned into store; the remainder of the religious books were, with His Excellency's approbation, distributed as rewards amongst the prisoners; and, with my private provision, enabled me, as already observed, to disembark every prisoner possessed of a Bible or Testament—save a very few, whose reading was so imperfect, that a Psalter in addition to their spelling-books, tracts, &c., was thought sufficient for them, in the meantime, to possess. Several had Bibles or Testaments of their own which they had brought on board with them; or had been sent to them by their friends, previously to our sailing from England.

It ought to be stated here, that there was one man—viz. the discarded schoolmaster, who refused to accept of a Bible from me; and there was another, whose conduct on board had been in the first instance pretty good, and during the latter part of the voyage very satisfactory, who declined receiving our translation of the Scriptures; stating that he would prefer the translation approved of by the Church to which he belonged.

When I last saw this man in Hobart Town, he acknowledged to me he had not been able to procure the Bible he wished, and confessed that he believed he had been deterred, through the influence of the

great enemy of souls, from accepting the copy I had offered him on board the transport.

The following is a view of the provision made, by Christian philanthropy, for the instruction of the prisoners during the voyage, and for their use in the colony:—

Received from Sir T. Blomefield, Bart. and Lieutenant Michael Turner, R. N.	{ 240 spelling-books, 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th class, published by the Sunday School Union; and 240 Scripture readings by the same Society.
From the Rev. Mr. Wagner, and the Misses Mahon, of Brighton.	{ 100 tracts, 50 vols. of sundry religious works and 100 Homilies.
From Mrs. Wilkinson, of Clapham Common.	{ 30 pocket volumes of prayers & sermons.
From Mr. Baynes, 28, Paternoster Row.	{ 9 vols. of old religious books.
From Mr. Oldfield, Lombard Street.	{ 57 vols. of various works published by the Religious Tract Society.
Purchased from Mr. Baynes.	{ 3 dozen spelling-books.
Purchased from the Tract Society.	{ 88 vols. of sundry religious works.
Grant from Religious Tract Society.	{ 39 vols. religious publications, and 1000 tracts.
Grant from the Committee of British and Foreign Bible Society.	{ 75 minion Bibles, 100 brevier Testaments and Psalms.
Grant from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.	{ 15 nonpareil Bibles, 50 common Prayer-books and a few Homilies.

As two volumes of sacred music were also pro-

vided for the use of the prisoners, such of them as were disposed, occasionally assembled for the purpose of familiarizing themselves with a few simple and devotional tunes, suitable for Divine worship.

The books "purchased," including the brown paper covers, were paid for by money contributed by Miss Wagner, of Brighton; Miss Graham, and friends, Clapham Common; Mr. Tooke, Hatton Garden; and Mr. Hull Terrell, Basinghall Street, London. The sum amounted to £8 10s.

Thus we were provided with a sufficient variety of elementary school-books, with a valuable assortment of instructive and interesting works on religious subjects, chiefly published by the Tract Society, and with Bibles and Testaments sufficient to enable me, with the Government allowance, to accomplish my wishes, in providing every prisoner with a copy of the sacred Scriptures previously to his debarkation. Besides a Bible or a Testament, many of them, as above stated, possessed a Psalter, others a Prayer-book, and each a little religious work from the Tract Society, or some other Society or friend, or a volume of tracts sewed together under covers of brown paper: the tracts were sorted, covered, and stitched by my handy and zealous "*librarian*," George D—s.

It may not be uninteresting to see introduced here a tabular view of the acquirements of the prisoners at the respective periods of embarkation and debarkation as officially presented, in my journal, to the Admiralty.

A TABULAR VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE EDUCATION OF THE PRISONERS ON BOARD THE *ELPHINSTONE*, EXTRACTED FROM MY OFFICIAL JOURNAL.

Total number of Convicts embarked	Number who could, at the period of embarkation,			Number who could read and write, and who could only read, aged											
	Read and write	Only read	Neither read nor write	Above 60 yrs.		Between 50 & 60 yrs.		Between 40 & 50 yrs.		Between 30 & 40 yrs.		Between 20 & 30 yrs.		Under 20 yrs.	
240	37	45	158	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read
				1	3	3	2	10	10	18	18	18	3	3	14
Total number of Convicts debarked	Number who could, at the date of debarkation,			Number who could read and write, and who could only read, aged											
	Read and write	Only read	Neither read nor write	Above 60 yrs.		Between 50 & 60 yrs.		Between 40 & 50 yrs.		Between 30 & 40 yrs.		Between 20 & 30 yrs.		Under 20 yrs.	
238	110	128		Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read
				2	3	7	4	22	11	49	45	27	27	67	

WHAT COUNTRYMEN, AND WHERE EDUCATED.

	No.	Educated at Sunday schools.	At other schools	<i>Elphin- stone</i>	Uneducated.*
English	175	3	57	115	None.
Welsh	5		3	2	
Scotch	29		10	19	
Irish	21		9	12	
Foreigners . .	8			8	

* Of the 156 set down as educated on board the *Elphinstone*, twenty-three, of whom six are foreigners, still read imperfectly; and several of them have so defied the efforts that have been made to instruct them, that they may be regarded as almost "hopeless."

It may here be stated that, on my arrival at Hobart Town, in the *Elphinstone*, in the year 1836, it was intimated to me by a gentleman who came on board, that after the prisoners of the *Arab* had been in the colony for a period of several months, a Board had been appointed by His Excellency, the Lieutenant Governor, to inquire into their behaviour, as far as it could be ascertained by a reference to the records of the police and justices of the peace; and to compare it with the conduct of prisoners by several other ships, during the corresponding period of residence in the colony: and in the report of the Board it is stated, that the prisoners by the *Arab* "have been invariably clean, sober, and regular; whilst, at the same time, none of them have yet been brought before magistrates for punishment; a fact which has never before occurred within the knowledge of the Chief Police Magistrate, or Principal Superintendent."

For a farther account of the prisoners transported in the *Arab*, the reader is referred to His Excellency, SIR GEORGE ARTHUR'S letter addressed, in the year 1835, to His Grace, the ARCHBISHOP

I may also add, with propriety, corresponding views of the state of education on board the ships *Surry*, *Arab*, and *Margaret*.

OF DUBLIN. From the publication referred to, the following extract may, with the utmost propriety, be here given; because it exhibits the testimony of the distinguished and pious author in favour of the working of the system set forth in these pages:—

“For my own part, I do not see why, in *any* instance, the voyage may not be made an opportunity of eradicating evil passions—of supplying the mind with useful information—and of impressing it with a deep sense of religion, and of the dreadful consequences of crime. Nor do I augur thus favourably, from a vague conception of what *might* be done, but from a knowledge of what *has* actually been done!”

“The convict ship, *Arab*, arrived about four months since. The transports brought out in her were, when put on board, I have every reason to believe, as ignorant, as profane, and, in every respect, as reckless as transported criminals usually are.”

“But when they were disembarked, the character of a great many, it was evident, had undergone a most remarkable change; their tempers had been subdued—they had been induced to think and to reflect—and they had been instructed, so as to know them familiarly, in the principles of religion.”

“This they evinced, very satisfactorily in my presence, in the course of a general examination, that took place after they had been landed; and their continued good conduct since that period, has proved the abiding influence of the mode of instruction pursued by Dr. Browning, the surgeon-superintendent, under whose charge they had been placed.”—Pages 71—73.

A TABULAR VIEW OF THE STATE OF THE EDUCATION OF THE PRISONERS
ON BOARD THE SURRY, 1831.

Total number of Convicts embarked	Number who could, at the period of embarkation.			Number who could read and write, and who could only read, aged												
	Read and write	Only read	Neither read nor write	Above 60 yrs.		Between 50 & 60 yrs.		Between 40 & 50 yrs.		Between 30 & 40 yrs.		Between 20 & 30 yrs.		Under 20 yrs.		
200	74	8	118	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	
						1		3		13		38	5	19	3	
	Number who could, at the period of de- barkation,			Number who could read and write, and who could only read, aged												
	Read and write	Only read	Neither read nor write	Above 60 yrs.		Between 50 & 60 yrs.		Between 40 & 50 yrs.		Between 30 & 40 yrs.		Between 20 & 30 yrs.		Under 20 yrs.		
199	115	83	1	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	Read and write	Only read	
						1	2	2	3	6	17	10	53	44	41	20

WHAT COUNTRYMEN, AND WHERE EDUCATED.

	No.	Educated at Sunday- schools.	On board the <i>Surry</i> .	At other schools.	Unedu- cated.
English	190	3	110	76	1
Welsh	1			1	
Scotch	2		2		
Irish	4		3	1	
Foreigners ..	3		2	1	

WHAT COUNTRYMEN, AND WHERE EDUCATED.

	No.	Educated at Sunday- schools.	In the <i>Arab</i> .	At other schools.	Unedu- cated.*
English	220	1	183	34	1
Welsh	4		3	1	
Scotch					
Irish	4		4		
Foreigners ..					

* Four of those taught in the *Arab*, read so imperfectly as to be considered almost uneducated.

WHAT COUNTRYWOMEN, AND WHERE EDUCATED.

	No.	Educated at Sunday- schools.	At other schools	On board the <i>Margaret</i> .	Remain- ing un- educa- ted*.
English	3			3	
Welsh					
Scotch					
Irish	128	3	26	93	6

* Of the ninety-six set down to the *Margaret*, thirty-three still read very imperfectly.

CHAPTER IX.

THE APPARENT EFFECTS PRODUCED BY BIBLICAL INSTRUCTION
ON THE MINDS AND CHARACTER OF THE PRISONERS.

MY previous acquaintance with the general character of convicts had prepared me to find amongst those embarked in the *Elphinstone*, a number who had imbibed infidel sentiments; and, as I well knew that the majority of them would be found not to have thought at all on the subject of the *claims* of the sacred writings upon their attention and belief, I determined to undertake the task of setting before the minds of the prisoners, at as early a period of the voyage as circumstances might permit, a popular and summary view of the evidences of the authenticity, genuineness, integrity, credibility, and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. The subject was rendered as intelligible, interesting, and impressive as I possibly could, assisted by the few authors I had with me; especially by the Rev. T. H. Horne's work, on the critical study of the Scriptures; a small volume on their verbal inspiration, &c. by Robert Haldane, Esq., of Edinburgh; and the writings of Keith. My plan was, to refresh my

memory by glancing, before the hour of lecture, at a few pages of one or more authors, on the part of the subject on which it was my intention to speak; to arrange in my mind the line of argument I should adopt; determine the practical application, and trust to the moment for language, which behoved always to be as simple as possible; and, occasionally, an extract from an author was read. The object which I had in view, was, to show the people how much *can* be said in support of the *claims* of the Bible; to enable them to think justly of its character, and of the care with which its Divine Author hath, in His providence, graciously watched over, and preserved it from mutilation and interpolation; to impress their minds with a deep sense of the obligations they were under to the Father of mercies, for the inestimable boon He had put into their hands; to lead them to perceive with what sentiments and feelings, and in what spirit, it becomes all men to approach the writings of inspiration; to demonstrate to them the vast importance which the Divine Author of the sacred volume attaches to His word; to fortify their minds against all the assaults of infidel companions and pernicious writings; and to discover to the most unlettered amongst my people, the firm and immovable rock on which the true believer builds his hope for time and eternity, and on which, in life and in death, he rests in humble and unshaken confidence. Nothing could exceed the attention with which the people listened to these popular prelections; and I have reason to believe

that, through the Divine blessing, my humble labours were not in vain.

