



SEVEN YEARS OF MY LIFE,  
OR  
NARRATIVE OF A PATRIOT EXILE.

WHO TOGETHER WITH

EIGHTY-TWO AMERICAN CITIZENS

WERE ILLEGALLY TRIED FOR REBELLION IN UPPER CANADA IN 1838,  
AND TRANSPORTED TO VAN DIEMAN'S LAND,

*COMPRISING A TRUE ACCOUNT*

OF OUR OUTRAGEOUS TREATMENT DURING TEN MONTHS IMPRISONMENT  
IN UPPER CANADA, AND FOUR MONTHS OF HORRIBLE SUFFERING  
IN A TRANSPORT SHIP ON THE OCEAN.

WITH A

TRUE BUT APPALLING HISTORY

OF OUR CRUEL AND UNMERCIFUL TREATMENT DURING FIVE YEARS OF UNMITIGATED  
SUFFERING ON THAT DETESTABLE PRISON ISLAND. SHOWING, ALSO, THE  
CRUELTY AND BARBARITY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT TO  
ITS PRISONERS GENERALLY IN THAT PENAL COLONY,

WITH A

Concise account of the Island its Inhabitants, Productions &c. &c.

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BY ROBERT MARSH.

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Freedom before Aristocracy; if Liberty be your motto, support and defend it under  
all circumstances, otherwise you aid and assist the friends of Monarchy.

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BUFFALO  
FAXON & STEVENS.  
1848.

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## P R E F A C E .

SOME apology may be considered due, for presenting to the public another work detailing the sufferings and privations of those who took a part in the attempt to free the province of Canada from British rule. On a careful examination of the various publications now before the public, the author of the following imperfect narrative has been led to the conclusion that, still another is necessary; and being aware that publications of every description are numerous, and that fiction in the garb of truth, is almost as numerous, I had great diffidence in attempting a description of the suffering of myself and companions during our illegal and unjust confinement in a British penal colony; and not until strongly urged by my friends, could I be induced to make the attempt. And, although this work is far too brief to give as full and detailed account, as I am aware the nature of the case demands (and I may have failed in that respect) I have the satisfaction of knowing that what I have said, is truth, without coloring or exaggeration.

Having experienced to my satisfaction, the tender mercies of a corrupt aristocracy, which I fear is rapidly and to an alarming degree, extending its principles to this side of the Atlantic, I would raise my feeble note of warning, for all to be on their guard; and may the time soon come, when North America will awake and rid herself of a set of crouching menials to that proud, haughty and tyrannical spirit which has cost great sacrifice of life in all ages to subdue, and that is now, as it always has been, tending not only to monarchy, but despotism. Friends of liberty, awake! let not your birthright be wrested from you in an unguarded moment, by this fearfully numerous bandit, whose prospect now is fair to reign and



rule triumphant ! They assume various forms, in order to obtain and retain power, whereby, the more easily to oppress and enslave the people. I have seen tyranny in its worst form: and can say, with another that "I have seen meanness allied to wealth, crime covered with the cloak of sanctity, corruption sitting boldly on the bench of justice, and wrong and treachery in every station and under every disguise; and frequently in the long, black mantle of hypocrisy."

I have seen not a few, as good and brave men as any nation can boast of, forsaken and deceived by their pretended friends in a good cause; and left by them in the hands of their sworn enemies, a description of whose treatment, in their hands, cannot be fully portrayed; and, be assured, will not be easily forgotten, whilst my own sufferings are continually fresh in the memory, which, together with the blood of many of my murdered comrades, and martyrs to the sacred cause of liberty, cry for vengeance upon their accursed heads, would it be wrong to wish and may we not predict, that vengeance will, ere long be meted out in full and overrunning measure upon the despots and enemies to universal freedom; that the people, not only of Canada but the United States and the whole world, may be freed from despotism, and learn that their true policy is justice; and their utmost wisdom, to do right.

To the reformers of Canada and to the friends of liberty generally these few true, but unpolished lines are dedicated; and I am aware that they will receive censure from some, and possibly, credence from others: be assured however, that your humble servant, in this work, seeks not the praise of any man or set of men, but rather to narrate things as they were without fear or favor.

# NARRATIVE

OF A

## PATRIOT EXILE.

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### CHAPTER I.

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#### *Engages in the Patriot Cause.*

WITH reference to the cause of the disturbances in Canada during the years 1837 and 1838 I shall not, in this work, attempt an explanation, as I find on my return to the United States a number of Publications have been issued, which fully explain the grievances of the people; among those that I have seen and can recommend as correct, are Mr. WAIT'S, GEN. W. McLEOD'S, DOCT. THELLER'S and others in which the cause is fully and fairly set forth.

I am aware that various opinions exist respecting that ill-fated and much to be lamented transaction; I say ill-fated, because parents have to lament the loss of children, and wives of their husbands. Thousands here and in different parts of the Globe were looking and sincerely praying for the liberation of the Canadies; but were greatly disappointed, after many and repeated attempts were made, but without success, many lives lost and hundreds thrown into prison, others driven from their homes and hunted like beasts of the forests, children left fatherless, and their wives insulted by the Queen's Soldiers. After all this, and numerous other difficulties which hundreds were subject to, after some thirty or

thirty-five were cruelly murdered upon the gallows, and eighty-two after undergoing a mock trial in Upper Canada and dragged through all the filthy Jails of the Province, loaded with chains, and insulted in every possible manner by tyrants who cling to monarchy for the sake of some petty office, and are always ready to do any dirty work that may be required, (and it is necessary that England should have a great many such characters, in order to accomplish all the dark deeds for which she is so proverbial,) Canada has not been backward in furnishing such aid, and I am sorry to say that some in these United States have been willing to join with them in condemning and persecuting the cause of Liberty, or those who ventured their lives in endeavoring to obtain it; it is hard to be persecuted for that which they considered right, and which we still consider a righteous cause, but in failing are subject to reproach.

I am a native of the state of New York, but had lived in St. Catharines and Chippawa, Canada West, about four years previous to the rebellion; whilst there was engaged with my brother, Charles, in the Baking business. I was employed a great part of my time in selling Crackers through the country: consequently had an opportunity of learning something of the opinion of the people. William Lyon McKenzie and others, were for years previous to the outbreak, in News Papers and Pamphlets strongly, and very ably advocating the cause of liberty, and boldly setting forth their grievances which to me appeared reasonable and just. If I was deceived as to the justness of the cause I believe that I am not alone; there were Doctors, Lawyers, Clergymen, Generals, members of Congress, Governors, Deacons, rich and poor, bond and free, saying "God prosper the cause of Freedom in Canada."

At the time of the collecting of the Patriots on Navy Island, the latter part of November 1837, my residence was at Chippawa, there were some circumstances which occurred at the time Sir Francis Bond Head with his forces, contemplated an attack upon the Island, which, if possible, increased my antipathy against the proceedings of the "Government Party." It was well known that a goodly number of the respectable inhabitants of that village were favorable to reform. Consequently many of them were obliged to forsake

