SUGGESTIONS FOR PROMOTING EMIGRATION TO THE
BRITISH COLONIES.

BY COLIN T. CAMPBELL, ESQ.

When the excitement of troublous times has subsided, people, or the
reflective portion at least, have time to consider the events which have
passed away. The present are not what were formerly troublous
times,—but they are times in which we are not free from trouble,
excitement, or turmoil; nor do they seem likely to give place to plea-
sant reflection and sweet peace. Something must minister to the
debased appetites, the greedy and covetous desires, and rouse the
latent feelings of men, who in a measure live for, and more certainly
by the people. But when the senses become sobered, the prurient
desires and appetites, and morbid feelings of the victims to popular
excitement have been fully satiated—when all has passed over as a
“day-dream,” a sense of shame, of loss of moral courage and vigour
ensues, and the mind and physical resources are feeble to a painful
degree. To recover what has thus been lost and shamefully abused is
the province of a physician, who not unfrequently has to deal with
persons both ignorant and obstinate, prejudiced and “peculiar.” The
task is one of difficulty, sometimes of danger: but patience and perse-
verance, with a discriminate use of restoratives, will generally restore
what has been sacrificed.

Popular excitement, considered politically, is an evil almost inse-
parable from Government, and one, too, which requires all the tact and
talent of a good and a wise minister to keep within bounds. In all
ages, some subject has been found to furnish food, mental meat and
drink, to popular excitement; in all, an Agitator to proclaim, enlarge,
magnify the repeated grievance to his own profit and advantage,
regardless of the sacrifices of nationality, self-respect, or a deference to
others. This is the less to be wondered at when it is remembered
most political agitators are persons either of insignificant origin and
narrow minds, or individuals once respectable, who, having forfeited
all claim to the good will and wishes of their fellow-countrymen, no
longer possess anything to lose, and in a change or alteration, under a
false impression of gratitude they may have created, have the chance
of gaining something.
It is not, therefore, surprising that the nineteenth century, remarkable for its gigantic strides in moral and intellectual advancement, and above all for its decided abhorrence of war and national irruption, should be able to boast of an O'Connell, a Cobden, or a W. J. Fox, in our country—men characterised by all the traits and peculiarities of ministers to popular excitement. Though these worthies were satisfied to their hearts' content in accomplishing their schemes, in succeeding beyond the expectations of their superior wisdom, yet, unless eaten up with their own zeal, would they be able to refrain from resuming their previous occupation; or to use a vulgar, but, like all proverbs, true description, would they be able to refrain from returning, like the sow, to their wallowing in the mire.

But we are taught to view all things as regards ourselves as for the best; and we should consider, as regards others, that "errare est humannm."

It is not every one who knows, and among those who do know, it is not every one who keeps in mind, the excellent moral maxim of Cicer—Sapientis est proprium nihil quod penitur posit, facere. It may not be inapplicable to those who are liable to, and to those who take an active part in public excitement, should they find time amidst their own continual excitement, and in their least fevered state, to weigh it in their minds. Quantum sufficit on this head, however.

We must not, however, overlook the fact, that at the present time, public excitement has almost, if not quite, reached its height; that an inertia, a languor, will inevitably be the result. That everlasting subject—the Corn Laws—appears now to be fully exhausted, and its oppositionists on the eve of achieving a complete victory. Railways, those useful instruments in the hands of civilised man, have generated the steam of further excitement almost to bursting: and as many a "Glenmurchkin" scheme has been brought before the notice of "bells and bears" and speculators of every grade, not a few have been bitten by the wholesale gambling they carry as "part and parcel" of them. This alone will be more or less severely felt; and a reaction will be necessary to a perfect recovery of a healthy state. Where the remedy lies will, of course, differ with the opinion of almost every individual: but as each is at liberty to follow his own preconceived opinions, and the opinion of one altogether uninfluenced by the change is not offered in the presumption that it ought to be received and acted upon, the following plan may be worthy the consideration of some.