Our principal employment, however, was (as has already been observed), to study the *contents* of the Bible, with a view to the acquisition, through Divine teaching, of *that knowledge* which lays the sinner in the dust, and leads him to Jesus and to peace—to holiness and to heaven.

A chapter, consisting of seven sections, and containing the substance of the instructions communicated to the prisoners during the voyage, on sundry cardinal points of Christianity, I had prepared, with the view of giving it a place in this volume. But, as it is thought that the chapter referred to would render this publication too bulky, I have been induced, in compliance with more matured judgments than my own, to suppress it.*

To give a view of the instructions imparted to the people in the style and manner in which they were delivered, is quite impossible. Every incident was made to supply useful and practical instruction. Addresses on the most important points of Christianity, and on occasional manifestations of principle and character by one or other of the prisoners, were daily delivered; but the efficiency of these

* A brief outline of the course of instruction which was followed out on board the transport, appears in an "address," which was hastily written, and very imperfectly printed at Hobart Town, with copies of which, all the prisoners who had been conveyed to New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land under my care, were kindly furnished by the Colonial Governments.

addresses was, unquestionably, increased in no small degree, in virtue of the minds of the prisoners having been perpetually brought into contact with the sacred Scriptures themselves, and furnished with instructions from our morning and evening lessons, the reading of which was always accompanied with prayer, and, generally, with explanatory observations, and practical applications to the heart and life. In the morning our engagements required that our remarks on the chapter read should be very brief; in the evening, they were more extended, and, sometimes—frequently indeed—instruction was conveyed through catechetical exercises on the portions of Scripture read.

In entering on the study of the Scriptures, we began (as has been observed) with the beginning of the Old and New Testaments; read consecutively the portions which appeared the most suitable, instructive, and striking; directing the intermediate chapters to be read at school and in private; and we were especially careful to select the most impressive chapters for the *first* and *second* lessons at “church.”

As I have, in the “address” printed at Hobart Town, noticed the portions of Scripture to which the minds of the people were particularly directed, I shall only observe here, that the consideration of the prisoners’ extreme ignorance; of the shortness of the period allotted to their instruction on board the transport, necessarily limited to the time occupied by the voyage; and the desirableness of their

going through such a course of biblical instruction as was most calculated to furnish them with a connected and comprehensive view of the *Christian system* as developed in the Scriptures, appeared to authorise the substitution of other chapters in the place of those appointed in the English liturgy as the lessons of the day for the period of a whole year. For these reasons we commenced with the first chapters of *Genesis* and *Matthew*, and pursued the course we have just named. It may be here stated, that of the Old Testament we chiefly examined the books of Moses; the most remarkable passages of the history of the Jews, as contained in the remaining *historical* books; the books of the Psalms and Proverbs; portions of Job; the most doctrinal chapters of Isaiah, and those which especially refer prophetically to the Messiah and His kingdom; a few chapters of Jeremiah, as the xvii. and xxxi.; and the ix., xviii., xxxiii., xxxvi., and xxxvii. of Ezekiel; a considerable part of Daniel; and select portions of the minor prophets. Of the New Testament, we read the whole of the Gospels by St. Matthew and St. John, and portions of those by St. Luke and St. Mark; the whole of the Acts; several of the Epistles; and closely examined and applied those to the Romans and the Hebrews. In the schools and in private, the Scriptures were regularly read during the voyage.

When the weather was favourable, the prisoners were invariably assembled for "church" on the quarter-deck, the guard and ship's company being

on the poop, as stated in the view of the routine of a week ; and on one occasion only did the state of the weather compel us to meet below in the mainward. I may here observe, that public worship commenced with the singing of a psalm, and that the same exercise divided the "service" from the sermon.

At two o'clock on the Sabbath afternoon—the guard, as before, being on the poop—the people were again arranged on the quarter-deck, for the recital of Scripture and for examination. The portion to be committed to memory for the purpose of recital was announced about a week before, and was taken either from the Old or New Testament. The selection was made with a view to a systematic arrangement of Divine truth, as far as this could be well done. The task was voluntary. All who undertook it were requested to repeat the verses to their respective schoolmasters by Saturday evening or Sabbath morning, and to give in their names to the inspector of schools, who entered them into a small book, which was forwarded to me before the hour of recitation. The number who prepared themselves weekly for this public exercise was, to the best of my recollection, never under fifty-two ; and was once as high as sixty-two. Of course, our time did not permit *me* to hear the whole of these volunteers recite the passage assigned them ; I was compelled to rely on the testimony of the teachers and inspector, who, I believe, never attempted to deceive me ; and to call upon as many to stand up

and rehearse as our time would permit, limiting our meeting, as nearly as possible, to one hour or an hour and a quarter; and, as no one knew on whom I might call, none professed to have committed the verses to memory who had not done so, and had repeated them to their respective teachers. And there were, probably, many who made themselves masters of the appointed passages, but who had not courage to give in their names for public recital. The rehearsal being finished, the passage immediately became the subject of examination and exposition, and, as far as time allowed, the people were catechised on the chapters read at "church," as well as on other portions of Scripture—as, for example, those which exhibit the types; on the Lord's prayer; the sermon on the mount: likewise on their acquaintance with the *scheme* of salvation, and on the cardinal doctrines and the duties of Christianity. The meeting began and closed with a short prayer.

All our meetings for religious exercises, not only on the Lord's day, but during the week, were, without one single exception, marked by the most perfect order and decorum, and generally with apparently deep solemnity. It is not easy to imagine any spectacle more impressive than an assembly of 240 outcasts, consigned, by the violated laws of their country, to suffer all the horrors of transportation, closely seated on and around the quarter-deck of a transport, under sail to a remote corner of the earth—and the ship's company,

guard, officers, soldiers' wives and children, all in their Sabbath-day's costumes, arranged in their proper places on deck, and all seriously engaged in the solemn worship of the Most High; singing His praise, reading His word, presenting at the throne of grace their confessions, supplications, and thanksgivings for themselves, for each other, their friends and relatives, their Sovereign and their fellow-subjects, for the churches of Christ and their ministers, and for all mankind, in every possible rank and condition. Those who have obtained some scriptural acquaintance with their own hearts; who know what it is to have the conscience burdened with guilt, and have some experience of godly sorrow for sin, and of the exercises of a soul drawing near to God by the atoning sacrifice and mediation of Jesus, when they call to mind the peculiar circumstances in which the whole of us, particularly the prisoners, are placed—recollect *what* and *whom* we are all leaving behind—few of us daring to expect, or to hope ever to tread our native shores again, or to behold in the flesh those who are the dearest to our hearts—may be able to form some conception of the feelings which are most likely to pervade every bosom in such an assembly, while engaged in the religious exercises of public worship.

There was, I must confess, something in the appearance of the congregation which I am not able to describe, and the recollection of which is, at this moment, most touching to my feelings. The apparent diversity which obtained amongst the

prisoners—diversity of countenance, age, character; the soldiers under arms; the ship's crew with their officers, the women and their children—all contributed to increase the interest, and to add to the solemnity of our engagements. No congregation could exhibit more decided marks of extreme attention to the exercises in which they were employed. Almost every countenance evinced a mind engaged, and more or less impressed. This remark applies, in an especial degree, to the prisoners; although I cannot say that I ever observed any inattention manifested by any one present. If, at any time, I should *think* I had reason to doubt the attention of a prisoner, an observant look directed to the quarter which he occupied, and perhaps, on a few occasions, accompanied with a short pause, could not fail, apparently, to secure the presence of the suspected absentee. But it was seldom I had occasion to apprehend inattention on the part of any of the people. A more deeply attentive audience than a congregation of prisoners, I never witnessed, either at sea or on shore.

It is difficult to say which of our meetings on the Lord's day, whether in the forenoon for "church," or that in the afternoon for recitation and examination, was the more interesting. Each found its peculiar character. Perhaps that at two o'clock, excited the greatest interest, called forth more exercise of mind, and afforded more instruction to the people; at all events, to the least informed. All had an opportunity of ascertaining whether

they were able to answer the questions proposed, either to their own minds or to me, and of having their views either corrected or confirmed by the passages quoted from the Scriptures, either by their fellow-prisoners or myself; and the subject of examination always afforded abundant matter for practical application and solemn appeals to the understanding and the conscience, with which, followed by a short prayer, our meeting closed.

To those who were by sickness confined to their beds, the Holy Scriptures were occasionally read, either by myself, or by some proper person whom I selected from amongst the prisoners. And occasionally, when other duties admitted of it, I spent a short time with them in religious conversation and prayer.

When I ascertained, either by my own observation or otherwise, that a prisoner was under the influence of serious impressions, I privately sent for him to my cabin, or some other place of retirement, either on deck, or in the hospital; and conversed with him on the subject of his state of mind, with a view of discovering as much of his past history and present sentiments and feelings as might be useful to us both, and of imparting to him such instruction and counsel as might appear to me the most suitable, and I might be enabled to give. Such interviews as these, besides affording me an opportunity of dealing closely with individual souls, were calculated to influence my choice of subject for general instruction, and to give a direction and

character to my illustrations and application of Divine truth.

We had not proceeded far on our voyage, when three of the prisoners were observed to be under deep and anxious concern for their spiritual interests. I embraced the earliest opportunity of conversing with them. Two of them, it appeared, had been, while on board the hulk, led to reflect seriously on their past lives, and to lay to heart the prospect which was before them, not only as it regards the present life, but especially that which is to come. They all appeared to me to have obtained that spiritual knowledge which no man can impart to his brother, and to be sincerely exercised in heart in reference to the salvation of their souls. They made no profession beyond what was involved in a serious and manly devotedness to duty, public and private; in a love of retirement for the reading of the Scriptures, and engaging in other devotional exercises; in the manifestation of a becoming spirit and temper; in a regard for the souls of their fellow-prisoners manifested in private conversations and kind remonstrances; in due attention to the social exercises of religion; and in a becoming deportment in their manner and conduct. To these three, several more were soon added; when it was proposed to meet twice every week in the main-ward, for the reading of the Scriptures, social prayer, and praise. It was thought prudent that I should, on these occasions, preside, and call upon such as I considered qualified in point of humility,

spirituality of mind, and knowledge, to engage in prayer. The first meeting was evidently conducted with great solemnity. Although it was left to the people to attend or not, as they might think proper, or feel inclined, I am not aware that a single individual of our numbers absented himself, save one or two confined by indisposition to the hospital.

There was something in the pouring forth of the heart of a prisoner in prayer, in the midst of his fellow-prisoners, that was deeply touching and impressive. The prayers had all the appearance of being the breathings of a broken heart and of a contrite spirit, in humble confession, and earnest supplication in the hearing of Him who looks upon the inmost parts, and requires to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. The minds of the people were evidently solemnized by the prayers of their companions in crime and in suffering. They saw men like themselves drawing near to God, in the name and through the mediation of our great and merciful High Priest, who came into our world not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; and, in the appropriate language of the Holy Scriptures, heard them confessing their iniquities, and the iniquities of those around them; imploring promised forgiveness through the sprinkling of the precious blood of Jesus, and earnestly seeking the uprooting of all the corruptions of their nature, and the conformity of their character to the Divine will, in the holy obedience of faith and love.

I felt it incumbent upon me to embrace the

solemn opportunity these social meetings afforded, to address *closely*, not only those who had professed to have taken up the cross to follow Christ as their Lord and Saviour, but likewise all present; and to endeavour to make what I conceived to be a legitimate practical use of the happy decision apparently arrived at by the few, considered in connexion with the Divine *command*, that *all* who *hear* the Gospel do *believe* it—confess Christ, and be added to His church according to the Scriptures.