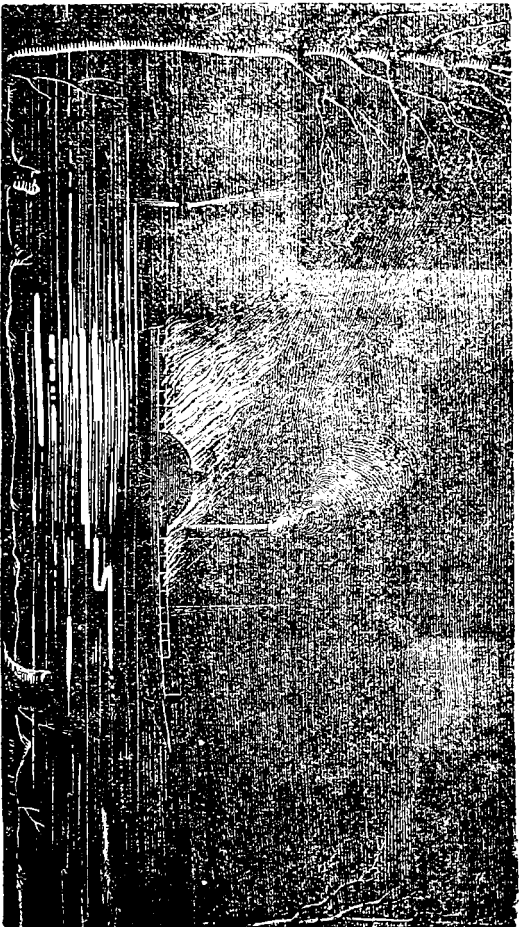
their houses and property to accommodate the Soldiers and Officers. It was dangerous to speak a word in favor of the patriots or rebels, as they were called by the Queen's lackeys, there were in all about 2000 Regulars. Indians, Negroes, and those in shape of men, ready to do or say any thing to please her Gracious Majesty's Blood Hounds that thirsted for the blood of the man that dared to speak against her right to rule with a rod of iron. The reader will recollect that about this time our men had failed to accomplish any thing at or near Toronto, on Yonge-Street, through a misunderstanding in some of their leading men, and some other hindrances which I need not attempt to explain here, as there has been so much said upon the subject of their failure, there, and at the west, which obliged a great many to leave the Province, among the leading men, were McKenzie, Doct. Duncomb, Doct. Rolph and others which were engaged in the cause; many were the speeches and long, respecting their troubles and the anxiety of thousands in Canada to become free. Finally it was concluded best to occupy Navy Island, situated about one mile above Chippawa, about three-fourths of a mile from the Canadian shore, and about one mile from the American shore, containing about three hundred acres. Here those that were willing could assemble, and when sufficiently strong could find their way through the Province. William Lyon McKenzie, and Gen. Van Rensselaer, were appointed to manage there. It was all excitement in Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and all along the Frontier, as well as Lockport, Rochester, and in fact, the whole country was awake; many and strong were the inducements for young, as well as married men, to engage in so glorious a cause; if they had families there were plenty that would see them provided for. The cause of the failure I shall not, at present, attempt to explain; this much, however, I can say, there were many brave and honest hearts engaged in this cause, some of whom have lost their property, others their liberty, and many their lives.—Others there were that had much to say, but dare not go where there was any prospect of the smell of gun-powder.—“Only make a stand,” say they “and we will come over.” The truth is,—the want of these men to help make the stand, was one principal cause of the failure; and because of these men promising to assist, and failing to keep their promi-

ise, hundreds that were honest and faithful, (on failing,) have been subject to persecution; yes, and from some of these very men that promised so much, and performed so little. No doubt Washington would have failed if he had been blest, or rather cursed with such aid.

It was now all bustle in Chippawa, and great preparations were being made to dislodge the patriots from their strong hold on the Island. They were collecting and concentrating all their forces at Chippawa; boats of every description were brought from different parts, at the same time they were mustering all their cannon, and mortars, intending to drive them off; one would think by their talk, that they would not only kill them all, but with their cannon mow down all the trees and what the balls failed in hitting, the trees would fall upon, and thus demolish the whole Patriot army.

I had been a spectator as yet, but began to think that I must soon become an actor on one side or the other. After I had been told by a friend who was acquainted with most of their plans, who was obliged, however, to think much but say little, he told me that it was the intention to raise a party and proceed that night in small boats across the river to burn or send over the Falls the Steamboat Caroline. I told him I thought not, as that boat was not armed, and it being an American boat, at an American wharf, and there being no armed force near the place, that they dare not commit such an act, as it would be infringing not only on the rights of private individuals, but likewise, on the rights of the nation; notwithstanding all this, I told him I thought the British Government, would not sanction such a cowardly act, and if they did the United States Government, would have some thing to say and do in the matter, why says I the people would not even wait for orders, but would rush into Canada, and completely exterminate all that dared to lift a sword, or shoulder a musket in defence of such a dastardly, insulting, and tyranical deed; "but they are already preparing some five or six boats, and it will be done this very night," said he. "I cannot believe that that is their intention," I replied. He again assured me that it was so, saying "depend upon it" His words proved true. When I beheld the men get in the boats and shove off and the beacon lights kindled on the shore, that they might the more safely find the way back, my eyes were on the stretch,

BURNING OF THE STEAM BOAT CAROLINE.





towards where the ill-fated boat lay. O how I wished I had a speaking trumpet, big enough to tell the few unarmed men that lay sleeping quietly, and perhaps dreaming of wives, children or sweet hearts, feeling perfectly safe, when their boat was secured at an American wharf, that there were pirates close at hand, which would, and did convince them and others that there is not at all times safety, and protection under an American flag. The boat was boarded and some killed, then cut loose towed out a few rods and set on fire. Judge my feelings on beholding this boat on fire, perhaps some on board, within two short miles of the Falls of Niagara, going at the rate of twelve miles an hour, and if the men on board, were not wounded, it would be useless to attempt to reach the shore. I cannot describe my feelings! You may ask was this act sanctioned by the British Government? I think it was, and by a great many people nearer home.

On their return after accomplishing a bloody deed, which ought to be an everlasting disgrace to the perpetrators, and those that sanctioned it—to hear them boast of what they had done, I began to think it was time for me to leave the place. There were others that would have been glad to have been on the American side, but the lines were so closely guarded that it was almost impossible, at that time, for any one to escape to the United States; notwithstanding we were closely watched, I was determined to make the attempt. I was the day afterwards witnessing that infamous transaction, in connection with a Mr. Thomas, who wished very much he was on the other side; consequently we agreed to make the attempt and started in the afternoon of the 30th of December 1837, not stopping, even to bid our friends good-by, for we expected to be back in a few days, or at least I did. (The *Caroline* was burned the night previous.) We succeeded in reaching the river 6 miles above Chippawa about 11 o'clock in the evening, after a tedious and dangerous journey through an extensive swamp. There is a small settlement in a part of this swamp which has been called Sodom. There were many Indians prowling about, we managed to evade them, however, but with much difficulty; there were Sentinals every few rods along the line. We ventured to approach a house near the river where Thomas said he was partially acquainted; there was only the lady at home, her husband, although a



patriot, was obliged to be on duty against his will. We told her our situation, she said they had had strict orders not to launch their boat on any consideration. We offered her five dollars if she would consent to let us take it; she said she would not take any thing for the use of the boat, as she knew our situation, and felt anxious to do all in her power to help us across the river; she also told us that her husband had taken McKenzie across a few nights previous. "Leave the boat in the mouth of the creek," said she, pointing across the river towards Grand Island, (which was understood by us) "there is a man there that will fetch it back, you have only to fasten it, say nothing and go your way." We were convinced that we were not the only ones assisted by this patriotic lady; we could not persuade her to take more than one dollar. The boat was under the barn we soon succeeded in bringing it to light; but difficulties presented themselves which appeared almost impossible to surmount; the boat was about eighty rods from the river, and I should think it would have taken four men to handle it at any other time—and on either side at the distance of about eighty rods were sentinels placed to guard the river—and at short intervals moon-light. You would have laughed to have seen, and heard us consult and plan—all had to be done in a whisper;—we muffled our oars and succeeded, after a very laborous task, in launching our bark, and were not long reaching Grand Island, the distance of nearly a mile; we run into the before mentioned creek, fastened our boat, and, as we supposed, had escaped the eye of the centry; but you will soon perceive we had not. It was about 1 o'clock in the morning and we had to go eight or nine miles through the woods and no road—there had been a light fall of snow, and in places ice that would bear a man, but oftener would not; once or twice in crossing streams the ice gave way and we found ourselves nearly to the middle in water, and often to our knees; we, at near day-light, succeeded in reaching White Haven, a small village, where we were hailed by one of our Militia Sentinels:—"Who comes there?" "Friends, friends." "Advance and give the countersign."—Of course we advanced, but could not answer the demand; a guard was immediately dispatched with us to head quarters, where we underwent a strict examination. We told them of our escape from Canada, and our desire to go to Navy Island,

we found some gentlemen there of our acquaintance, willing to vouch for the truth of our assertions. Here we found officers and all, ready and willing to do all in their power to help us on our way; our fare was the best their Camp afforded; we had not, however, been in custody over twenty minutes when there was an alarm and report of some five or six muskets—there was a general turnout, and we soon learned the cause. The countersign was demanded of some five or six who had been dispatched for some persons who they supposed had no right to leave the Province without permission. It appears we had been discovered, and pursued; these bloodhounds had followed us and was near overtaking us when we luckily fell into the hands of gentlemen; they as well as we were disappointed in finding a company of our Militia on Grand Island, no doubt their disappointment was greater when they found we were protected and they obliged to make tracks with all possible speed. After congratulating us on our deliverance, they sent us across the river, landed at Tonawanda, there we took the cars for Schlosser we walked down to the dock, there we beheld the blood of Durfee that had been spilt by the cowardly crew from the Canada side the 29th Dec. 1837; we was there on the 1st of Jan. 1838, there appeared to be a large quantity of blood on the planks to have come from one man; I think there might have been others killed and thrown into the river, which would soon disappear over the Falls. I was confident there would be a great turn out to avenge the death of our countryman. However strange it may appear to others, the perpetration of this bloody deed was one of many; and I may say, the principal cause of my going to Navy Island. Mr. Thomas and myself found ourselves, in less than two hours from our arrival at Schlosser, at head quarters and in the presence of W. L. McKenzie, and Gen. Van Rensselaer Commander in Chief of the Patriot Army.