One legitimate means of causing a reaction in the numbness of commerce that does already, or will by and bye exist, is increasing and enlarging its operations; and as the means are at hand, they should naturally be carried out as far as practicable. Britain's greatest resources lie in her Colonies: by means of them her commerce is susceptible of considerable increase, her population of permanent relief; by enlarging them and adding to their population, she multiplies resources which keep multiplying in themselves; by directing enterprise and capital to them, by fostering and supporting them, she
might almost be wholly independent of foreigners and foreign supplies. In the position we are now placed, and at all times, it is as much individual interest to promote our Colonies' welfare and prosperity as the nation's; and frequently we may do this much more successfully and advantageously than through Government agency.

I would suggest, in all humility, the establishment of an association having directly in object the promotion and encouragement of Emigration to all our Possessions. The *modus operandi* might be modified from the following outline:—

I. That an association be formed consisting of gentlemen engaged in general, commercial, and Colonial operations, to be called "The Society for Promoting Emigration to the British Colonies."

II. That the Society be open to all classes, in favour of all Colonies; and that its assistance be extended towards all who may require it, subject to a full approval according to rules respecting morality, sobriety, and general respectability.

III. That the Society be governed by the following regulations:—

1. That so soon as a given amount of capital shall have been subscribed (say £5,000), it shall be considered established.

2. That it afford assistance to the extent of one-fourth of its capital, *in part* towards the emigration and first settlement of young married couples intending to become permanent settlers and cultivators of the soil; that the remaining three-fourths of the subscription be appropriated to the emigration of respectable parties of all trades and ages, up to fifty, as much as possible in equal proportions of sexes.

3. That the Society exercise no further control over the parties so emigrating than as regards the first class, giving them a letter of credit on the Bank in the Colony to which they may be emigrating, and as regards the other paying their passage out and outfit.

When the vast extent of our Colonies is considered, their political and commercial importance taken into consideration, and when, moreover, they are viewed as outlets for the safe emigration of our redundant population, and thereby the extension of commerce, it may appear surprising that no effort has been made to assist in the promotion of civilisation and colonisation. Attempts have certainly been made by Joint-Stock Companies to colonise and settle different parts of our vast Colonial Empire; but as these have an ulterior object in view, they can hardly be considered as disinterested means of promoting emigration and colonisation. It is, therefore, proposed to establish a Society, similar in every respect to Missionary and other Societies as regards government and constitution, having for its object the more decided and immediate encouragement of Emigration to the British Colonies.

The proposed Society will be entirely supported by voluntary contributions; its affairs managed by a committee of gentlemen appointed
for that purpose, and supported by patrons and presidents. The Society will aim at giving inducements to young married and other persons having some capital, income, or property, to settle in the British Dominions, by advancing to them a portion of the funds necessary to their emigration. Thus, suppose a young married couple have sufficient capital to commence sheep-farming in the Colonies, and would be glad to go, but want the means necessary for so doing, without infringing on what they already have in hand with which to establish themselves on arrival in the Colony,—this Society by advancing to them so much of the requisite money might secure to the Colony a class of settlers peculiarly desirable, and be, at the same time, accomplishing a very great benefit to the parties. The Society proposes doing this to the extent of one-fourth of its available means, in favour of small farmers, tradesmen, schoolmasters, and mistresses and governesses,—and, it doubts not, will have plenty of scope for accomplishing real personal and public good.

But the operations of the Society will not be confined to giving partial assistance to such respectable persons among the middle classes as may desire to settle in Her Majesty's Colonies—it proposes also to pay the whole expense of passage out and outfit of labourers, shepherds, artificers, and journeymen handicraftsmen, desirous of going to the Colonies—and this to the extent of three-fourths of its means; and when it is considered, that in spite of the thousands who yearly leave this country for the different Colonies, how many more would gladly go to them also, and be sure of finding employment, the Society counts on affording to this class the means of an honest and industrious livelihood, and, in proportion to the means at its disposal, greatly benefiting the condition of those remaining at home.