It will be seen that these meetings, which were held in the main-ward, possessed a character different from that of any to which we have yet referred; and afforded opportunity for a *mode* of address, as well as supplied subjects for mutual improvement, dissimilar in some respects, from the advantages furnished on other occasions of assembling together.

Circumstances induced me to require the presence of the boys on these occasions of coming together for social prayer; and although it was always left to the option of the men to attend or not, as they might feel disposed, I do not know that any of them at any time absented themselves. I judged from the appearance of the number present, and from the reports of the petty officers and others. Being for some days confined to bed through severe indisposition, evolving an affection of the windpipe which prevented me from speaking, the piously disposed among the prisoners applied to me through one of themselves, who was in constant attendance

upon me, to know whether they might assemble for their social worship in my absence. Although the most perfect decorum and even devout seriousness had always hitherto prevailed on these occasions, I was doubtful as to the effect of my non-attendance; and therefore, as there was no patient on the sick-list at that time whom the meeting could disturb, I permitted it to be held in the hospital; but there were so many who appeared anxious to be present, beyond what the hospital could accommodate, that I resolved, in the event of my illness continuing, to permit the whole to assemble as usual in the mainward. My illness did continue; the whole of the people, including the boys, assembled as when I was among them, and their religious exercises were conducted with a degree of apparent feeling and solemnity, that seemed, from the reports communicated to me, even to surpass anything of the kind which had marked former social meetings.

The numbers who *appeared* to receive the Gospel, and to yield obedience to its requirements, continued to increase, and to express their desire to be admitted to the visible fellowship of those who seemed to have renounced the service of sin, and to have devoted themselves to God in the faith and obedience of His Son Jesus Christ. And before the termination of the voyage, I had the unspeakable satisfaction of recognising *twenty-three* of my men as humble followers of the Lord, and who gave all the evidence of their discipleship, which the circumstances in which they were placed per-

mitted them to give. Besides these, there were *thirty-five* under serious impression, and exhibiting the most hopeful evidences of conversion to God; and there were likewise *two* who had made an inconsistent profession on shore, or at least, had enjoyed high religious privileges, but had apparently resisted the truth; and who, for some time, professed on board to have been awakened to anxious concern about their spiritual safety, but whose temper and conduct were by no means satisfactory, either to my mind or to the minds of others: they therefore ceased to be acknowledged on board as sincere and honest converts to Christianity.

In looking over the list of thirty-five, while I regard the whole as *hopeful* characters, I observe the names of several whom I cannot but consider as men whose hearts were savingly impressed by Divine truth; and there might be more of the people whose minds had been enlightened by the Gospel, and who had never come particularly under my observation; for the conduct of a great many of the people was orderly, moral, and to all appearance, if not absolutely in harmony with, at least not *openly* adverse to, the spirit of the New Testament.

But whatever may be said of the *sincerity* or *insincerity* of any of the prisoners in their profession of faith in, and obedience to, CHRIST, THEY MUST STAND BY THE DECISION OF THEIR LIVES, AND OF THE GREAT DAY.

If any of them are the children of God in the

regeneration of their hearts by the power of His truth, they will demonstrate their sonship by a manifestation of the Spirit of their Lord, and by the holy obedience of a life of faith. If any of them have made a profession of Christianity while they are yet in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity, their hypocrisy will, in due time, be made manifest. If any persevere in their fidelity to Christ unto the end of their mortal life, they shall be saved with an everlasting salvation. If any continue to resist, and finally, even in death, reject the only Saviour, they seal their own eternal destruction. Man may, and does, sinfully and guiltily resist and reject the Gospel; but the *reception* of Christ is God's *gift*. The work of conversion is wholly and entirely His peculiar work; Paul may plant, Apollos may water, but it is God who giveth the increase. "By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast." He only who, at the first, caused the light to shine out of darkness, can shine into the sinner's heart, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God as it shines in the Person and the Work of Jesus Christ. If one of the prisoners was, while on board the transport, plucked as a brand from the burning, and translated from the kingdom of Satan into the kingdom of God's dear Son, the deliverance was effected by the power of the Holy Spirit. The whole work was His: and we may be confident of this very thing that, wheresoever He begins a

good work, He will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ. He will keep His saints' feet; and preserve them in the path of holy obedience, unto the end. If there is any one exercise which, more than another, is calculated to lay us low in the dust of self-abasement, and makes us deeply to feel our utter weakness and insignificancy, it is that of dealing with the souls of our fellow-sinners, with a view to their reception of Christ unto salvation. Oh, how presumptuous it is in any man, to imagine for a moment, that he, by any power of his own, can turn a sinner from the error of his ways and bring him back to God! We cannot, to our dearest and most beloved friend or relative, impart one spiritual perception. The saving illumination of the mind is altogether the work of the Almighty and Eternal Spirit. Whatever of conversion work was effected among the prisoners on board the *Elphinstone*, is most entirely to be referred to the Spirit of God. The Power that created the world (as we formerly observed) can alone create a sinful soul *anew* in Christ Jesus unto good works. To Him then belong all the glory and all the praise of all illuminating, sanctifying, and saving operation among the prisoners during our interesting voyage. The work of the *conversion of a sinner* is as wholly the work of the Holy Spirit, as is the work of the *creation of a seraph*. And a deep and an abiding conviction of this truth cannot be too earnestly sought, nor too highly prized. God will be sanctified in all them that come nigh Him; and before all the peo-

ple He will be glorified. His praise He will not give to another; neither His glory to graven images. To be made instrumentally useful to souls, we must, in our own esteem, become *nothing and less than nothing and vanity*; and God must be all and in all. We must consent to become as the rough unpolished horn of the priests before the walls of Jericho, and, as it were, to be merely spoken through to our fellow-sinners, by the Spirit of truth and of all grace. The voyage afforded me many lessons on the subjects of my own utter nothingness—of the work of conversion being the undivided work of the Holy Spirit—and of the necessity of cherishing an abiding and influential recollection of these things, in order to our being employed to speak that truth which the God of truth will carry home with power to the understanding and heart of a sinner, unto his present and everlasting salvation. Should any one be disposed to animadvert on the conversions which appeared to have taken place on board the *Elphinstone*, let it be remembered that such as were *real* were effected by the Almighty power of the Holy Spirit, and that He will make their reality to appear, both in this world and in that which is to come; and that such as were *not real* mark a fearful resistance to Divine truth; that they read to *us all* an impressive lesson, and loudly proclaim in our ears the words of holy writ, “Consider *your ways*.” “Let a man *examine himself*.” “Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed, lest he fall.” “For every one of us must give

an account of himself unto God." "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature;" and, "If any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His."

But even those who gave no decided evidence that they had received the truth in the love of it, by manifesting, in holy living, a saving change of heart, received, nevertheless, no inconsiderable benefit from the system of instruction and discipline followed out during the voyage. All were, more or less, instructed in the knowledge of the true God—His word, His works, and His providence; all had felt the influence of an intellectual and moral system of government and discipline; nearly all had been taught to read with ease the Holy Scriptures; all had, day by day, for a period of more than four months, heard the Gospel of the grace of God, and seen, in many happy instances, its blessed effects; all had learned truth which they can never forget, and which, if they should, at any time, receive it in love, is able to save their souls. In a word, the whole body of the people were placed in a position in which they had never been placed before. Their increase of knowledge was necessarily accompanied with an increase of responsibility. They had all received instruction which was calculated to fit them for answering the grand end of their existence; to qualify them for the discharge of the highest duties; and to prepare them to participate in the purest and most ennobling enjoyments: instruction, moreover, which they cannot neglect without fearfully increasing their

guilt and their sorrow; nor follow out in the obedience of faith, without securing the happiness which consists in conformity to the character and revealed will of God, and in the enjoyment of His approbation and love.

No one who has been taught duly to appreciate Divine truth, will deny that, by the impartation to the prisoners, during the voyage, of biblical knowledge, much positive good was accomplished. Not only (as has been intimated) were a considerable number of them deeply impressed and apparently reformed, but the great body of them gave unequivocal evidence of improvement, both intellectual and moral. Their behaviour towards each other and towards all on board, was in a high degree satisfactory. They became thoughtful, learned to command their temper; and, generally speaking, conducted themselves in a manner that would have done credit to any portion of the labouring community of England. With scarcely an exception, their conversation was remarkably correct and manly; and only on one or two occasions, during the whole of the period they were on board, did I hear an improper expression proceed from their lips: and I hesitate not to say, that I should rejoice to observe every little community of men, whether at sea or on shore, characterized by a corresponding manliness of decorum. But while we duly estimate that outward decorum, which implies not necessarily the existence of vital Christianity, it must be admitted that it holds but a

secondary place to true and genuine piety, its sure and certain source, and from which it never can be separated; for the man who loves God, has been taught to admire and to cultivate whatsoever things are true, and venerable, and just, and pure, and lovely (Phil. iv. 8).

CHAPTER X.

ARRIVAL AT HOBART TOWN—MAGISTRATE'S EXAMINATION OF PRISONERS—FINAL ADDRESS ON THE EVENING PRECEDING THE DEBARKATION.

ON the 24th of May, when well advanced up the river Derwent, we were boarded by the port officer, to whom I delivered the despatches and letters on His Majesty's service; and on the following morning were safely moored in Hobart Town harbour.

After the usual communications and arrangements, and after the inspection of the prisoners and wards by the proper authorities; the magistrate, accompanied by his attendants, came on board for the purpose of examining, one by one, the prisoners; putting such questions to them as he might think fit, recording their answers, and noting every circumstance in their individual appearance by which their personal identity might, at any future period, be determined. The examination of the prisoners at Hobart Town is, in some important points, very different from that which obtains at

Sydney.* At the latter place, besides noting personal peculiarities, and making some inquiries concerning the prisoner's relations, the principal object appears to be, to ascertain with precision all his qualifications with a view to his disposal in the colony; and a portion of a day sufficed to despatch the examination of more than 200 men: at the former, 230 or 240 men will occupy the space of about four days; and the object seems to be, not merely to discover all at which the inquiry aims as conducted in Port Jackson, but to learn from the prisoner's own lips as much as possible of his history, particularly that part of it which embraces those improprieties and misdeeds of his life, which may have led to conviction and imprisonment, or some other punishment. On the nature and tendencies of the examination here referred to, I refrain from offering any observations in this place.

The fatigues of the voyage had so materially injured my health that, by the time we reached the colony, I was almost unfit for every duty. Between the day of our arrival and that of the debarkation, many things remained to be done. The scholars last examined by the Board had to receive their prizes; and there were many religious books and tracts to be yet disposed of amongst the prisoners. All, however, was accomplished before the close of our last day on board. I was enabled also to com-

* In the year 1840, the character of the examination at Sydney appeared to have approximated very nearly to that which took place at Hobart Town at the time here referred to.

plete a solemn conversation upon which I had entered, some time previously to our arrival in harbour, with *each individual prisoner*, the grand object of which was, to ascertain from every man's own lips the views he entertained, before God, of himself as a sinner, and the knowledge he had received of Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of a lost world. Every one with apparent seriousness and candour acknowledged himself to be a guilty and ruined transgressor; and professed to believe that there is no salvation for any man but that which the Lord Jesus hath wrought out, and which is freely published in the Gospel of His grace.