Whatever was the previous character of these gentlemen, and since the evacuation of the Island, I must leave the world to judge, for I do not know; but this much I do know, that even the name of Van Ranseller, struck a terror to the Canadians. It was often remarked in Canada before I left, that the Patriots had got a brave and able General at their head, and if ever they succeeded in getting into Canada, they might

expect bloody work; they were both universally feared and I believe if they could have entered Canada with 2000 men, at that time, with Van Rensselaer at their head and proved himself what he was generally supposed to be, there is no doubt he might have done honor to the name, and to the cause in which he was engaged. I shall not say that British gold was one cause of the failure there, although it has been, so suspected by many besides myself. I am aware that he was advised by some to leave. Gold has done a great deal for England however falsely procured. The General and McKenzie, on learning that we were direct from Chippawa, asked us a great many questions. Among the first, were, if we intended to join the army. Thomas said he must first go and see his wife and children that had left Canada a short time before him, and if they were in comfortable quarters he might return. I believe he expected to find them in Lockport; I think he left that day. I then told them if there was a prospect of having a sufficient number to cross, and if it was their determination to prosecute the war until Canada was free I should have no objection to join the party. The General produced the list and asked me the length of time I wished to enlist. I was so confident of success, that I unhesitatingly replied:—"Seven years, or during the war." The General remarked, "I wish I had two thousand such men, we have about one thousand already, and I think this Caroline affair will soon swell our force to two thousand, and then I shall make an attack at some point where they least expect." He made particular inquiries as to their strength at Chippawa, situation of the country, creeks, bridges, roads &c. My being well acquainted with them all, I quickly satisfied him on that point, as well as of their contemplated attack upon the Island. Gen Van Rensselaer said "let them come if they dare; we will soon send them over the Falls."

His plan for entering Canada I considered good, and if successful we would soon be in Chippawa; and says he, as you are well acquainted there I want you to be by my side." I readily consented, for there were those there that would look to us for protection; I had many friends, as well as Father, Mother, Brothers and Sisters, in Chippawa; but it was only those in arms that need look for any molestation. "I knew many of them would join us as soon as possible." "Its

not us the inhabitants need fear," says the General, "for its to protect and defend them from the power of tyrants that have so long preyed upon the credulity of the good people of Canada, as well as wherever they hold sway. Our men will be strictly forbidden to meddle with private property, or in any manner, with peaceable inhabitants." I said I was glad, and hoped such rules would be strictly adhered to; for the tories in Canada were trying all in their power to make the inhabitants, as well as the soldiers, believe that the rebels were all a set of robbers. I am not alone, thousands on that side, as well as this, can testify that that appellation can more properly be applied to them; "Matty's" assertion to the contrary notwithstanding. There are far too many tories in the United States ever ready to side with them in oppressing those that dare say aught against their tyrannical and bloody acts.

I shall not be very particular in describing all that took place while on the Island, as it would not, to many, be very interesting. I will only remark that after my informing the General of their preparations and intention of attacking the Island, breast-works were hastily thrown up, and all necessary arrangements made to give them a warm reception.—There were twenty-five cannon mostly well mounted, which could easily be concentrated at any point required; and manned by men that knew how to handle them; and I should judge from eight to ten hundred men well armed and drilled. Besides other hasty preparations, tops of trees and under brush were thrown over the bank at different places to prevent them from landing. I know there were various opinions respecting the strength of the Island; but from close observation, during the three days of my enlistment, it is my candid opinion that if they had attacked the Island, as was expected, they would mostly or all have found a watery grave. The tories were fearful of this, for when the attempt was made men could not be found to hazard their lives in so rash an attempt; though attempted often, it as often failed.—No doubt if they had thought it as easy as burning the Caroline they would have quickly undertaken it.

It was hoped, and much regretted, by all on the Island that the attempt was not made; for if they had done so it would have thinned their ranks and made it the more easy

for us to have entered Canada at that place. They finally concluded to bring all their artillery to bear upon us, and thus exterminate all within their reach; they were accordingly arranged in martial pomp, opposite the Island the distance of about three-fourths of a mile. Now the work of destruction commences—the balls and bombs fly in all directions—the tops of the trees appear to be a great eye-sore to them, I suppose they thought by commencing an attack upon them, their falling would aid materially in the destruction of lives below. The thundering of artillery was heard, by times, for twenty and thirty miles around for a week, being obliged to cease firing at times for the cannons to cool.—They were very lavish with Her Gracious Majesty's powder and balls. I recollect a man standing behind the breastwork where were four of us sitting as the balls were whistling through the trees, "Well," says he, "if this is the way to kill the timber on this Island, it is certainly a very expensive way, as well as somewhat comical; I should think it would be cheaper to come over with axes, and if they are not in too big a hurry, girdle the trees and they will die the sooner."—I remarked, "they did not know how to use an axe; but understood girdling in a different way." An old gentleman from Canada taking the hint, quickly responded, "Yes, Canada can testify to the fact of their having other ways of girdling besides with the axe, and unless there is a steady stop put to it, there will not be a green tree left." There was another gentleman about to say something of their manner of swindling in other parts of the world, he had just commenced about Ireland when I felt a sudden jar at my back, and the other three that set near me, felt the same; we rose up, and discovered that a cannon ball had found its way through our breast work, but was kind enough to stop after just stirring the dirt at our backs; I had only moved about an inch of dirt when I picked up a six pound ball.

As it happened, our gun was a six pounder, we concluded as that was the only ball that had, as yet, been willing to pay us a visit, we would send it back as quick as it come. We immediately put it into our gun and wheeled around the corner of the breastwork. "Hold," said I, "there is 'Queen Ann's Pocket Piece,' as it is called, it will soon be opposite, and then we'll show them what we can do." It was not

mounted, but swung under the ex of a cart, such as are used for drawing saw-logs, with very large wheels. I had seen it previous to my leaving Chippawa, I think there was six horses attached to the cart; for it was very heavy, it being a twenty-four pounder. I suppose it was their intention to split the Island in two with it, hoping, by so doing, it might loosen at the roots and move off with the current and go over the Falls, and thus accomplish their great work of destruction at once. As they were opposite, the words "ready, fire!" was given; we had the satisfaction of seeing the horses leave the battle ground with all possible speed. The gun was forsaken in no time, and in less than five minutes there was scarcely a man to be seen. The ball had gone about three feet farther to the left than was intended; it was intended to lop the wheels; but it severed the tongue from the ex, and the horses took the liberty to move off as fast as possible.

We were about to give them another shot, when the officer of the day came up, and told us the orders from head quarters were not to fire unless it was absolutely necessary, that we must be saving of our amunition. I told him it was their own ball that we had just sent back. When he saw the execution it had done he smiled and went on, remarking, "they begin to fire a little lower;" "yes," said I, "and as that was the first, we thought we would send it back, and let them know we did not want it, that we had balls of our own.

There was no more firing until evening, when they commenced again in good earnest. Three of our men was slightly wounded by the frozen dirt flying in their faces, by one of their balls hitting the end of our breast-work. They owed our battery a grudge for daring to fire at her Majesty's pocket piece as it was called. They seemed willing to show us no mercy; however, no further damage was done to our battery; the next cannon to us had one wheel shot away, but was supplied with a new one the next day. There was a great deal of firing at intervals for nine days and nights. Killed one, and slightly wounding three, all told. Suffice it to say, after being in possession of the Island some four weeks, causing much noise and confusion on both sides, and many greatly disappointed it was finally, on the 12th of January 1838, evacuated. There might be much said on the subject of occu-

pying the Island, and during the time we were there, but I have not room.