This Society will in no case aim at foreign emigration; it will simply afford the means of settling in the Colonies, any and all, dependent on the British Crown—to those who, either from having friends already settled in them, or simply desirous of trying a new field for their talents and enterprise, may be desirous of emigrating. As it has no lands to dispose of there, and is not a speculation, or a trading company, its object can be but that of doing real good.

It will, at the same time, keep in view the wants of the Colonies as regards the class of persons most suited to them; it will only give encouragement to moral, respectable, and steady persons; and where the case of a married man with a large family is concerned, will give it a priority of attention. In order to carry this object out as effectually as possible, the Society will require in the case of married persons copy of their marriage certificates, and where such have any children, the certificates of their baptism, besides references as to their general moral character and respectability. In this way, they will be setting a reward upon respectability and sobriety, which must produce considerable good, while it will insure to the Colonies a class of persons in every way worthy their reception. It will also keep in view the emigration as much as possible of an equal proportion of the sexes.
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIBERATED AFRICAN
ESTABLISHMENT AT ST. HELENA.

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LIBERATED AFRICAN ESTABLISHMENT AT ST. HELENA.

Chapter VIII.
Dispensation of the Quarantine Laws, and its evil consequences. Arrival of the
“Corisco,” with Smallpox on board: the propagation of the disease through the
whole Establishment and through the Island, and its dreadful mortality. Arrival of
the Mozambique. The “Andorinha” sold and broken up, and the “Volant”
substituted for an Hospital Ship. The “Mary Hartley” takes Liberated Africans
to Berbice. Sugar and Rice ordered to become the Diet of the Liberated Africans
by the new Governor, Colonel Trelawney. The African Emigrant Ships “Hamilton
Ross,” “Helen,” and “Lady Rowena.” Wedlock among the Liberated Africans,
and the Births that took place at St. Helena among them.

During the interval which elapsed between the formation of the Establish-
ment, in the middle of December 1840, and the 23d May following, being the only period that a regular quarantine was enforced, all
the slave-vessels were sent immediately on their arrival to Lemon Val-
ley, and placed under my charge. I was simply ordered to adopt those
measures which I considered to be best calculated for arresting the
progress of disease, and restoring the sick to health. The regulations
which I then observed were eminently successful in accomplishing the
desired result. Nevertheless, the most singularly inconsistent plans
were henceforth devised by the Colonial Government to abrogate the
beneficial tendency of the system which had hitherto been in operation.
On the arrival of slavers for the future, they were invariably detained
during a period embracing from three to fourteen days before the people
were removed out of them. If unfortunately the vessel came in on a
Saturday, no notice was taken of the application of the prize-officer to
be relieved of the charge of it until the Monday following, when the
Governor would command a Medical Board to assemble, to recommend
what they considered to be the proper sanatory measures to be taken
on the occasion. The Board’s report would not be read, perhaps, by
the Colonial Secretary till the day after; so that it would be Tuesday
evening or Wednesday morning before the decision of His Excellency
respecting the destination of the Africans could be made known. On
every occasion of a slave-vessel arriving with infectious disease was a
Medical Board called; as if the arrangements they had proposed once
could not be taken as a precedent, and acted upon ever afterwards,
unless on the occurrence of some extraordinary circumstances in the
case. Often a week or ten days would pass over before the Governor
would sanction the reception of the slaves, who were all that time
obliged to remain closely stowed on board, still subjected to the sufferings of a crowded hold, and exposed to the sickness which during the passage had probably cut off a great number of them. It was a melancholy fatality also, that the detention should always have been the longest when there was infectious disease on board, and when therefore the sickness and mortality were greatest. This was a lamentable circumstance, which could have been easily avoided by the adoption and observance of fixed rules for every case and every contingency. The unsettled plan of action preferred by the Colonial Government was attended with remarkable inconsistencies, and followed in many instances by deplorable consequences. These should have sufficed, in the first cases in which they occurred, to prove the folly of their conduct; and their continuance in the obnoxious measures after the flagrant demonstration of their injurious tendency, only rendered more glaring and condemnable the abuse of authority. I will not go so far as to ascribe the error to hardened indifference for the sufferings of the poor creatures because they were negroes; I will endeavour, if possible, to attribute the fault rather to thoughtlessness, which in exalted functionaries is, however, almost as unpardonable and culpable as cruelty itself. Besides the delay to the disembarkation of the slaves, which was always detrimental, it may serve to illustrate the ridiculous nature of the measures adopted, to describe the whimsical changes which frequently occurred in their destination and location during the short period of a week. First, the slave-vessel would be ordered to remain at anchor before James' Town for two or three days; then it would be sent to Rupert's Station, and on the next day be instructed to repair to Lemon Valley; the slaves, after being landed at the last place, would perhaps on the morrow be transferred to High Knoll; and before the week would pass, the women, boys, and girls, amongst those sent to High Knoll, would be conducted back to Lemon Valley. In the case of the "Corisco," which I am going to mention, after being commanded to land the Africans at Rupert's Valley, where upwards of a hundred were actually disembarked, they were shipped on board again the next day, and the vessel was ordered to return to the port of James' Town, where she remained two weeks without any European to take charge of her, although smallpox was raging among the slaves, and killing many of them every day; and it was only at the end of that time that she was at length sent off to Lemon Valley.