During, perhaps, the first half of the voyage, I was not aware that there was a single individual amongst the prisoners who belonged to a Church unfavourable to the study of the sacred Scriptures; when it was farther advanced I found there were *three or four*; and at its close, I ascertained, upon inquiry, that there were *twenty-seven* who were professedly attached to such a Church. I had endeavoured as much as possible to avoid, during my course of instruction, everything which, in the smallest degree, tended to bring out peculiarities of religious sentiment. My duty was, to be faithful to all, and to endeavour, in Divine strength, to persuade all to submit themselves unto God, and to obey His command to search the Scriptures, which are able to make wise unto salvation through faith, which is in Christ Jesus. With scarcely more than the one exception formerly specified, the be-

haviour of the whole of these twenty-seven prisoners to whom I have just alluded, was, speaking generally, very orderly and satisfactory. The diligence and zeal with which they applied to the business of their education, and their readiness to peruse the Holy Scriptures, were not behind the rest of the people, if we except those among the latter who appeared to have obtained a spiritual discernment of the truth, whose zeal in the devout study of the inspired volume was characteristic of Divine illumination and spiritual life: and there were two or three of the twenty-seven also, whose hearts were evidently deeply, and, I would trust, savingly impressed. Having found that there were so many amongst the prisoners whose minds had been prejudiced, not only against the study of the inspired and written word of God, but against the cardinal doctrines of the Gospel of His grace, I felt I had yet a solemn duty to perform. I therefore assembled them together apart by themselves, for the purpose of dealing closely, faithfully, and affectionately with them in reference to the safety of their souls; and a more deeply interesting and satisfactory interview I do not remember ever to have had with any body of men. I took occasion to assure them that, whatever I might have said in the course of my instructions which did not harmonize with their views, was *by no means intended to hurt the feelings of any one of them*; that I regarded them all as my fellow-sinners, and, like myself, standing in need of a free salvation; and that my

only object in reference to them was, that they might be persuaded to avail themselves of the redemption of the Son of God, and so insure the present and eternal peace of their never-dying souls. I reminded them that they, with the whole human race, were involved in guilt, condemnation, and death; and that there is no other name under heaven given amongst men, whereby they could be saved, but the blessed name of JESUS. I assured them that it was not my object, to bring any man merely out of one *sect* into *another sect*, but to persuade all to renounce sin and Satan, and to yield themselves unto GOD by the reception of JESUS CHRIST and of the HOLY SPIRIT: because that it must avail a man but little, merely to pass from one sect into another, while he remains a stranger to CHRIST, and uninterested in His salvation—except, indeed, when it happens that the sect he quits holds sentiments which tend to deter men from yielding obedience to God either in searching the Scriptures, or observing any of their Divine appointments; or sentiments, which would deprive the LORD JESUS CHRIST of the honour which is due to Him as “God over all, blessed for ever more;” or infringe on the glory of the HOLY SPIRIT, as being with the Father and the Son, the one Eternal JEHOVAH; or holds any doctrines which are palpably opposed to the Holy Scriptures, and are calculated to endanger the present and everlasting salvation of the soul; whilst the sect which he joins soberly adheres, in holy obedience, to the *inspired volume*,

and keeps in view the *analogy of Scripture*, in their interpretations of Divine truth. I reminded them that it would avail them nothing to be able to say, "I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Cephas or Peter," unless they could, in faith and obedience, say, "I am of CHRIST." I entreated them to obey the Most High God by studying His word, which he had put into their hands; to prove all things by its doctrines and its precepts, and to bear in mind that it is according to *that word* that they, and all mankind, shall be judged at the last day; and I solemnly declared to them that my heart's desire for them was, that *they might be saved*. It is pleasing to have to record that no men could receive my communication with more becoming intimations of kind and grateful feelings, or give more unequivocal expressions of their good-will, and sense of my interest in their truest happiness.

On the evening preceding the debarkation of the prisoners, the whole of them assembled in the mainward for the exercise of devotion, and to receive their last ADDRESS on board, of which I can here only give the substance. It was, as nearly as I can recollect, as follows:—

OUR eventful voyage has come to a close, and our interesting sojourn together on board the *Elphinstone* terminates with to-morrow's dawn. It now, in an especial manner, becomes the whole of us to lift up our hearts in adoration, thanksgiving, and praise to the FATHER of Mercies, for all the

protection and blessing which he hath been graciously pleased to vouchsafe to us, from the period of our embarkation to the present hour. And whilst we acknowledge the unmerited goodness of the LORD, it is fit that we should, with all humbleness of mind, and with deep contrition of heart, confess before Him our manifold trespasses and short-comings, and our misimprovement of great and distinguished privileges.

The winds and the weather have been, upon the whole, most favourable to us; the waves of the sea have been controlled, and commanded to be at peace with us. At the commencement of our voyage, a sudden and most favourable change of wind saved us from a hazardous approach to the coast of France, which had filled the mind with all the anxieties which are connected with being embayed on a "lee-shore;" and during its progress, the solemnizing apprehension of "*fire*," which, for a few fearful minutes, influenced our minds, tended to remind us of our entire and never-ceasing dependence on God, and to awaken in our bosoms feelings of deep humility, unfeigned gratitude, and filial confidence. Our sick-list has, indeed, been rather large; and it has pleased God to take from the midst of us, besides the three belonging to the guard, their families, and ship's company, two of *your* number; and thereby reminded us of *our* mortality, and called upon us so to number our days as to apply our hearts unto wisdom. The committal of the bodies of the dead to the deep,

afforded to us all the most impressive and practical instruction; and I earnestly entreat the whole of you to reflect upon the solemnities of the burials you have witnessed on board, and to remember the exhortations addressed to you on these several solemnizing occasions. It is, indeed, a suitable exercise for the present moment, that the whole of us put to our hearts the questions—Why was *I* not taken? Wherefore was *I* left? What improvement have *I* made of His sparing mercy? Am I at this moment in a fit condition either to *live* or to *die*? Were it to be said to me by a voice from heaven, “This night shall thy soul be required of thee,” should I be found in a state of safety—dwelling in Christ, and Christ dwelling in me, and having His Spirit bearing witness with my spirit and with a holy and consistent life, that I am a child of God? Let each individual present ascertain what reply he can, in sober truth, make to these questions.

The time you have spent on board this transport forms a most important period of your existence, and one which you never can forget. It must, of moral necessity, extend its influence to ages yet to come; more or less modify your future experience; and, to an extent unknown to us, affect the destinies of many of your fellow-mortals. The providence of God has been conspicuously, graciously, and mysteriously exercised towards you. You have been collected from all quarters of the British Empire, and some of you from foreign nations, and placed,

for a period of five months, under a course of instruction, the grand object of which is, to restore you to the knowledge, and favour, and likeness of God, and to fit you for serving and enjoying Him for ever! Your minds have been directed to the contemplation of His wonderful works of creation and of providence; and especially to the investigation of those sacred and inspired records which, together with the former, make known to us all that it is requisite we should know respecting God and ourselves, the nature of His moral government, the demands of His law, the provisions and requirements of His Gospel, and the prospects which lie before the whole of the children of men.

From the sacred Scriptures it has been shown you, that we are a race of evil-doers, children of wrath even as others; that the whole world is guilty before God, and, as transgressors, are under a sentence of condemnation and death; and from the same Scriptures you have heard of the gracious and merciful character of JEHOVAH. The eternal love of the FATHER has been declared to you; the unspeakable gift of His love, CHRIST JESUS, has been set before you, as the one and all-sufficient propitiation for sin; and the great promise of the HOLY SPIRIT, the Divine Teacher, Sanctifier, and Comforter, has been exhibited to you from the holy oracles of Divine truth: and you have been, day by day, from the pages of inspiration, urged and entreated to attend to the manifestation of the Father's love; to accept the gift of His Son, for all

the purposes for which He is bestowed; and to yield your minds and your hearts to the instructions, influences, and persuasions of the Spirit of truth and of holiness.

There is not amongst you, to the best of my knowledge, a man or a boy who has not declared, in the Divine presence, that he believes himself to be a guilty and a lost sinner, and JESUS to be the only Saviour from sin and from the wrath to come. The question now is, What has been secretly transacted between your own hearts and God? Have you *felt* the enormity of your guilt? Have you been made *deeply sensible* of the depravity of your nature? Have you been humbled to the very dust, under a just apprehension of your crimes committed against your country's laws, against society, and against God? And have you, in very deed, come, in deep contrition of heart, to "the fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness"—even the fountain of the blessed Redeemer's atoning blood—and, by washing in that fountain, had your sin all taken away, and obtained deliverance from its *wages* and its *power*?

Think now on all the truth which has been declared to you; think on the tenderness of your heavenly Father's love; think on the unsearchable riches of Christ's redeeming grace; think on the faithful and gracious strivings and long-suffering of the Holy Spirit; think on the blessedness you secure to yourselves by your reception of the salvation published to you in the Gospel; and think

on the ceaseless wretchedness which, by your *rejection* of the Saviour, you perversely choose and deliberately confirm.

According to the ability and opportunity which have been *given* to me, I have endeavoured, though in much weakness, to declare unto you the whole counsel of God; and have kept back from you no truth which I conscientiously believe He hath revealed for your instruction and salvation, and which our time and my ability have permitted me to declare. And I have invariably entreated you to bring all I have said to you to the test of the infallible writings of the Holy Spirit, and thereby to prove all things; holding fast only that which is good, and obviously in accordance with the Divine mind; and rejecting whatever might appear, in the light of inspired truth, to be nothing but the doctrines and commandments of men, and at variance with the spirit and precepts of the Gospel. I humbly trust that I am free from the blood of all of you, and have been, through grace, enabled, as it respects the matter of your instruction, to deliver mine own soul. WITH JESUS CHRIST SET BEFORE YOU IN THE SCRIPTURES, AND THE COMMAND OF GOD, THAT YOU SHOULD BELIEVE IN HIM FOR SALVATION, ADDRESSED TO YOU—IF YOU PERISH, YOU PERISH! But know that, if you perish under such circumstances, you perish IN THE WILFUL REJECTION OF GOD'S DELIVERANCE!

In whatsoever matter I may have come short in the discharge of my duty to my country and to you

—whereinsoever I have come short in my duty to God (and I know that in everything I offend and come short of His glory), I seek pardon from that “same JESUS” to whom *you* have been directed to come for forgiveness, holiness, and life. There is no remedy provided for *me*, but the remedy which is provided for *you*; there is no ground on which I am warranted to rely for pardon, but the ground on which you are invited and urged to rest for forgiveness and every spiritual blessing. In JESUS alone, who died and rose again, can you and I have pardon and peace.

Let us remember, that a fearful responsibility attaches to the whole of us. I am responsible for my fidelity in teaching you and showing you the way of life; because it is written, “*Let him that heareth say, Come*” (Rev. xxii.); “To him that knoweth to do good, and doeth it not, to him it is sin” (James, iv.); “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them” (Matt. vii.); “He that winneth souls is wise.” And you are responsible for the use you have made, or may yet make, of all the truth that has been set before you, from the works, the providence, and the Scriptures of God; because it is written, “Every one of us shall give account of himself to God” (Rom. xiv.); “Take heed how ye hear;” “Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required” (Luke, viii.); “It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for thee” (Matt. xxi.). Take heed,

then, as to the manner in which you dispose of all the truth you have been taught. Oh, take heed how you treat the SON OF GOD! Not one of you can go on shore as you came on board! The whole of you disembark to-morrow morning, either improved in your characters, or fearfully hardened in your hearts. All of you have had the salvation of Christ fully and freely pressed upon your acceptance; and every one of you leaves this vessel, either in the character of one who has *accepted* of His salvation, or in the character of one who has *rejected* it! Oh, let me beseech you to lay this consideration to heart, and to take heed how you quit the transport in which the way of life and the way of death have been, from the Scriptures, faithfully set before you; and remember, that you carry along with you that Bible according to which you shall be *judged at the last day*.