When we left I proceeded to Detroit, not wishing to return to Chippawa, after having been known to have espoused the patriot cause. I must acknowledge it was a cause in which my whole heart was engaged, and have many reasons for it, one of which is, I was born of Patriot parentage; I am not a patriot to-day, and to-morrow the reverse; like many not far off, who I have seen since my return. "Oh!" said they, "I knew the patriots would fail." "Yes," said I, "if I had known there had been so many of your stamp engaged in the cause, I too might have known it would have failed, men that promised much but done so little, if I had backed out at the prospect of the smell of powder, I too like you and many more might have been left to say I knew they would not succeed."

On my arrival at Sandusky, after a tedious walk of five days I was informed of a contemplated attack on Malden.— We succeeded in reaching a small Island about 3 miles from the main shore, called Point Aupele; our force was about one hundred, it was intended to have remained there a short time for reinforcements, but we were soon attacked by about three hundred from Malden in sleighs, (the lake being frozen,) the number that returned alive was not known. After a severe engagement of about half an hour on the ice, the firing ceased; each party glad to retire. Such havoc among Red-Coats by a handfull of patriots was scarcely ever known.— Being disappointed as to reinforcements, after fully convincing the red-coats that the patriots could fight, we made our way to the main land (or rather peninsula) near Sandusky.

There was, about this time, another party of about one hundred and fifty assembled on an island about three miles below Detroit, called Fighting Island, near where Hull surrendered his army. The men were marched on in the evening and told by a man who had charge of the arms that they would be sent over in sleighs directly. Some may wonder why they did not take their arms with them; the reason was this: a body of men under arms had no right to congregate and drill without giving a strict account of their intentions, to the Government under which they assemble, if required to do so.

By some means the arms were prevented from following them. They were attacked by a small force of dragoons, and two pieces of artillery, and obliged to fight their way with clubs and fists. I believe if there had been fifty guns in their possession they would have maintained their position; for as it was, the enemy seemed very willing to cease hostilities;—thus ended the struggle for that winter. Bribery was strongly suspected here as well as other places, for if the British had not known the situation of the men on the Island they would not have dared to have attacked them with so small a force; for they had been led to believe that it required about six times as many of them, as of the Patriots, to contend with us with any degree of certainty.

It appeared to be an unlucky place for us, as well as the traitor Hull's army, who were doomed many of them to drag out a life of worse than slavery in British prisons and old hulks. Oh! what power has gold! I know a little something of the treatment of their prisoners. They have an idea that any man that dares to take up arms against Her Gracious Majesty's Government must be the worst man in the world, and when a prisoner, is treated as such. I have often thought that lucky was the man who was instantly shot or beheaded, as thousands have been under their humane government.

Being sick of Island fighting, I remained in Detroit through the summer, during which time, great preparations were being made all over the country for renewing the war. As many of our citizens were confined, and executions taking place in different parts of Canada, in the upper as well as the lower Province, and taunts and threats by tories were daily occurrences, it was concluded best by many from Canada as well as thousands on this side to make one more trial.—Consequently public as well as private meetings were held. Many and powerful speeches were delivered by men of respectability, and strong were the prospects of success. Not only hundreds but thousands were enrolled to aid and assist; many had their names down as fighting men, and to hold themselves in readiness at a moments warning. Among others were men of property offering to assist in every possible manner. Among them were men holding offices under government. I will not mention names, for I am aware they



feel ashamed; not of the cause in which they were engaged, but of their backwardness in not boldly stepping forth in aid of so great and good a cause. I mention these things because some young as well as old may hereafter enquire the cause of the failure of the Patriots in the years 1837-8 to let all know it was not so much the fault of those who actually took up arms and done as they had agreed, as it was of those who failed to fulfill their promises, and who have not been backward in ridiculing the cause and those that were unfortunately made prisoners.

The fact is that about the time of the intended movement "Matty" issued a decree to this effect: that all engaged in the Patriot cause were blacklegs, horse thieves, &c. &c.—Many men heretofore of the highest respectability who had previously, (in view of the respectability of the cause,) aided and assisted, now withdrew and acknowledged on their part the justness of the assertion, while others who were not willing to acknowledge themselves as such by deserting their colors, were still more anxious to make one desperate effort, and if possible make a stand on the opposite side near Detroit, likewise near Kingston, not far from Prescott; and if possible convince the world that the before mentioned stigma was not applicable to us, and if it was I believe it remains to be proved. Be it remembered however, that the number of cowards who called themselves patriots was not known until about three or four hours before a battle was to take place.

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## CHAPTER II.

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### *Battle of Windsor.*

DECEMBER 4th, 1838, after much trouble and hardship, (for we had not only U. S. government officers to evade, but spies in all quarters, many who pretended to be good patriots were trying every way possible to cast a stigma upon the cause,) a boat was obtained and 164 men landed on the Canada shore three miles above Windsor; General B. command-

ing, who was generally believed to be a good and brave man. No doubt his talents were good, but after being tried was found wanting in courage. I believe there are times when it is hard to distinguish between cowardice and bribery.

General Putnam was second in command and a brave and good Patriot. It was supposed that others to the number of about 500 would immediately follow, besides the promise of as many more on the Canada side, which would increase our force to over 1000 effective men, but great was our disappointment. After having received positive orders not to meddle with private property, or in any manner molest peaceable inhabitants, we took up our line of march for Windsor; expecting by the time we had taken their barracks, our re-inforcements would arrive; but were again disappointed. We were not, however, disappointed in taking the barracks, we approached within ten or twelve rods, when the centry hailed, and without waiting an answer, fired; but without effect. His fire was returned instantly and he fell on the spot. There was a general rush to the doors, and they were commanded to surrender as prisoners of war, by General Putnam Commander of the Patriot army. I might have said Commander in Chief, as General B. had not made his appearance.

We had by this time nearly all come up excepting a few to guard the General from harm, I do not mean Putnam for he was on hand; in answer to his demand we received a volley of fire arms from the windows and doors, at which time Capt Lewis fell, he was the second man from me, he was a fine man; he being the first to fall, I stepped up and rolled him over to see whether he was dead or only wounded, the ball had hit him in the head which killed him instantly.—We were not willing to receive such a compliment without an answer; we accordingly approached the building and a severe action commenced—our guns, as many as possible, were protruded with theirs through the windows. We discovered after four or five rounds that they had taken the precaution to lay down in order to escape our balls, and it was a lucky move for us, for it had a tendency to cause their balls to pass over our heads; so the first few volleys on either side did but little harm; on discovering their position orders were given to withdraw from the windows a few paces and fire lower, four rounds satisfied them, some thirty or for-

ty rushed to the doors once or twice, finally finding their situation very precarious they ceased firing. Another offer was then made them to surrender as prisoners of war, but they did not seem willing to comply. The firing again commenced, when a man was seen approaching the building with a fire-brand but in the confusion of firearms, did not as he afterwards said, hear the orders not to fire the building, and it was set on fire; there was a general rush made to break through our ranks; but they soon found we knew as well how to take prisoners, as to hit a mark with the rifle. In taking prisoners and securing arms, we had no time to extinguish the flames that had so far advanced; this was the only act which was not generally approved of. There was a steam boat burned to the memory of the Caroline, and thirty-eight prisoners with the same number of arms fell into our hands, after a warm engagement which lasted three-fourths of an hour; we, however had no men to spare to guard prisoners, and after keeping them a short time, treating them well, made them promise not to be found in arms against us hereafter, told them we expected large re-inforcements, and would be able to maintain our position;—and would also defend, not only them, but as many as would throw themselves under our protection. Some of them remarked that five hundred such men would not only be able to defend all who might need protection, but would be able to defend themselves against one thousand British Troops. During the morning we had convinced them of that fact, and secured about fifty muskets with as many cartridge boxes, and were much elated on our success. It was about 4 o'clock in the morning when the action commenced; we were three hours anxiously waiting for promised help from the other side of the river, which was nearly one mile across to Detroit, where were thousands to be seen at day-light, on tops of building swinging their hats and cheering us on our morning's success. Among these were hundreds that had promised to be with us, and who knew it was impossible for us to maintain our position through the day unless we had the promised help. If we had have known that help could not come, in time, we might have re-crossed to the American shore that morning; but were determined, after having so much trouble in getting there, to remain, and if help did not come, to show them our

intention was to act, and not do as hundreds had who promised much, but done nothing. ("They knew the Patriots would fail.") unluckily for the cause there were too many such men, men that could talk loud, and wished to be called brave and good, but at the expense of others.