Owing to the arrangements which had been observed for arresting its progress and preventing its diffusion, the smallpox, though introduced four successive times among 1127 slaves, yet occasioned a very trifling mortality. Indeed, so easily had the disease been extinguished, that it was a litigated point among all classes, whether it was variolous or not. On account of its alleged mildness, and its not spreading among the inhabitants of the island, it was believed by many that I had been mistaken in my diagnosis. It was the general impression that it was not the smallpox, but a species of itch, which had prevailed among the Africans. This opinion was held by the Military Surgeon, who however had never seen any of the patients affected with it, and
could therefore be influenced only by suppositions, not facts. He pronounced what he had never witnessed, to be either the itch, or a sort of unknown but innocent eruption; and as he was the oldest medical officer in the island, his sentiments were adopted by the multitude. He did not confine his conduct to the enunciation of his opinions, but, most arrogantly and unhappily, addressed an official letter to the Governor, advocating, from its mildness, the impossibility of the disease being smallpox. This epistle had the effect which its author expected and hoped for, and His Excellency became a convert to the doctrines espoused in it. That high functionary, placing implicit reliance on the professional talent and experience of the Military Surgeon, was induced to discontinue the strict quarantine regulations I had observed, and which had been found to be so successful in effecting a speedy extinction of the disease. Most disastrous in its results was this determination: for the very next vessel with smallpox on board, the "Corisco," in accordance with these views, was not put in quarantine, and became, in consequence of this neglect of prudent measures, the source of long-continued calamities to the Liberated Africans and the inhabitants of the island.