You, who have professed to embrace Christ as all your salvation and all your desire, I most earnestly beseech to be most watchful over your future conduct. Recollect what is incumbent upon you as persons who are not their own, but who are bought with a price, and are under the highest obligations to serve Him who purchased them to Himself by His precious blood. Remember what is required of him who, in the Scriptures, is styled a temple of the Holy Ghost. Keep steadily in mind the tendency of your example; and bear it in your recollection, that your individual example

must be productive of incalculable good, or of inconceivable evil. Remember that the eyes of men and of angels are upon you; that God Himself is the constant witness of your thoughts, temper, and conduct; and that *the believer's God is a consuming fire*, and cannot spare, in the objects of His new covenant love, the dross of corruption and of sin. Oh! remember that He requires all His children to be holy, even as He is holy—holy in heart, holy in speech, holy in conduct. Remember that the tendency of holy and consistent living is, to *win souls* to a participation of the blessings of everlasting life; that the tendency of unholy and inconsistent living is, to destroy souls, and to consign them to the regions of eternal fire. Forget not that you have no evidence of the reality of your faith in Christ, *apart* from its sanctifying influence on your heart and life. If the tree is good, the fruit *must* be good; if the fruit is bad, the tree *must* be bad also. If you are living branches of the True Vine, you will exhibit, not merely the green leaves of a scriptural profession, but you will bring forth such fruit of holy living as will redound to the glory of your Father who is in heaven.

Beware of the first approaches of temptation to sin, whether in thought, or feeling, or desire, or word, or deed. Oh! be on your guard in reference to *novel* temptations, which have not yet come within the scope of your experience; and let me most earnestly beseech you ever to have it in present recollection, that your only safety lies in your

habitually abiding in Christ, and relying on His strength. Be assured that you have no security out of Christ. If He does not hold you up, and keep you clinging to Him in faith, love, and holy obedience, you will most *assuredly fall*, bring fresh guilt upon your conscience, grieve the Holy Spirit, destroy your peace, cause the way of truth to be evil spoken of, give the enemies of God occasion to blaspheme, wound the hearts of all your Christian brethren, endanger your future usefulness, and perhaps inflict such spiritual injury upon yourselves, that you may be suffered, in the displeasure and justice of your heavenly Father, to perform the remainder of your journey halting, even until you reach the borders of your grave! Take heed, then; watch and pray, that ye enter not into temptation. Keep your hearts with all diligence, and, with the heart, keep the door of your lips. At the very first approaches of sin, flee away—flee to the cross, escape to your knees, and wrestle in prayer for the needed deliverance; and *cease not* until, through Divine grace, you *have obtained the victory!* It is not enough that you offer up cold and heartless petitions, and then return to the influence of the temptation; but you must *agonize* in prayer, and you must keep aloof from the temptation, in thought, in look, and in approach; it must be driven far hence from your soul, or your soul must flee far hence from the temptation. You must *abide* in CHRIST; you must *walk* in the SPIRIT; you must think on your HEAVENLY FATHER'S love; you

must have your conversation in heaven; and you must not lift off your eyes from JESUS, but contemplate Him in His sufferings and in His glory; and keep looking forward in hope and expectation to the period when you shall see Him as He is, and when He shall present to His Father, without spot and blameless, all who, in the days of their earthly pilgrimage, followed Him in the regeneration of their hearts, and cultivated that holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.

Recollect the several duties which Jesus Christ hath been graciously pleased to enjoin on all His followers: your duties to God and to man. With considerable minuteness they have been set before you during your voyage. You will find them all in the pages of your Bible, which you are required diligently and prayerfully to search, that you may, day by day, become more familiar with their details, as well as obtain more and more of that faith, wisdom, and strength, which are necessary to the successful and acceptable performance of every duty. In all things follow out your Bible, and you cannot fail to be an unspeakable blessing to all with whom you may come immediately into contact, and therefore to the whole colony. It would be unseasonable for me to detain you now, by recapitulating to you what I have so often addressed to you on the subject of consistency of conduct. What I would now say to you is summed up in the exhortation, "IN ALL THINGS FOLLOW OUT YOUR BIBLE." Be faithful to GOD, according to the requirements

and spirit of His word; and according to the spirit and requirements of the same word, you will be faithful to *man*. See that the whole of your future conduct corresponds with the advantages you have enjoyed for so many months on board this ship; and that it be *such*, in every respect, as will commend the knowledge of the Scriptures, and unequivocally illustrate the power of the Gospel of Christ to all who may observe you, as you engage in the various vocations of life.

I particularly urge upon you, the necessity and importance of cultivating great tenderness of conscience, and of being extremely *exact* in the discharge of duty. Be conscientiously attentive to every minute circumstance connected with your duty. Guard against inattention to what may be considered *little things*, but which go to make up a great deal of the sum of human life, and to which little things a due and seasonable share of your regard contributes, in no small degree, to stamp your character, and to affect the comfort of all with whom you have to do. The great fault of that valuable portion of the community called "*servants*," generally is, the neglect of the *minor points* of their duty—negligence as to "*little things*." But such neglect cannot be allowed by an intelligent and conscientious person. The consistent Christian will, in *everything*, scrupulously guard against *every* just cause of offence. He will be thoughtful, attentive, considerate; accustom himself to reflect, to call to memory every injunction laid upon him; and

will perform every duty heartily, to the best of his ability, and to the LORD, and not merely to man. If you keep steadily in view the example and the precepts of Christ, and habitually act under the constraining influence of His love, and of the promised influences of the Eternal Spirit, you will prove lights to lighten all around you; you will be blessed in your own souls, and be made an unspeakable blessing to the souls of your fellow-men.

Let me beseech you to walk humbly, and closely, and habitually with God. Be as much engaged in the reading of the Scriptures, heart-searching, meditation, and prayer, as the consistent discharge of your other duties will allow. Avail yourselves of the opportunities afforded you, in providence, to attend to all the exercises of family devotion, and to improve the public ordinances of the church of Christ. Remember what you have been taught from the Scriptures, in reference to your behaviour towards *all men*, high and low, rich and poor, rulers and ruled. When called to bear reproach or persecution for the sake of Christ and of His truth, bear all with meekness and patient resignation; cherishing the dispositions of your Divine Lord and Master, and manifesting His Spirit in doing good to them that hate you, praying for them that despitefully use you—and in cherishing love and good-will even to the bitterest of your enemies. To Him who died for you, and is now exalted at the right hand of the Majesty on high, be ye faithful; and although you may be called, while in this world, to

pass as it were through fire and water, He will, according to His promise, bring you at last into the wealthy place. Remember it is through much tribulation that you are to enter into the kingdom of heaven. Let this be always your consolation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, even the chief; that He casts out none that come unto Him; that His sheep can never perish; and that all who believe in His name He will keep, by His Almighty power, in the path of holy and willing obedience to His heavenly kingdom.

To you who have, up to the present moment, put the gift of God, Christ Jesus, away from you, and have refused to accept of pardon and of life, I am able to say only a few words. Remember that the free and unfettered salvation of the Gospel has been fully declared to you. You have *now* "no cloak for your sin." You have heard that God *commandeth* every one of you to look unto JESUS for repentance, and pardon, and everlasting peace (1 John, iii. 23). You have heard the voice of the Holy Spirit speaking unto you, and saying, in the words of His servant John, "*Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world!*" You have heard His words by the Apostle of the Gentiles, "Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved" (Acts, xvi.). And again by John, "He that believeth in the Son of God, hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not in the Son of God, shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth on him" (John, iii.). The salvation of God



is again proclaimed in your hearing. Jesus Christ, who offered Himself without spot unto God as a sacrifice for sin, is still set forth in the Scriptures to every one of you, as the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. Oh ! be persuaded to accept of Him, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. Is it possible that there is amongst you a man who has purposed in his mind to disembark to-morrow morning, as a character who has lived all his days, not only in the violation of the laws of God, but in the rejection of the salvation of His Son? Can it be that there stands before me a man or a boy, who has formed the ungrateful and desperate resolution, *that his last act on board this transport shall be a repetition of his REJECTION OF CHRIST*; and that in setting his foot on these shores, he will do so in the character of an enemy of God, a contemner of His mercy, a despiser of His covenant, a slave of sin, who refuses to be a partaker of the glorious liberty of the children of God?

Let me entreat you to improve the moments you are yet permitted to be on board. Let this night—this evening of the Lord's holy day—record your submission to God by the belief of His testimony to His Son Christ Jesus. Let there be this night joy among the angels in heaven over the return of the whole of you, who have not yet returned, to Him who so loved you as to give His beloved Son to be the propitiation for your sins, that ye might not

perish but have everlasting life. Remember, all ye who have purposed to continue to pursue a course of unbelieving disobedience, that wherever you are in this world, whatever ye may be engaged in, whatever may be your condition in life, it is still *true* that JESUS is the Saviour of sinners, and that him that cometh to Him He will in nowise cast out. But oh! recollect, that it is also true, that every hour you live in sin, and in the neglect of the mercy and favour of God published in the Gospel of His Son, you are rendering your heart harder and harder, fearfully increasing the sum of your guilt, and making your conversion to God, *morally*, more and more improbable. While you are on this side the grave, it will unquestionably stand recorded in the Bible, that JESUS died for sinners, and that His blood cleanseth us from *all* sin. But if you continue to live in sin under the sound of proclaimed pardon and life, you will so close your eyes against the truth, so steel your consciences against conviction, so deaden your souls to the influence of the tender accents of Divine love, that the lengthening of your days will, through the obstinacy of your rebellion, and the inveteracy of your unbelief, only enhance your guilt and aggravate your condemnation. But if you listen to the dictates of heavenly wisdom, you will *now* credit what God saith to you in His word; you will at once flee for refuge to Jesus, who alone can save you from sin and deliver you from the wrath to come. You will yield yourselves wholly up to the Lord, to be formed

for Himself by His truth and Spirit, and to be qualified for serving and enjoying Him for ever. Then indeed will the lengthening of your days increase your opportunities of doing good to the souls of your fellow-men, and of advancing in the world the glory of your Father who is in heaven. And your stay upon the earth, whether of short or long duration, will be marked by the blessed effects of Divine love upon your hearts; and will afford you an opportunity of making your light to shine before men, and thus to commend to all around you the glorious Gospel of the blessed God. But if you persist in your refusal to submit yourselves unto God in the faith and obedience of the Gospel, you not only consign your souls to eternal destruction, but you leave no ground on which we can warrantably calculate on your ever proving yourselves trustworthy members of society. I tell you candidly, I myself could place no unhesitating confidence in any of you as members of my family, unless I had, in your temper and conduct, scriptural evidence of your *conversion to God*. And I am quite prepared to hear that such of you as have no fear of God before your eyes, and have no conscientious regard for His approbation, will not be many days in the colony before you yield yourselves to some temptation, fall into some crime, bring more infamy upon your character, and subject yourselves to additional sufferings. All I can now do for you is, to warn you, beseech you, and pray for you. And in parting with you I do most

earnestly *implore* you to guard, as in the sight of God, against everything which He hath shown you is offensive to His eyes, dishonouring to His name, destructive to your souls, and injurious to the private or public interests of your fellow-men.