We were about planting our standard; the flag was a splendid one, with two stars for Upper and Lower Canada. We had just succeeded in getting a long spar and was in the act of raising it, as the cry was heard:—"there comes the Red-coats! There are the dragoons!!" Instantly we were formed in battle array. Soon received a volley, but the distance was so great that it did not affect us in the least, we however advanced to meet them, and drove them back about fifty rods; in the mean time thought it best to occupy an orchard; They were, I should judge, about four hundred strong, and were soon reinforced by some two hundred more. When they discovered our strength, the plan was immediately formed to surround us. A general fight now took place; but seeing their determination to surround us, after seven or eight rounds we thought it best to occupy the woods, three-fourths of a mile from our stand. We had likewise been disappointed in the approach of our rear-guard, for we had taken up our line of march in two divisions, Gen. B. was with the latter. To our great disappointment at that critical moment our division was left to contend with at least five times our number; it was not however, the fault of the men, for I was afterwards informed, when they discovered his determination to retreat, he was addressed my men in tears as follows:—"For God sake do not leave our party who have already commenced the action, for unless we advance to their aid they will all be cut off!" But he could not be persuaded to advance. As I before remarked it is sometimes hard to distinguish between cowardice and bribery, the reader may judge for himself in this instance. As he is a lawyer and a somewhat noted character, no doubt he has by this time, satisfied the people that it was neither. However, he succeeded in reaching the American shore; whether the boat was prepared beforehand to convey the noble General across, I cannot say. I afterwards learned that others had attempted to cross, and were fired on by Major Paine, of the U. S. Army, at that time commander of the Steamboat Erie, which was playing

back and forth along the channel to prevent any more from crossing. No doubt hundreds of pretended Patriots, were pleased with this excuse for not fulfilling their engagements. I might say much more on this subject, but I forbear, for there has been so much said respecting that transaction that I have not room in this work to rectify all the mistaken opinions respecting the getting up as well as the failure of the cause. It would require volumes, for there were thousands concerned.

I will again remark that I consider it not only wrong but very hard for those that have been for seven long years persecuted beyond measure and some beyond endurance, for many have been murdered upon the gallows, whilst others have been persecuted to death by a long series of abuse, unparalleled in the history of civilized nations; others have stemmed the tide of persecution and have succeeded in reaching their native land. Should they still be persecuted by those that were once our pretended friends whose friendship to many were discovered when sore affliction were upon them? O! Inhabitants of these United States, as well as Canada, have you not yet learned the cause of the failure of the patriots in 1837 and 8? Will you believe me when I say for the rising generation as well as many of this, that have been imposed upon by designing sycophants, that the cause of the failure was not because Canada did not want freedom, but because of bribery, cowardice, and a false pretention to greatness and ability, in some of the leading characters. When you hear a man say, "O I knew the Patriots would fail," you may more than half suspect him of being in league with those who were actually the cause of the failure.

After we had discovered that there was no prospect of help, and a continual strengthening of the enemy's ranks, and their determination to pen us in, the orders were to retreat to the woods that we might the more easily defend ourselves; but at that instant Colonel Harvelle, and some others, replied to General Putman's orders, "For God's sake where is our rear-guard? they will soon be up, and we will still be able to flog them." We stood our ground fighting with determined fury, until it was in vain to expect help from the rear-guard, and all hopes of holding out longer against so many, was given up, and the prospect of being surrounded and made

prisoners or slaughtered on the spot, was obvious, (the latter of which I have many times since wished had been the case,) we concluded best to retreat, and commenced by walking backwards, loading and fireing at intervals until we reached a fence; on getting over the fence General Putnam was shot, with two or three others. Our ranks were then broken, some died fighting to the last, some taken prisoner, others succeeded in reaching the woods at different points, hoping to be able to rally when joined by the rear-guard and renew the attack; but failed in the attempt.

Thus after dooing all in our power, ended the unequal conflict. It was impossible for me to know the exact number killed, but as near as I could learn, it was eleven killed, and about the same number wounded in all, of our party, whilst that of the enemy by what I could discover at that time and afterwards, amounted to forty-four killed, and near the same number wounded. The tories however were not generally willing to acknowledge it, but I was afterwards told by two of the British regulars, that that was the fact.

There were, as I afterwards learned four or five taken at, or near, the close of the engagement, brought into the British Camp, and by the orders of Colonel Prince, shot down in cool blood; even the Indians, on beholding this cowardly, and outrageous act, turned away and was head to say in their native tongue, "if this is the way they serve the prisoners, me fetch um no more; me fight no more for the Queen." Was this act sanctioned? I believe it was, after going through a mock trial to appease the indignation of the people, the perpetrator was raised to higher office in Government, as hundreds of the same stamp have heretofore been; these are the kind of men they want in Governments maintained by tyranny and oppression.

As many of us as could get together after reaching the woods, called a council of war, and after consulting together sometime, come to the conclusion that we had been betrayed, and that it was useless to attempt to renew the attack, some however were determinned to do so, but the majority ruled, and it was finally concluded best for every man to do the best he could for himself. Some may, and have already asked me why did you go over with so small a force. I shall answer you according to the honest and sincere sentiment of

my heart. The standard of liberty was about to be planted in Canada, to which the people might flock and show to England, and to the world, their determination to struggle for their rights, which had almost been wrested from them, by tyrants and oppressors.

Be it remembered, that I together with thousands had pledged my word and honor to assist in erecting and maintaining this standard; but when the contemplated attempt was about to be made, there was a great falling off. Still the prospect appeared favourable for the attempt; but as you have discovered, there were too many promises of help, which at the critical moment, it was found could not be relied upon. I do not so much blame the people of Canada, for at the commencement of the outbreak, all that were in the least suspected of liberal principals were either imprisoned or pressed into the ranks of the enemy; and others, disarmed, were obliged to flee to the United States; while their wives and children were imposed upon by the soldiery, not so much by the regulars, as by the militia of the Province. Destruction of property, houses burned, devastation and ruin seemed to be the glory of the Queen's Menials. Finally taking all these things into consideration, many were the causes that might here be more minutely explained, but it would swell this work to too great a length.

I shall now take the liberty to inform you, that I went over because I agreed to, not knowing until too late, but that others would do likewise; but their failure has had the tendency to bring upon me and others, a round of trials and difficulties which it has been almost impossible to surmount, some have been crushed under their weight, whilst there still remains those who are willing to continue the persecution. And I find that those who forsook their colors when their help was most needed, now plead, for an excuse that our government was opposed to it; and to make people believe they are very knowing men, repeatedly say, "Oh, I knew the Patriots would fail." Yet I find since my return, many in the States, and in Canada, are too well acquainted with the circumstances of our failure and subsequent treatment to cast upon us any slur whatever. Men that have felt for the woes of others, and have felt it their duty to do all in their power to alleviate our horrible sufferings, during our illegal confinement;

although they have not had it in their power to succeed as they have wished. But finally, after a long and tedious struggle have had the satisfaction of hearing and knowing that some, though not all, have returned from bondage after so long and indescribable a series of abuse, unparalleled in the history of civilization; some of which I shall now, without any exaggeration, attempt to describe.

You will recollect our assembling in the woods, and our determination to do what we considered best, which was for each man to take his own course in endeavoring to reach the United States. Some, as I afterwards learned, succeeded in so doing,—others were shot in the attempt, while the remainder were taken prisoners, and either confined or shot down by order of Colonel Prince. Some may ask, why did you not make a forced march to the river, take boats and cross over. To this I must reply, it was talked of, but our force, at that time, was not sufficient to insure success.—Some thought, the woods being very extensive, and supposing there were many Patriots living in that district, that we might finally the most, or all of us, succeed in evading their search, and in time reach a place of safety. We accordingly separated and I soon found myself pursued by a man hollowing at the top of his voice, “Stop there, stop, you d——d rebel, or I’ll shoot you! stop, stop!” I was near a fence at that time crossing a field, I proceeded to the fence, dropped on one knee, put my rifle through the fence, took deliberate aim; he had a gun and was gaining on me—I had a canister of powder, pouch of balls, two pistols and an over-coat on, which prevented me from attempting to run. I saw all hopes of escape was useless; I discharged my rifle, but cannot say whether it hit the mark or not, for I did not look; but immediately rose and walked off. At any rate, I heard no more “stop there you d——d rebel.” You may ask, could you not have got along without firing, I thought not, it was about three o’clock in the after noon of the day of our battle, I was very tired, and having fasted for nearly two days, I was in great need of rest. After passing through a piece of woods about three-fourths of a mile, I arrived at a clearing where was a house and barn, I concluded best to go into the barn and try to get some rest.