On the 15th August, 1841, the "Corisco" arrived with 366 slaves on board, among whom the Prize Officer reported smallpox was prevailing or had prevailed to a trifling extent. A Medical Board was called, consisting of the Military Surgeon, the Colonial Surgeon, and the Health Officer, who went in a boat alongside the infected ship, and examined one or two patients, who were brought forward for that purpose to the gangway, and who, it appears, were then only affected with a few scabs of an indefinable kind; and therefore, if they had been attacked with smallpox, it merely proved that they were in the convalescent stage. These scabs were the subject of great disputation among the learned doctors, who were all so intimately acquainted with the diversified qualities of dried-up humours, distinguished by the vulgar epithet just mentioned, that one of them undertook to prove, from their specific characters, that the disease had been the scabies purulenta—translated into common language, the "Scotch fiddle;" while the other two were inclined to adopt my suggestions, and believe it was actually smallpox with which they had been attacked. These, however, could not long resist the arguments of the other, who, as might be imagined, the Military Surgeon—especially when they were backed by the logic of the Town Major, and supported by the known wishes of the collective authorities. I could never exactly learn what was the report of this intelligent Board; my inquiries to ascertain the particulars were always met with shuffling and repulse: it was a common rumour, however, that gained credence among the public, that the first declaration of the Board was unsatisfactory to the Government, and therefore returned to its members, whereupon they went to work and produced another rather more agreeable, which was accepted and acted upon. In conformity, then, with the second resolutions of the Board,—or rather, I suspect, with the wishes of the party who possessed the most influence with the Governor,—Mr. Sturdee, the officer in command of
the "Corisco," and the crew, were allowed to land immediately at James' Town, and the vessel was ordered to remove to Rupert's Station and land the slaves there. More than one hundred of the negroes were taken on shore that same day; and while these things were transacting, many persons belonging to the island were permitted to go on board the vessel. But, on the following morning, so many of the Africans who had been landed the day before were found labouring under high constitutional symptoms, that alarm was created, which was soon confirmed by the appearance of the innocent eruption, the cause of the previous sickness and fever. They were commanded to be put on board again, and the "Corisco" was ordered to return to the port of James' Town, where she lay two weeks, surrounded by many other ships in the harbour, and of course might have infected some of them. For fourteen days were these miserable beings pent up in the crowded hold of a slaver, amidst disease and filth of all kinds, without clothes to protect them from the weather or to conceal their nakedness from the gaze of the passengers on board the different vessels at anchor around, and breathing an atmosphere continually increasing in the virulence of its pestiferous qualities. No person was appointed to visit them, to ascertain the progress of the disease, or the number of its daily victims; and no medical officer was commissioned to attend the sick, and endeavour to arrest the course of the consuming pestilence: but the vessel was allowed to remain in the centre of the shipping, a floating lazaretto abandoned to the destruction of a ruthless malady—an eyesore, a plague-spot, the opprobrium and disgrace of the Colonial Government, a loathsome yet convincing proof of either its incapacity or inhumanity. How long the "Corisco" might have lain in this condition it would be difficult to say, as it was intimated to me that the authorities did not intend to affix upon me the trouble of attending it, but resolved to confer the charge upon the Health Officer, who was supposed to officiate in the capacity of Surgeon to the Establishment at Rupert's Station. It was, however, hinted to me by the Collector of Customs, if I would address the Governor on the subject of the disposal of the slaves, and propose to take charge of them as before, that my offer would be properly appreciated by His Excellency, and accepted with acknowledgment. The Governor very handsomely acquiesced in my proposal, and, in conformity with this resolution, the vessel was at last sent down to Lemon Valley, and placed under my orders. In reference to the offer of my services on this occasion, the Governor was pleased to testify his approbation of my zeal and activity in behalf of the unfortunate Africans. But it was too late to prevent the propagation of the disease; for it raged through the whole of the slaves on board the "Corisco," owing to their having been kept together so long a time; and by the landing of a portion of them at Rupert's Station on the day of their arrival as related, it spread through the whole of the negroes there, who then amounted to upwards of a thousand; and by these it was conveyed to Lemon Valley, where there were about six hundred more. Through the whole inmates of the Liberated African Establishment, among the overseers as well as the negroes, the ravage...
of smallpox, owing to these circumstances, extended for a period of
above six months; and the deaths occasioned by it at the two Stations
amounted to upwards of 150, 105 of whom belonged to Rupert's, sent
from thence daily to the hospital ship at Lemon Valley. A number of
deaths took place among the natives of the island, many of whom,
principally of the lower classes, were attacked with the disease; and
had not the vaccine virus been procured about two months previously
from the Cape of Good Hope, and most of the people, especially the
respectable portion of the community, been vaccinated, there is every
reason to suppose the disease would have been more extensive, and the
mortality more destructive.