I solemnly repeat my warning respecting *disobedience* to any lawful command of those who are in authority over you. Remember that **DISOBEDIENCE to lawful commands is one of the greatest and most pernicious crimes of which you can be guilty.** What expelled angels from heaven, and converted them into *devils*? **DISOBEDIENCE.** What separated our first parents from God, and subjected them and their offspring to the loss of holiness and of happiness? **DISOBEDIENCE.** What is the cause of all the misery and death that abound in the world? **DISOBEDIENCE.** What is the cause of your present and future sufferings? **DISOBEDIENCE.** What was it that prepared hell? **DISOBEDIENCE.** And what did man's *disobedience* require ere man could be restored to purity and to bliss? Nothing less than the incarnation, sufferings, and **O**BEDIENCE, even unto death, of the Son of God! *And can any of you, then, think lightly of DISOBEDIENCE?* Let the *occasion* of your disobedience be what it may; let the thing about which you are disobedient be as insignificant as the turning of a straw; if the command be *lawful*, and you disobey that command, you are guilty of the **HEINOUS TRANSGRESSION OF DISOBEDIENCE**—you are chargeable with *that sin* that expelled the angels from heaven, and that lost a world!

Think not, then, lightly of *any act of* DISOBEDIENCE. Study I Sam. xv. 22, 23.

While, in taking leave of you, I warn you in reference to disobedience, I would also entreat you to remember what has been said to you in regard to improper and dangerous associates. Avoid, as much as possible, the company of wicked men, the tendency of whose example must ever be to *destroy* you. Let them feel the benign influence of good example and of good counsel, but remain not imprudently in their society when it can be avoided. When it cannot, then recollect you owe it to God, to them, and to yourselves, to be *faithful*. Be faithful to your Bible, and you will not only be kept from falling yourselves, but you will be in the way of calling the attention of your associates to Him who can effectually save both you and them from sin and death.

You have heard what a resident in Hobart Town* has, in great faithfulness and kindness, said to you in reference to the tendency both of the *use* and *abuse* of ardent spirits. It has just been stated to you by the gentleman who speaks from personal observation, that the greatest snare to which you will be exposed on shore is the use of *intoxicating liquors*; that there is no vice to which you are liable more calculated to lead you into the practice of other vices, than the vice of drunkenness; and

* An officer of the army came on board, and at my request gave the prisoners a view of the temptations and vices to which they would be especially exposed in the colony.

that this proves the overthrow and destruction of more prisoners than any other evil habit whatever. Take heed, then, that you never permit one drop of the intoxicating and destructive poison to cross your lips, unless prescribed by a medical practitioner in the treatment of disease, a circumstance which is not likely very often to happen.

In reference farther to your future conduct, let me express my hope that the whole of you will benefit by past experience. You have already had, I should imagine, sufficient practical demonstration of the connexion that subsists between *evil-doing* and *suffering*; you have now found out that "the way of transgressors is hard;" and that the tendency of their "perverseness" is to "destroy them" (Prov. xiii. 15: xi. 3); and I trust you will now prove to yourselves that "wisdom's ways are ways of pleasantness, and that all her paths are peace" (Prov. iii. 17). The most, if not the whole, of you, are now in circumstances which enable you to compare the peace and comfort which are connected with well-doing, with the infamy and wretchedness that are the offspring of evil-doing; and I beseech you to profit by the experience. Some of you have long felt the pain and remorse that are the fruits of ignorance, irregularity, and crime; why, then, should you desire to drink deeper in the cup from which you have already taken so many bitter draughts? I would remind you of the gracious remonstrance of the God of Israel with His ungrateful and rebellious children,

as recorded in the first chapter of Isaiah's prophecies—"Hear, O heavens; and give ear, O earth; for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib: but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider. Ah! sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corruptors. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger; they are gone away backward." "Why should ye be stricken any more? Ye will revolt more and more. The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot even unto the head, there is no soundness in it, but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores. They have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment." The people for whom God had done so much, remained insensible to His goodness and mercy, and, instead of manifesting love and gratitude in a cheerful obedience to his revealed will, they turned their backs upon Him, indulged the wicked imaginations of their own hearts, ran greedily after the manners of the idolatrous nations by whom they were surrounded, and subjected themselves to severe and repeated expressions of the Divine displeasure. And did their character improve under the chastening hand of God? Did they seek, in deep humility and contrition of heart, the sanctified use of their multiplied afflictions? No; they persevered in the obstinacy

of their rebellion, and called for more strokes from the rod of their Almighty and long-suffering Father, until they were smitten all over, and covered from head to foot with wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores, the marks of the strokes of their faithful and compassionate Father's chastening rod.

And have not *you*, my men, long abused the loving-kindness and sparing mercy of the Lord? Have not you lamentably misimproved the repeated chastisements to which your repeated offences have subjected you, and grievously provoked the Divine displeasure? The question is now urged upon you, Why should you subject yourselves to be stricken any more? Why should you be *imprisoned* any more? Why should you be *ironed* any more? Why should your flesh be torn in pieces by the *scourge* any more? Why should your conduct any longer demand the execution of any of the penalties of the law? Have you not already tasted enough of the bitterness of transgression? Have you lost all relish for the pleasure that is connected with well-doing; for the satisfaction that is inseparable from the approval of conscience and of good men? Have you utterly cast off all desire for the approbation of God? Have you calculated the consequences which must result from your perseverance in a course of rebellion against the Most High? Oh! have you thought of the agonies which you are laying up in store for yourselves by your obstinately persisting in your disbelief of the Divine testimony, and by your *voluntary rejection* of the SON of GOD?

Are your hearts not at all affected by the consideration of the pernicious influences which your example must send forth on all whose attention it may attract? A world that has broken loose from its proper orbit, and thrown off all restraining and directing influences, may carry, far and wide, physical ruin and confusion among surrounding worlds: but the irregular course of one sinner, of one convict, may prove productive of far greater evil; his path may be marked by a more fearful devastation; his lawless progress away from the Sun of Righteousness must be seen, in the terribleness of its moral havoc among the immortal souls of men; and, it may be, among beings of a higher order; and his character and his destiny are those of the "wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever!" (Jude, 13).

Hear, then, all ye whose hearts up to the present moment have been stout against the Lord; hear ye again the proclamation of mercy, "As I live, saith the Lord, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live: turn ye, turn ye, from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" "Be ye reconciled unto God. For He hath made Him who knew no sin, to be sin for us; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him" (2 Cor. v.). "He that heareth my word, and believeth in Him that sent me, hath everlasting life; and shall not come into condemnation, but is passed from death unto life." Suffer me to beseech the whole

of you now, to submit yourselves unto God by the reception of His Son Christ Jesus, for all the purposes for which He is revealed to you in the Gospel; and not to add another hour to the period of your rebellion against Him. Look unto JESUS and live! Cleave to Him with purpose of heart; follow Him fully; holding fast the beginning of the confidence, and the rejoicing of the hope FIRM UNTO THE END (Heb. iii. 6, 14).

To-morrow morning you quit this vessel; a vessel the remembrance of which must be for ever associated with your future destinies, be they what they may; whether they be the destinies of the despisers of mercy, or the destinies of the humble followers of the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world. Of our conduct on board the *Elphinstone*, of our treatment of Christ, and our disposal of His great salvation, you and I must render an account!

We shall all meet again—I say that *we shall all meet again!* It may not be in this life. But we shall meet with an assembled world, together with *holy* and with *fallen* angels. *We* shall form part of that awful assembly which shall be present on the day of the final judgment, and in the proceedings of that day we shall not be mere spectators; no! but we shall be personally and intensely interested. Let us now choose the position we shall occupy in the presence of the JUDGE; whether it shall be in the character of one who, in the regeneration of the heart, followed Him in the faith and obedience of

His Gospel; or in the character of one who resisted His Spirit, despised His pardon, and opposed His reign. Let us now decide whether we shall be able to look up with joy and behold in our Judge, our blessed Advocate and gracious High Priest, who in His new-covenant love engaged to save us from sin and to bring us to glory; or whether, under the overwhelming power of conscious guilt, we shall be constrained to cry to the rocks to fall on us, and hide us from the wrath of the LAMB, and from the glory of His power. Oh! let us all, every one of us, now choose whether our abode is to be with the unbelievers and unrenewed in heart, in *everlasting burnings* (Isa. xxxiii. 14), or with the sanctified in Christ Jesus, whose names are written in heaven, and whom the blessed Saviour will present faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy (Jude, 24; Matt. xxv.; Isa. xxxv.).

On Monday morning, the 30th of May, at day-break, the prisoners, amounting to 238, were disembarked at Hobart Town, and in the evening were inspected and addressed by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, Colonel, now Sir George Arthur, in the presence of a number of the Government officers. And on the following day, they were, at His Excellency's desire, assembled in Trinity Church, in their school-order, and examined on their reading, and their religious knowledge, in the presence of the Rev. Philip Palmer, the rural dean, and of several officers and gentlemen; the

attendance of the Governor being prevented by other and urgent public duties.

A certain number of pupils in each school read portions, either of the Old or New Testament; as many as time permitted us to hear, stood up, and recited one or other of the chapters they had committed to memory on board; they were then examined in their knowledge of the Scriptures, and of the Christian system, due reference being made both to doctrines and precepts; and then the whole received a summary and practical address. To those who had professed to have taken up the cross, a seasonable and most impressive exhortation was delivered by a reverend gentleman who attended at the examination. During the delivery of this exhortation, all present seemed to be deeply affected. The place might have well been called *Bochim*, and the character of the assembly, and of the proceedings of the day, has no exact parallel in my experience; for the scene exceeded, in several most interesting points, that which the corresponding examination of the prisoners by the *Arab* presented, in the year 1834. How far God was glorified, and permanent good done to souls, will be made manifest in future life, and shall be publicly declared on the great and terrible day of the Lord.

May God, in His abundant and great mercy, grant, that all the prisoners whom He hath been pleased, on repeated occasions, to commit to my care during the passage to Australia, may be graciously led "into all truth;" and, under the abid-

ing influence of the Saviour's love shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Spirit, be preserved in the faith and obedience of the Gospel to everlasting life, unto the praise of the glory of the riches of Divine grace. And may all *other* prisoners be duly instructed in the knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, and, as "prisoners of hope" (Zech. ix. 12), be disposed and enabled to flee for refuge (Isa. lx. 8; Heb. vi. 18) to the atoning blood of the Cross, and give evidence that they have surrendered their hearts to Him who came to seek and to save the lost—by their walking in His footsteps, under the sanctifying influences of His Spirit, and in consistent accordance with His blessed will as set forth in His written and inspired word.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

ON THE HEALTH OF THE PRISONERS DURING THE VOYAGE.

THE few remarks which I propose to offer on the subject of the prisoners' health during the passage to Australia, will have a respect,

I. To cleanliness, ventilation, and fumigation.

II. To clothing.

III. To diet.

IV. To exercise ; and

V. To the extent of the sick-list, and the character of the diseases which prevailed on board.

I. *Cleanliness, ventilation, fumigation.*

Wherever a considerable number of people are congregated together in confined places, and for a lengthened period of time, the strictest observance of *cleanliness*, as involving to no small extent their health and comfort, becomes, it must be admitted by all, matter of no secondary consideration. To this point, then, the most particular attention was paid on board the *Elphinstone* ; and the strictest injunctions imposed, not only on the petty officers, but on the whole of the prisoners, to maintain a special regard to a matter so closely connected with the comfort and safety of all on board.