I had been there but a few minutes when I heard the



tramping of horses, looked out of the door and discovered, as near as I could judge, ten or twelve dragoons approaching. I had but little time to consider, but concluded to ascend the ladder to the hay-mow, dug a hole in the hay to some depth, pulled the hay down to make all as smooth as possible, and had just got a pistol in each hand as the door flew open; in they rushed crying, "come out you d——d rebel, we'll shoot you, we'll not take you before the Colonel to be shot; come out, come out we'll hang you!" said some, others, "we'll quarter you and feed you to the hogs as we've just served one!" &c. &c. They made a general search, two or three got on the hay-mow ran their swords down in many places, remarking "I'll fetch the blood from the damned rebel," and once or twice they came very near it. They passed over me several times, talked of burning the barn; but concluded as it belonged to one of their stamp, it would not do. They finally went their way remarking, "I don't think there is any one here I believe that d——d Nigger lied."—When all was still, I went to the door looked out, but could see no one, I then went back and laid down to rest, and if all remained quiet, to take a short nap. It was now near sundown. I disposed of some papers which had become of no use to me, and if taken might be of great damage. I had not laid over 20 minutes when the door was again opened, and three or four stepped in, walked across the floor several times saying, "if he is in here we will place a sentry at the doors and starve him out," and then went their way. Again all was still, and in ten minutes I was fast asleep. I had neglected to wind my watch, and on awaking could not tell how long I had slept; but it was dark and I should judge about 12 o'clock; I was somewhat refreshed by sleep it being the first I had received for two days and nights, having taken no food in the time felt a little hungry. I came cautiously down thinking they might be there, went to the door to see if they had placed sentries at the door, and on finding none, started out not knowing where or which way to go. I travelled until day-light principally in the woods, three times during the night I was near being discovered by Indians as I supposed by their talk; they passed within a few feet of me several times.

On the approach of daylight I found myself within twenty

rods of a fence, and about sixty rods from a house; it was impossible for me to travel farther without food; I therefore thought it best to venture in and purchase (for I had money with me) if possible, something to satisfy hunger. I therefore to prevent suspicion hid my rifle, but kept my pistols, which I had in a belt, and buttoned my overcoat which concealed them. I did not know but they might be friendly to the Patriots;—I knocked at the door, and they bid me come in, in French. I asked the woman if she would sell me something to eat; she did not understand me, but a girl about six years old, I should judge, replied in very good english, “yes sir you can have something;” these two were the only persons in the room. While sitting at the table the little girl asked me “if I was a Patriot.” Fearing nothing from them, I unhesitatingly replied, “Yes, are not your folks Patriots?”—“No sir,” said she, “my father is not, but—” just at that time he came in from a back room, and asked in a loud tone “Are you a Patriot?” “Yes,” said I, rising from the table intending to make my exit as soon as possible; he saw my intention, and quickly spoke in French, when to my surprise three large bony Frenchmen appeared at the same door;—two of them had large swords by their sides, and belts with pistols; the other one had a gun. “You are my prisoner, you must go to Sandwich, with us!” said the man of the house. I saw I was fast, for the present, at all events, and at once replied, “there is where I want to go, for I have some friends there;” hoping, by submitting willingly, that they might not search me; this had its desired effect; and as they could not discover my pistols, (my coat being buttoned) two lads were dispatched for their horses, and four were brought to the door, but it wanted the fifth, and it appeared there was no more that could be used; though they were talking in French concerning the fifth one, I could understand what they were talking about, and replied:—“If you have but four horses, it will be one for each of you, and I will walk.” But as there was some woods to go through, they preferred having me on horse-back. After much talking a horse was procured, and I was commanded to mount. I complied, still thinking it would not take long to dismount, if an opportunity presented itself in passing through the woods, for I knew we had a mile or more to pass through; but to my disappoint-

ment a rope was produced and my feet tied under the horse's belly, to prevent me from dismounting, for there was no fear of my running away from them with it, for it was a poor old foundered horse, with which it was impossible to raise a trot.

Some may say, "Oh! if I had been in your place I would have done different, you had two pistols, why did you not shoot two of them, and stand your chance to escape from the others?" but I presume you would not have done any different in my situation. Recollect my condition to contend with four very large and strong men, after being nearly three days and nights without sleep, with the exception of a few hours in the barn, fasting the whole time, excepting a short meal that morning; taking these things into consideration me thinks you could not have done much different.

A preparation was made for a start, one on each side, one behind and one before; on moving off I discovered the little girl drying her eyes with her apron, and two little boys with tears streaming down their cheeks, which convinced me that they were of different cast than those in arms against me.—May God protect them from harm, and as they grow up may they cherish and protect liberal principals. We were about five miles distant from Sandwich; on our way, the one on my right side was very free to talk, he said "No doubt Prince will have you shot at once, as we have heard he was shooting them down as fast as they were brought in." "Shall I be brought at once before him?" "Yes," he replied. You may think it strange, but from that moment I came to the conclusion to commit an act which to many, no doubt would, appear horrible; but let them consider my situation—no hopes of escape—about to be ushered into the presence of a demon, who was deliberately murdering better men than he ever was—feeling confident that pleading would avail nothing—being armed with pistols, I had nothing to hope on my arrival before such a cowardly tyrant;—I came to the full determination on approaching him to draw my pistols and rid the country of one of Britons favourites, Colonel John Prince. But luckily for him, and perhaps for me, the would be lord was at his dinner.

On my approach to the jail, I was accosted by as many as could get around the horse, crying out:—"We've got you,

dismount, we'll have a fine shooting match, to-morrow! we've got eighteen rebels in jail here, they'll all be shot or hung; the Colonel says he'll not wait for orders. Furthermore, your good President says in a late proclamation, 'the Patriots are all a set of robbers and horsethieves,' and well have you all shot!" "Its a d——d lie," said a man at the top of his voice, at the same time making his way through the crowd, "I was at the Barracks at the engagement and I know it to be a lie; they behaved like brave and honest men, they took me and thirty-seven other prisoners, treated us like gentlemen, took nothing from us but our guns, told us it was not for plunder they had come to Canada, but to protect us and all who might throw themselves under their protection. Women and children came out crying 'for God sake spare them!' they were told to go back to their houses, and remain quiet, for neither they nor their property should be hurt if it was in their power to prevent it; and I know says he there was no property meddled with. or defenceless women or children in any manner molested to my certain knowledge; for while we were prisoners before and afterwards, we had a fair chance to know, and for God sake," said he "treat them with more civility." Two or three others hollowed out, "treat them like men, and not so much like brutes, for they behaved like gentlemen to us." However such talk did not sound well in their ears. "Away with him!" "Away with him!" was the prevailing cry, "listen not to such speeches, it sounds too much like rebellion in our camp, away with him," and I was pushed through the crowd into the hall, but in getting through my over-coat was pulled off. "Oh! the d——d rebel, he has got two large pistols and a Bowieknife!" (It was a dirk about ten inches long,) a number of hands were trying to find their way into my pockets, for all prisoners were plundered of money watches fine boots clothes and caps or hats that were of any value, as soon as possible.

I was soon in the presence of three or four of Her Majesties Esquires;—"Well," says they "you rebels did not succeed in taking Canada, I suppose you are one, are you not?" "I owe the Queen no allegiance, consequently am not a rebel, as you term me," was my reply. "Oh that'll do! these pistols and dirk, with the powder and balls, satisfies us for the present; put him in the cells!" I was ushered from their

presence, which I did not much desire, into the presence of a gentleman by the name of Joshua G. Doan, in a snug little cell, and was soon introduced to him by a pair of the Queen's Jewels, attached to our wrists and ancles. These Jewels as they were called, were, and had been, in great use in Canada, and much worn by a great many honest and good men. I soon learned from him the account of his capture, together with seventeen others, who were confined in different parts of the jail, all strongly ironed.

Mr. Doan told me that he together with six others had been brought there that morning in a waggon; Colonel Prince met them near the jail, and ordered the driver to wheel and drive to the common, a large open field, and he would send a detachment of soldiers, and have them shot at once.