The first case that occurred among the native inhabitants took place
about two weeks after it began to prevail at Rupert's Station. A mu-
latto cooper, of the name of Sloe, having been employed several days
repairing the casks which were used at Rupert's for holding water
for the use of the negroes, fell ill, and on his return to James' Town,
where he lived, the eruption broke out upon him. From him it spread
to his nephew, and two women residing in the same house. These
infected their near neighbours, and especially some friends that they
had, living at Ladder Hill; and it soon gained among the families of
the Honourable East India Company's Invalids, located in the vicinity.
The Military Surgeon, who had been so strenuous an advocate for the
non-varioloid character of the disease, held at that time the commission
of Medical Officer to the Invalids, and in that capacity attended upon
them and their families. It is a most singular circumstance in the
present invasion and progress of the malady, that it assumed the great-
est malignity, and was most fatal, exactly amongst his own patients.
Two of them were left perfectly blind by the effects of the innocent
eruption, and several died; nevertheless, in spite of these flagrant proofs
of the real character of the disease, I am sorry to say, he had not the
candour to acknowledge his error. He still persisted in affirming that
the complaint which had blinded and killed his patients was not small-
pox, but the itch! That a disease generally so amenable to the simple
treatment recommended by the old women everywhere, assumed under
the hands of an educated professional gentleman so great a virulence as
to occasion death, was the highest condemnation and reproach to his
own skill and experience, and constituted a worse excuse for his con-
duct than an honourable and sincere confession of his mistake. With
the widely-received impression respecting the abilities of the Medical
Officers in the Army, I cannot believe that any should be found among
them so devoid of the little knowledge required to treat the itch suc-
cessfully, even in the most inveterate cases, as to allow their patients to
die of it. It is impossible; if otherwise, the fittest punishment for his
ignorance would be, I should consider, an instant dismissal from the
service.

With respect to such among the poor in James' Town as became
affected with the smallpox, they were sent to me, and being lodged on
board the hospital ship, and rendered as comfortable as possible, were
attended by me through the course of their illness. Two among them
became victims to the malady,—a dissipated fisherman, who had previously ruined his constitution by Cape wine, and a lad of about twelve years of age, an orphan, whose frame had likewise been impaired, by want, and who for the last three months, before he was seized with the disease, had been lingering out a wretched existence, a dependent on the precarious bounty of the Lascars of the Marine Department. For my attendance upon all these I was promised remuneration; the very letter which requested me to take charge of them contained a proposition for the payment of my services. The Churchwardens, alarmed at the increasing extension of the malady, made earnest entreaties with the Government for the removal of the infected among the parish paupers, and indeed respectable mechanics, from town, and their location at Lemon Valley under my superintendence—and while the prospects of danger were menacing, were very liberal in their professions of gratitude for my services, and no doubt quite as sincere in their intentions to reward me for my zeal and assistance. When, however, I had performed my duty, and saved the health and happiness of their families, with the disappearance of personal peril their generous resolutions had fled—and even their grateful acknowledgments diminished, if they did not entirely cease. To my application on the subject to the Collector of Customs,—who, in the name and at the desire of the parochial authorities, had promised me payment for the additional trouble imposed upon me by my attendance on the poor inhabitants of St. Helena,—I received the following answer:—"I am at a loss to inform you from whom you are to receive remuneration, if the parish do not pay for those individuals who were sent to Lemon Valley, at the requisition of the then Churchwardens, to be committed to your professional care, and by which doubtless the alarming malady of smallpox was prevented from spreading throughout the island." The Churchwardens, for their part, refused to advance a penny, alleging it was by the fault of the Colonial Government that the disease had been introduced and propagated, and that therefore the authorities, guilty of the erroneous measures that led to the infliction of the dire calamity, were in honour bound to repair what their folly had created. Of course, after this refusal I had to content myself with the only reward left me, the approbation of my conscience for the performance of a good action; and my best consolation in the case, was my contempt for the mean and despicable conduct of the Churchwardens, who, because they had not contracted a written engagement, attempted to prove that a verbal compact was invalid and useless.

Among the overseers, John Sylvester and John Harris took the disease, and the former was very dangerously affected. So severe had the smallpox been with him, that his face was left covered with pustules, together with the cooper Sloe, and many other natives of the island, borne on their persons and countenances ever afterwards the most indelible and convincing proofs of the nature of the disease.

On the 6th October, the "Conceicas de Maria" arrived, having been captured by the "Fantome" only three days after the latter had sailed from St. Helena on her voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. The prize