From the specification of the duties of petty officers, and the view of one week's routine, may be gathered several of our regulations which bear upon the subject now under consideration. It will be seen that, as early after five o'clock as possible every morning, the people were "turned up" by divisions to wash persons; and that, twice a-week, all hands washed clothes. As it is of the greatest moment that the lower deck (that is, the deck on which are placed the people's sleeping-berths) should not only be kept perfectly *clean*, but likewise *dry*, it was directed that the greatest care should be exercised to allow as little water to come upon it as possible. It was seldom, if ever, that the *prison deck* admitted of being cleansed by "dry holy-stoning:" the plan adopted, therefore, was, to commence with clearing the deck of all that could be removed by a broom; afterwards to use efficiently the scrapers, and finish by a "clean sweep." To certain parts of the deck it was often necessary to apply a damp swab, to enable the scrapers to be used with due effect; and on several occasions it was absolutely requisite to scrub all to which the people's feet had access. When, by any means, the decks were rendered damp, and the state of the weather was at the same time such as not to warrant the expectation of their soon drying; then the swinging stoves lighted with charcoal were used, under the care either of a sentry, or of one of the ship's company, generally the former; one or other of the petty officers also being appointed to keep the people at a proper distance from the stoves, and to see the latter kept moving when necessary. Too much importance, it is now well known, cannot be attached to the keeping of a ship perfectly *dry* between decks, as well as *clean*. The bottom boards were directed to be frequently removed (every morning, indeed, this precaution ought to be taken), and the deck well cleaned under them. These boards were often kept up during the greater part of the day; and the exterior parts of the sleeping-berths were likewise, when necessary, well scrubbed with water and scrubbing-brushes.

The *ventilation* of the ship was maintained by the admis-

sion of air down the hatchways, and the current was increased by means of *windsails*. When weather and sea admitted it, the scuttles in the ship's sides were also kept open during the day.

With respect to *fumigation*, the wards and hospital were frequently sprinkled with a strong solution of the chloride of lime, particularly in the evening after the people were in bed; in damp weather the dry chloride was sprinkled on parts of the deck least likely to be trodden upon by the prisoners. Occasionally vinegar was used, especially in the hospital.

The same care was bestowed on the barracks, and the corresponding parts of the vessel occupied by the "ship's company," under the inspection of the officers of the guard and of the ship, respectively; the whole of the decks, fore and aft, being subject to my own inspection.

As much of the people's bedding (as formerly intimated) as the hammock-nettings would admit of, was kept on deck the whole day; and occasionally in fine weather, all the bedding was opened up and well shaken in the breeze.

Although none of the prisoners were, during the day, *detained* in the prisons, our numbers did not admit of the whole of them being always kept on deck; for the crowd was so great that there was scarcely space left to admit of their moving. We were, therefore, compelled to allow a considerable number of the schools to assemble below, and it was seldom that more than a half of the messes could, at one time, dine on deck; and this, the weather admitting it, they did in rotation.

The *inspection* of the wards, and of the prisoners' persons and clothes, has been already noticed.

II. The prisoners' *clothing*. In addition to the suit in which they embarked, several packages of clothing were put on board for their use during the voyage. The suit in which they embarked consisted of

One striped cotton shirt,
 ,, pair of shoes,
 ,, ,, worsted stockings,
 ,, ,, woollen small-clothes,
 ,, woollen waistcoat,
 ,, ,, jacket,
 ,, ,, cap,
 ,, blue striped cotton neckcloth for each prisoner.

The bales for use during the passage contained for each prisoner,

One pair of raven duck over-alls,
 ,, striped cotton shirt,
 ,, pair of worsted stockings,
 ,, flannel shirt—this last article is supplied when the embarkation takes place between the first of October and the thirty-first of March.

There are also bales of clothing put on board for the prisoners' use in the colony, but these the surgeon-superintendent is not authorized by his instructions to open.

Under the head of "hospital furniture," there are included several articles of clothing for the use of the sick, but which it is unnecessary to particularize. Neither is it requisite that I should here particularly notice the supply of *medicines*, or of utensils allowed for the use of the prisoners during the passage.

III. The prisoners' *diet*. The following is the "*daily quantities of provisions*" allowed to each male convict—viz.

Bread (or biscuit)	lb. $\frac{2}{3}$	} when at anchor.
Fresh meat.....	$\frac{2}{3}$	
Vegetables	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Sugar	oz. 1	
Cocoa or chocolate	1	

"When fresh meat and vegetables are not issued, there shall be allowed in lieu thereof—viz.

Salt beef, per day	lb. $\frac{1}{2}$	} alternate
Flour ditto	$\frac{1}{2}$	
Salt pork, ditto	$\frac{1}{2}$	} alternate
Peas, ditto	pint $\frac{1}{2}$	

“ And weekly, whether fresh or salt meat be issued, vinegar, not exceeding one quart for each mess of six persons.

“ And each convict is to be allowed two gallons of wine during the voyage.

“ Suet and raisins, or suet and currants, shall be substituted for one-fourth part of the above proportion of flour, one-half of the said fourth part in suet, and the other half in raisins or currants at the following rates—viz. half-a-pound of suet to be considered equal to one pound of flour; and one pound of raisins, or half-a-pound of currants, to be considered equal to one pound of flour.” *

Under the head of “ medical comforts,” are allowed in the following proportion for 100 convicts,

Preserved meats, including soup (a pint of the latter being equal to a pound of the former) lbs.	75
Lemon-juice	648
Sugar, to mix with it	648
Tea	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Sugar	48
Scotch barley	60
Ginger	oz. 4
Red Port wine	bottles 9
Vinegar	gallons 7 $\frac{1}{2}$

* In the surgeon-superintendent's instructions, printed in the year 1838, the allowance to each male convict of oatmeal, sugar, chocolate, and tea, is as follows:—

Oatmeal..... pint, not more than $\frac{1}{3}$ per week.

Sugar..... ounces, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ per diem.

Chocolate..... do. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{3}{8} \\ \text{or} * \\ \frac{1}{4} \end{array} \right.$

Tea..... do. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \frac{3}{8} \\ \text{or} * \\ \frac{1}{4} \end{array} \right.$

* Either three-eighths of an ounce of chocolate, or one quarter

The *Elphinstone* was also supplied with oatmeal for one month, which was directed to be served out "in the proportion of one-third of a pint per day for each convict, and to be used occasionally as a meal in lieu of chocolate, at the discretion of the surgeon-superintendent."

IV. The prisoners' *exercise*. In addition to the exercise necessarily involved in the discharge of active duties, all of which, immediately connected with their own comfort, discipline, and instruction, the prisoners themselves were required, under my direction, to discharge—it was appointed that they should be marched, in three successive divisions, around the upper deck, to such music as we could command, and as frequently during the voyage as circumstances would admit. This is a mode of exercising the people which, for various reasons that might be assigned, I decidedly preferred to dancing. It must be confessed, however, that, from the shortness of our days, and the multiplicity of our educational engagements, our marches were far too seldom repeated. This I acknowledge was a practical error; and, although I do not *excuse* it, I may be permitted to *account* for it.

V. *Extent of sick-list*, and the character of the diseases which prevailed on board during the voyage.

In the hospital was kept a journal for the *daily* entrance of the names, number, and disease of all who, through indisposition, however slight, came under medical examination; and also for recording all my prescriptions. The number of entries into this journal during the voyage, was very considerable. It will be observed that the name of every patient, for what length of time soever he might be under medical treatment, was written in this journal's daily report; and even in cases where there was no *disease*, but merely a dose of *domestic* medicine exhibited, the name and dose were put down, and the person was never permitted to absent himself

of an ounce of tea, is to be issued *daily* to each male convict or male settler—viz. on one day chocolate, and on the following day tea, and so on alternately.

from the regular morning and evening visits until he was distinctly told that his farther attendance was unnecessary. It will also be remembered that the applicants from the guard and ship's company, were likewise entered in the same journal.

All the cases which appeared at first sight to be of any moment, and likely to be under treatment for two or three days, were entered into my official sick-list to be forwarded with the clean medical journal for the information of the Physician-general of the Navy;* but which list I thought it unadvisable to burthen with such cases as were likely to prove ephemeral, much less with any notice of those individuals who might merely apply for a *prudential* dose of medicine. The same observation applies to the journal of all matters connected with the prisoners, which the surgeon-superintendent is required to keep for the information of the "Comptroller for Victualling and Transport Services," and that likewise of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

The number of patients whose names and diseases appear in my official sick-list is as follows:—

Furnished by the guard	21
„ crew	27
„ prisoners.....	123
	171

The total number of souls on board was 325.

With regard to the *nature* of the diseases which prevailed on board the *Elphinstone*, they were such as might be expected to appear, and as, I believe, for the most part do obtain, under corresponding circumstances. Their character was unquestionably more or less modified by the climates through which we successively passed, and by the length of

* Now denominated "The INSPECTOR GENERAL of Naval Hospitals and Fleets."

the period during which the prisoners were on board the transport.

Having embarked in the month of January, pyrexial complaints—as catarrh, sore throat, rheumatism, and ophthalmia—chiefly prevailed during the first part of the voyage; that is, until we had reached the latitude of Madeira. We had also a few cases of common phlegmonous inflammation; and various affections of the digestive organs, *partly* referrible to the influence of sea-sickness; but chiefly to cold, and perhaps, in some measure, to change of diet.

While passing through the tropics, especially when exposed to the heat of a vertical sun, we had to encounter a variety of affections of the head, several obstinate cases of ophthalmia, derangement of the biliary system, spasmodic complaints, pneumonia, and a few cases of scurvy; and, while running down our longitude between the Cape of Good Hope and Van Dieman's Land, inflammatory affections—as rheumatism, sore throat, and bowel complaints—again predominated; and we had several cases of mild continued fever.

On the 12th of February, one of the prisoners died of serous apoplexy, apparently the effect of a severe blow which he was reported to have received while engaged in working in the dockyard, when attached to one of the hulks.

And on the 27th of March, another prisoner died of water in the chest, which appeared to have been the effect of an attack of pneumonia, under which he was said to have suffered while engaged in working in the common sewers during inclement weather.

On the fourth of March, an infant belonging to the guard died of *hydrocephalus*. On the 24th of the same month, the ship's cook, who had kept out of sight till a few days before his death, sunk under a complication of chronic affections of long standing, and which had produced *hydrothorax* and general dropsy. And on the 9th of April, a private of the guard fell a victim to an organic affection of the stomach, evidently of long continuance, and mainly referrible to the irregular habits of a confirmed drunkard.

REMARKS.

A sufficient supply of *warm clothing*, particularly to convicts who sail from England at those periods of the year which subject them to the influence of cold weather, both at the commencement and during a considerable portion of the last half of the voyage, I consider indispensable to the preservation of their health and lives. The whole stock of the convicts' clothes ought to be *good*; that is, made of *warm* and *durable* materials—especially (as just observed) of those prisoners who embark at a season which exposes them to cold, and often damp, weather, both at the commencement and termination of a voyage, fully one-half of which has to be accomplished in high southern latitudes, in which a cold polar wind is liable to prevail. The flannel shirt which had not been supplied to me on former occasions, I consider a judicious addition; as many of the prisoners on board the *Arab* (in which I performed my preceding voyage) as possessed money, I required to provide themselves with enough of flannel to furnish them with a flannel shirt each, and had them made by the tailors, who contributed to make up our numbers.

While we give to a sufficient supply of warm clothing its due importance, it must be remembered, that the extent of the sick-list, and the character of the diseases which prevail, are often, to no small extent, dependant on circumstances which may be considered purely incidental. The constitutions and previous habits and condition of the prisoners; the time during which they have been in prisons and in the hulks, and their treatment therein; the season of the year at which they embark; the sort of weather they experience during the voyage; the character of the transport, whether she is what is called a *wet* or *dry* ship; the numbers on board, and the extent of space allotted for exercise; besides, the attention paid by the medical officer to his medical duties; the manner in which the cooks perform their functions; the system of management and discipline; the influence main-

tained over the people's minds—have all their share in determining the number and nature of the ailments of the prisoners during the voyage.