"Preparations were making," said Mr. D. "the soldiers appeared, and we were getting out of the waggon, Col. Chauncey Sheldon arose to follow, and Col. Airey of the regular army was seen approaching within a few paces; Col. Sheldon made a sign which was quickly noticed by Col. Airey, who at once cried out, 'hold!' all preparations ceased at once, as he came up, 'who commands here? What audacious act is this about to be committed?' 'Colonel Prince, of the Militia, sir,' replied an under officer. Col. P. was commanded to appear forthwith, and after the usual salute, Col. Airey replied, 'good God, Colonel what are you about? Taking the law into your own hands, and deliberately murdering men that the savages have spared! I have heard of your murdering the men, and have hastened here to learn the truth; hoping you could not be guilty of so outrageous an act; but have found it too true! Let those men be confined, and you Col. Prince prepare for Court Martial.'

"For my part," continued Mr. D. "I am sorry that Colonel Airey came up just as he did, for I had much rather be shot than hung." As there had been a reward offered for him, he felt sure that he would not escape. "It looks rather dark," said I, "for all as well as you. That afternoon there were five or six more brought in;—it was very cold, and no fire or a sign of bedding;—some cells were so crowded it was impossible to lay down; and it was 10 o'clock in the evening when we received a few mouthfull of coarse bread, and a very little soup, so called. Although very tired could not sleep

much that night, one reason was, we had no room to lay down, and another was, every few minutes some one would come to the door, to inform us that we were all to be shot or hung in a day or two, as a court martial was about sitting and there was no prospect of escape.

When daylight appeared, although to us very dim, at most, Doan remarked, "I believe, by my feelings, the cell is alive with lice." I at once agreed with him; and on consulting our comrades, they were all of the same opinion. On close examination that day, although there was but one pane of glass with bars of iron on each side, we could, by putting our eyes close to the floor, discover that the cracks were literally alive with large body lice; all of us from that time were cursed with an enemy that much assisted their brother Tories in their persecutions, until our arrival at Van Dieman's Land.

I think it was the fifth day from our arrival at that horrible place that orders were given to prepare to move, and in less than ten minutes our door was thrown open, with the words "come out here!" we were glad to hear the order, even if it was to be shot. We were paraded in the hall, our irons minutely examined, ordered to step back, and others brought forward until all were examined, then marched out through a strong guard on both sides which reached to the road; with much trouble we succeeded in getting into waggons, it was about ten o'clock in the evening, and in getting in some had the skin torn from their ancles, by the clevises and pins, which were so tight, and fetching our feet so close together, one could not move an inch without the other.

Orders were given to move on, a large body of dragoons on either side to guard us; we had not proceeded over four miles, when the orders were "halt," we were opposite a grog shop, which, as they said, was against the law to pass without calling. The Province was then governed by similar laws, and by men that were bound not to pass the grog shop. Whilst they were by turns regaling themselves with that delicious beverage, rum, and its companion, fire, for I believe it is hard to tell which is the most destructive, though both good in their place, I am sure that we needed fire at that time, but was obliged to sit, (it is hard to tell how,) shivering and some freezing for a long hour, when the orders

were "ready, march!" About five miles farther, and we halted before another grog shop, and about the same manœuvering here as at the former place; after sitting another hour, shivering and freezing, bound tight together with irons, and receiving repeated insults, orders were again to march. After traveling seven or eight miles farther we were ordered to turn out; some three or four on reaching the ground could not stand; being so long in one position, chilled, their feet frozen, the irons being so tight as to prevent the circulation of blood, were obliged to be carried or led into Fort Malden.— I think there were twenty eight of us all in one room, about twelve by eighteen. It is impossible to describe fully our sufferings, during our seven weeks stay at that place; I shall, however, attempt to give you a faint description of a part.

Previous to our leaving Sandwich we were separated, or in other words changed partners, which was universally the rule, after being a short time together, to prevent plans of escape. I was at this time chained with a man by the name of Daniel Swetman who afterwards proved himself to be a traitor, and Queen's witness; but I considered him no worse than hundreds, who had deserted us, on our attempt to erect the standard of Liberty in Canada. He was taken out and questioned three times during our stay there; I mistrusted him the first time, and when he came back, I asked him if he was about turning Queen's witness, (we had to speak in a whisper) he replied "yes, and there is a chance for you, they say they want some more." "You tell them for me, that they may go to the d——l for Queen's witnesses, for my oath would not allow me to hang my companions in a good cause." "Well," says he "do as you like, but I am one and shall hang Perley, Cunningham, and Doan." "Could you not have got along by hanging one?" said I. He replied, "No, I tried hard, but they told me I must go as high as three." I told him "there was no need of his swearing against Doan, for his fate was sealed." "Well," says he say nothing, I will try to get along without hanging any if possible." "Do," says I, "it is a hard thing to die in a good cause, but its harder to hang three better men than you ever was, to save one, according to your principle, a curse to himself and the world. I pray you consider what you are about!" He looked rather sour and said no more for some time, he

was shortly afterwards, called out again. I then considered it my duty to inform them of his design, they said they could not believe it, "What I tell you is true," said I, they were afterwards convinced of the fact. I might say much more on this subject but it is painful.

To return. We were twenty-four hours in this place before we received any food, the door was then opened, a large bucket of Beef'shead boiled, and in the water, was set down in the middle of the floor; the man said nothing, turned and went off, we waited sometime, thinking he would return with some implements, not of war, but to attack the bullock's head with. You may judge we were very hungry, and the centry said there was no signs of his return, that we might manage it as we could. You recollect we were strongly ironed, two together hand and foot, and but one hand at liberty; two approached the bucket, and with one hand, managed to extract a little from the head, both obliged to kneel to sup a little of the broth, which was warm and revived us a little; this couple then stepped back, and another approached and performed in like manner; though each one took but little, three or four that were last had nothing, we informed the centry of it, he said he would see if his mess-mates, which were in the adjoining room, had not a little to keep them from starving, they sent us a little bread and soup. Some of the regular soldiers, in the absence of officers, felt disposed to assist, us at times, in that way. They, mostly all, knew how to pity our suffering, and would often assist if it was in their power, but are generally compelled to be tyrants, especially in the presence of their officers.

Messrs. Woodman, Sweet, Higgins, myself and two or three others suffered extremely by frozen feet. They were so swollen in a few days after our arrival there, that we were obliged to cut our boots from our chains down, as the chains prevented us from getting them off. Any one that has ever had frozen limbs can judge our situation, for weeks they felt as though they were in hot embers. Many had their ancles so swollen by the small clevises, that they suffered extremely, it was with much difficulty that they were removed, and replaced with larger ones. I solemnly declare to you that our sufferings here were almost beyond endurance, and as this is a sample of our treatment for about nine months in



different prisons, until our arrival at Kingston or Ft. Henry, it induces me to be more particular, in describing some of them. Look for a moment at our prison, and there behold twenty-eight men in a small room, situated on the beach of lake Erie in the middle of winter, without fire, or bedding of any kind, fastened together by twos, not more than half enough to eat, and that filthy, and of the coarsest kind, and nothing to eat it with; some obliged to sit while others were trying to sleep, by lying upon their backs or faces, if one should stir in the least without the knowledge of the other it would cause him to cry out, "you are tearing my ankle or wrist off," and perhaps one would want to get up to go to the *tub* which was sitting in one corner of the *same room*, but could not go without his mate, who was perhaps asleep, and in getting to it, obliged to pass over others, that were sleeping, causing them to cry out, "get off! Oh God! you are killing me!" others, "you are breaking my legs!" "you are breaking my head!" "Oh! get off of my arms!" &c. &c.; but to the tub must go; which frequently was not emptied until the contents were all over the floor, and running under us while sleeping. You may judge our room did not send forth a very savory smell. Then add to this and much more, the lice that were continually swelling their ranks, and if those with only two legs, in shape of men, should fail in taking the last drop of blood, they would assist them all in their power. I can assure you that between them both, they came very near accomplishing the work; for against this formidable foe, we were poorly prepared to resist. You may judge of the increase, when our clothes were not off our backs, nor a change of linen for ten weeks, and some wore flannels; no doubt you would have laughed to have seen them, when taken off, not to exchange them for new ones, but for the purpose of washing ourselves in cold water, and without soap. We were not allowed a razor for the four first weeks. After being there some two weeks, Col. Prince came in, and asked a number of questions, but got little or no satisfaction; among them were if we knew such and such men? We knew his object was no good; he finally asked us if we knew Col. Harvare? the reply was, "Yes, and a better man than ever wore a British uniform. We knew he had been murdered; soon after the battle, he was surrounded by eighteen or twenty and com-

manded to surrender. "What will be done with me if I do?" said he, "You will be shot immediately, on being brought before Col. Prince." "Then," says he, "I may as well die here!" He was a Kentuckian, stood six feet two inches, and large in proportion; he went at them killed three and wounded four others, before they succeeded in pinning him to the ground with their bayonets. He was killed, however, on the spot, fought to the last with determined fury, with a large bowie-knife. Some others who had the same kind of weapons, had done likewise.