On the 3rd of March, and before we had quite reached the equator, symptoms of scurvy were but too distinctly manifested in two of the prisoners; and after the lapse of a few days, in five or six others, but in whom this fearful malady did not exhibit an equally threatening aspect.

I immediately ordered the oatmeal to be issued, and, with the view of making it last double the period contemplated by the issue of the whole daily proportion allowed, I directed that it should be used for breakfast only, continuing the chocolate for the evening repast.

The prisoners in whom scorbutic symptoms had actually appeared, were forthwith put under the influence of the anti-scorbutic mixture so highly spoken of by Mr. Charles Cameron in his letter addressed to the late "Commissioners for Victualling his Majesty's Navy." The medicine was prepared in accordance with Mr. Cameron's directions, by dissolving eight ounces of the nitrate of potassa (common nitre) with as much lemon-juice, or lemon-juice and vinegar, as afforded, with the addition of a few ounces of spirits, a little sugar, and several drops of the oil of peppermint—a mixture amounting to sixty-four fluid ounces. One ounce of this mixture, generally diluted by the addition of a little lime-juice and water, three times a-day, was the usual dose. In the two worst cases, it was repeated as often as four, five, and even six times a-day; and it was most gratifying to find that all symptoms of scurvy speedily vanished, and made not their appearance again during the voyage, excepting in two or three instances (and in these they were very slight), until we began to approach the shores of Australia, when a few additional cases of sponginess of the gums were detected. Every case was met with the use of the acidulous solution of nitre, and invariably with success. One man had, at the termination of the voyage, some degree of swelling of the left leg and stiffness of the corresponding knee-joint, and which I sus-

pected were referrible to the causes of scurvy ; and a youth was affected with slight cough, and occasionally with diarrhœa ; but neither of his ailments was I disposed to regard as being connected at all with this malady. Many weeks, however, did not pass away, ere I had painful cause to alter my opinion of the nature of this young man's complaints. He was received as a patient into the colonial hospital, after he had been only a few days in the colony ; and in less than three weeks he was laid in his grave.

I was able to attend the *post-mortem* inspection, and witnessed appearances which, in connexion with the statements of Dr. Scott, the colonial surgeon, and of Dr. Bedford, colonial assistant-surgeon, placed these voyages to Australia in a new and painful point of light, and afforded me instruction which can only be obtained from similar sources. I had flattered myself that we had escaped the fatal influence of the malady I had, for the first time in my life, so much dreaded. But my hopes were most grievously disappointed, the bowels exhibited a frightful mass of disease ; nearly the whole of the intestinal canal, especially the *colon*, was covered with ulceration, and discovered other marks of the presence of scurvy, very familiar to the medical officers of the colonial hospital at Hobart Town. The right lung was little else than a mass of tubercles and vomicæ.

This young man, it afterwards appeared from what I could learn from his fellow-prisoners, could never taste the chocolate ; a circumstance which he managed to conceal from my notice. He always appeared of a very quiet and retiring disposition ; manifested while on board, and up to the period of his death, a most amiable disposition ; he was one of my best scholars, and I have reason to hope that, during the voyage from England, his heart had been brought under the sanctifying influence of Divine truth. His conduct on board was uniformly that of a meek and humble Christian. He fell a victim to scurvy—to scurvy engendered mainly by want of nourishment (for he loathed his food), by the depressing passions of the mind, and circumstances necessarily con-

nected with the voyage, and acting on a constitution predisposed to *phthisis pulmonalis*.

It is a most mistaken conclusion that, because there are no *external* symptoms of scurvy, or because the internal ravages of this frightful malady have not yet been made *manifest*, the disease does not therefore exist. There may be no outward—no tangible appearance of the disease whatever, and yet the most serious, nay, destructive, changes have taken place; which may, unaided, ultimately carry off the patient, or render him an easy prey to other diseases, which, in other circumstances, would have been easily controlled.

One of the most healthy-looking men that landed from the *Arab* in July, 1834 (and the whole body of the prisoners by that vessel, it was remarked by every one that saw them, exhibited a very healthy appearance), was a man named *Judd*. After a residence in the colony of about five months, he was brought into the colonial hospital at Hobart Town, labouring under symptoms of common continued fever; and in a few days after his admission, he died. His bowels were, on inspection, found in a state very similar to that of those of the young man referred to above; and his death was, in the decided conviction of the hospital surgeons, referrible, not to the fever which brought him into the hospital, but to the circumstances attending the voyage from England; considered, perhaps, in connexion with others involved in the punishment of transportation.

Surgeon-superintendents of convict ships are not in circumstances to judge *correctly* of the positive condition of the prisoners' bodily organs at the period of embarkation or of debarkation. At the former, the medical men under whose observation and care they have for some time been placed, ought to be the best judges of their constitutions and health; their real condition at the latter period, can be best determined by the medical officers under whose observation they may come during the first twelve months of their residence in the colony. Should scurvy not develop itself prior to debarkation, its existence, it is plain, cannot be known to

the surgeon-superintendent, unless he remain some time in the colony, or communicate with the colonial surgeons.

The conversations I have had with Doctors Scott* and Bedford, of the colonial hospital, Hobart Town, gentlemen distinguished for their observation, intelligence, and experience, have produced in my mind the conviction that not a few prisoners have fallen victims to scurvy engendered during the voyage from Great Britain, or through the united influence of the circumstances which attend the voyage, and which mark the habits and condition of the prisoners *previously* to their embarkation; notwithstanding their having been reported—and *honestly* reported—in official returns, to have been landed in the *apparent* enjoyment of perfect health.

Scurvy is a disease which appears to attack all the tissues. The earliest symptoms may appear in the gums, skin, or cellular substance: in the gums, in the form of sponginess and readiness to bleed; in the skin, in the resemblance of the common flea-bite, but wanting the puncture in the centre; in the cellular substance, in yellowish or purplish adematous effusions, or *ecchymoses*, hardness, and increased heat; often attended with contractions of the tendons and stiffness of the joints. Or, its earliest ravages may be in one or more of the internal organs, as the lungs, stomach, and bowels—most frequently, it would seem, in the lungs and intestines; in the latter consisting chiefly of ulceration commencing in the mucous membrane; and of a species of venous congestion which marks great laxity of the solids, sometimes attended with debility of the whole system. When the extremities, or external parts of the trunk, are first assailed, the internal organs are the more likely, at least for a time, to escape. When the internal organs, on the other hand, are in the first instance attacked, the disease may have made most serious, if not fatal, progress, before any outward manifestation, or symptoms of its presence, have excited any apprehensions in

* Dr. Scott, I lament to hear, died soon after I left the colony.

the minds of the medical attendants. A slight cough, or diarrhœa, may be the first intimation of the existence of a disease, which, before its detection, may have made fearful and fatal havoc, and thus made sure its victim.

It is not my intention to enter, in this place, on the consideration of the dieting of convicts during the voyage to Australia. It is a subject on which a considerable diversity of opinion prevails even amongst the most intelligent and experienced officers; and it is one, moreover, upon which the Admiralty have, I believe, bestowed much anxious consideration. I shall only observe, that we are perpetually hearing, both in England and in the colonies, the most unwise and unbecoming remarks, according to my judgment, made on unhappy convicts; and the most ignorant comparisons instituted between the diet of prisoners and that of the free poor. But it is manifest that the cases are by no means parallel. The case of the prisoner is altogether peculiar; his constitution is frequently much impaired by previous habits, poverty, and confinement in gaol; and he is, generally speaking, placed in circumstances most unfavourable to health—circumstances to which the *free*, because they *are free*, must, until it be their misfortune and their crime to become *prisoners*, remain altogether strangers. Although the convict has cut himself off from the respect, and generally even from the sympathies, of his fellow-mortals, he has not yet been able to divest himself of the feelings and susceptibilities common to humanity. He is suffering, more or less, under the influence of conscious guilt and self-reproach—he may be parting for ever from wife, and child, and parent, and every relative and friend; and is therefore, more or less, under the operation of almost all the depressing passions of the mind, and, of consequence, is peculiarly liable to diseases of debility. If his diet, under such circumstances, be not sufficiently nutritive, the most serious consequences may be expected to ensue. It may be said, and it is *often* more than insinuated, that his past conduct does not *entitle* him to an adequate allowance of provisions; but it is not the

consideration either of his merit or demerit, that can warrantably determine the question of his diet during the voyage to the colonies, but the *laws* of humanity and of England. To those persons, both at home and abroad, who are perpetually exclaiming against the scale according to which convicts are victualled during the passage to the colonies, as being by far too liberal, I should say, these unhappy men are condemned to *transportation*, NOT TO DEATH! There is no warrant to withhold from them the provision necessary to the *preservation of their lives* during the voyage. Besides, it is in every point of view most desirable that they should be disembarked in the possession of health, and fit for labour. If the objectors to a suitable and adequate scale of rations desire the *death* of the convict, that can surely be secured by means far less expensive to the country than the usual provision for a long voyage, and without the professional attendance of a medical officer. If their wish be simply to see carried into effect *the sentence of the law*, and that in a manner which will be found to accord with the spirit of the law, and the end contemplated by our wise and benevolent legislators; then let them cherish the desire to see the prisoners, during the period required for so doing, placed in circumstances most calculated to secure the preservation of their health; most fitted to enlighten and invigorate their minds, to rectify their principles, to renew their hearts; and thus be, soul and body, redeemed to society and to God!

I must confess that I do not envy the position of that man who advocates such a treatment of convicts as the law does not authorize, as humanity and Christianity unite to forbid, and which obviously tends to cut short the number of their days; the position of that man whose sentiments and conduct must be regarded as being adverse to the benignant provisions of a paternal Government, whose glory it is to seek, *not the destruction*, but the *reformation and happiness* of the most profligate and abandoned in our land.

To every enlightened and benevolent mind it cannot fail to be gratifying to observe that, while such punitive measures

as receive the united approbation of justice and mercy are adopted in reference to *crime*, the most wise, salutary, and efficient arrangements and efforts are, at the same time, made with a view to the moral instruction and improvement of the *criminal*, and his speedy recovery to obedience and to usefulness—to respectability and comfort. It would be well if all those who have it in their power to cause their voice to be heard in public, were to exert their influence to strengthen the hands and encourage the hearts of our rulers in all their wise, benevolent, and scriptural efforts to promote the reformation and comfort of the more neglected and depraved portion of the community, instead of doing what they can to hamper and annoy them in their labours of statesman-like philanthropy, and that sometimes on the ground of a paltry question of pounds, shillings, and pence ! It is certain, that all the good men in our land—all who know God and their own hearts—all who have tasted redeeming love, and have been taught to cherish becoming feelings and sentiments in reference to their brethren—even the most depraved and despised amongst them—will readily approve of, and encourage, all those wise and seasonable measures of our Government, which have for their object, not only *the prevention of crime*, but *the reformation of the criminal*, and the advancement of benevolence, order, and peace, throughout our entire and increasing population. And it will be well for those persons who are in the habit of perpetually starting objections to the disbursements made from the public purse, with a view to the furtherance of objects which every wise and benevolent Government must seek to accomplish, to watch narrowly the spirit, character, and tendency of their opposition ; and to take heed how they embarrass our rulers in their enlightened endeavours to advance the best interests of *every class* of the community, and thus to promote and secure the prosperity and stability of the Empire.



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