We were now about to leave this place, after remaining here about seven weeks in the situation above partly described, (for I want in language to do justice in describing the horrors of that place,) an officer came to the door, cried out, "Prepare to move." In less than five minutes a Blacksmith was in our room, with a strong guard at the door, six were soon overhauled, and marched out, presently six more, "that'll do for the present," said they, it appeared they were afraid to take all at once. I will here remark that the same changing partners was observed here as well as on our coming to this place. I was now chained with Cunningham; Sweetman had gone, and I was not sorry. Consider my situation during seven weeks chained to a Queen's witness, in that horrible place; many times wishing to converse or ask favors which were natural in our situation; but did not, more than possible.

Four days from the time the first were taken, the same call was for the remainder, twelve occupying two sleighs, and the other four one sleigh. Rations were weighed out for all, but on our way was robbed of the most of ours. There was a large train of horse guards in the rear as well as front of the sleighs we occupied. They would not tell us where we were bound but we concluded to London, as we had heard a Court Martial was there sitting, and at the expiration of three days, arrived at that place. The same rules were observed as well in this journey as in the former, we were not allowed to leave our position during the day, while they called at every grog shop. We suffered much with cold, hunger, and the tightness of chains.

On calling at a tavern near night on the first day of our journey, a man came out and inquired who we were,

on being told, replied, "I will bring you something to eat," we thanked him kindly, and he soon returned, but as he was handing us some pies and cakes, was commanded to be off. He replied "It is a shame to treat men in that manner, freezing and starving," he seemed determined to help us; but in the act was knocked down and cruelly beaten. We pled and begged for God sake not to kill him, at the same time trying to get to his assistance, but was overpowered and forced to submit. I believe if our chains had been off at that time, not a man of us would have left the spot alive; but I am convinced that there are times when a man cannot fight until he dies. A short time after leaving, I asked the driver if he knew the man's name that gave the orders for that man who was so cruelly beaten, not to give us the pies and cakes. "None of your business," was the reply. Said I "it is evident he is a Queen's man." "Yes," said he. "Well is he a sample of your torics?" I asked. "Yes, and if you don't behave pretty well you'll get the same treatment," continued the driver. "well if that is a sample Lord deliver me from ever becoming a Queen's man," I replied.

About this time a woman came running down to the road from a house standing some twenty rods back, crying at the top of her voice, "What's the matter? what's the matter?" Some one thinking to frighten the old lady, replied in a high tone, "The rebels are coming through the country driving all before them!" "I am glad on't! yes I am glad on't for I have been praying for it these two years." One of our men cried out, "God bless you good woman!" One would have thought, from their actions, that they would shoot the old lady as well as the whole of us; however it passed off and no harm done.

It was by this time near night, and they began to talk about a place to put up, one of them "replied there is an able Scotch farmer about a mile ahead, he is a rebel and we'll make him keep some of us," we were soon in front of his door, the gentleman of the house appeared. "Well old man you must entertain some of your stamp to night." "I believe then they are not only gentlemen but would be willing to accommodate me under the same circumstances," replied the old man. "Well, well, none of your preaching old man, we want the strongest room in the house for these men, don't

want any beds for them, but want all youv'e got for ourselves." Nothing of consequence was farther said. Every room in his house was almost ruined that night; they ordered the best the house afforded for supper, which took some time to prepare, there being so much confusion, they were, however seated, as many as could, and when they were all done, the lady asked if the prisoners should have some likewise? "Oh no they'll do well enough, we'll take care of them."—The lady's Scotch temper was up in a moment, we could hear her from our room, and she first began to plead, but soon began in louder tone, telling them "they were a disgrace to the country, and the country is almost ruined by tyrants like yourselves." Much more was said, which I disremember, but it was to the purpose. "If they stop in this house to-night they shall have as good as I have got," said the good lady, and went about preparing the same. "Old lady you need not make so much fuss, for they can't sit at a table, they are in irons," said one. "I don't care, I can take it to them, and the irons can be taken off their wrists, you ought to be ashamed, so many of you to guard so few, and then must chain them hand and foot, and use them like brutes, freezing and starving them in this manner; for shame to use your fellow man thus! I know they would not treat you in this manner," continued the lady, and by her perseverance we had a good warm supper for the first time within the last two months. I can assure you it met with a harty reception, and will be remembered while life exists.

As we were about to retire she came into the room crowding by the centry, who was about to resist, as she exclaimed, "I don't care for you Mr. Centry, it's my own house, and I'll let you know it; these men shall have something besides boards to lay on." In she come, with her arms full of bed-clothes; I happened to be near the door as she entered, and whispered in my ear, "I think them blackguards will sleep rather cold to-night, for I have robbed the beds of nearly all their clothing for you." We nearly all spoke at the same time, thanking her, but requesting her to take them immediately out of the room; "Why?" said she. "Because we are so dirty, they will be ruined." "Oh, no! I can wash them again." We plead every way, but were finally obliged to tell her that we were very lousy, and the clothes would be

ruined forever." At last she withdrew remarking, "Oh, my God! my God! At all events, there shall be a fire in the room." Though the fire felt comfortable, (for it was the first we had seen for two months of severe cold weather,) it appeared as though we would be eaten up alive that night.—About sunrise we were ordered to turn out, got into the sleighs and was soon on our way. Travelled that day about the same as the day previous, cold and hungry. Second night no fire, nothing to eat but a hard biscuit and a small slice of raw pork; third night, fare about the same, excepting much insult and abuse, by a party of blackguards telling us at intervals through the night, that we "would all be hung in the course of two or three days, that the hanging had commenced, they had seen ten of the rebels hung that morning, and was going to London to see us hung. You had better let me have your money, and all your things, for you will not want them much longer, them boots, that cap, coat, vest, pantaloons, &c. &c."

Now reader, to be sure some of us had been more fortunate than others in retaining a part, and some all, of our clothes, until now, and was not willing, although literally alive with vermin, to dispose of them, unless it was for new or clean ones, for nearly, or all the Queen's volunteers thought the Canadians were lousy; so by exchanging clothes with them would not better our condition. We told them, therefore, that we should keep the ones we had for all giving to, or exchanging with, a set of lousy robbers as we knew them to be. They were on the point of compelling us to submit, as they were called away to proceed in search of some rebels who, it was said, were assembling for the purpose of liberating the prisoners; whether this was the fact, I do not know; at any rate, our chains were examined, and a double watch placed over us from that time until our arrival at London.

On our arrival at this place, we found seventeen or eighteen that were at the crossing, on the morning of the 4th December, near Windsor; perhaps some, or all, had been in the battle. They were taken prisoners, some twenty or thirty miles from Sandwich up the St. Clair River, and were taken from thence direct to London, C. W. A Court Martial was now in session, some had been tried, and two under sentence of death, when we arrived.

## CHAPTER III.

*The Trial, &c.*

I have not room to detail all the abominable and corrupt proceedings of the party in power at that place. I will here remark that their whole proceedings respecting our trials and after detention as prisoners, were all illegal, and has been pronounced so by some of the most able lords in England, as well as many in Canada and Van Dieman's Land, and ought to be so pronounced by all good citizens of the United States. Still we have been allowed to be kidnapped and dragged through Canada, thence across the ocean to a Penal colony, and there doomed to sufferings unparalleled. But I believe about this time, Mr. Van Buren's son was in England, and as I understood, had the extreme felicity of kissing the Queen's hand, which might be considered by some as an offset for any depredations her subjects might see fit to commit upon the persons or property of citizens belonging to the United States. But to proceed ; our treatment in London was similar to that in Malden, only we were confined in cells ; but each cell was crowded full. We were not given half enough to eat, and that of the most filthy nature, which was handed to us through the diamond hole. It was so dark as to be almost impossible to distinguish what it was, but we could discern enough to know that it was not fit for hogs to eat. We had no bedding allowed us, and the tub, for our use, which stood in the corner, often remained for two or three days before we could prevail on the turnkey (who was a brute, in every sense of the word,) to cause it to be emptied, which, with close confinement, made our imprisonment horrible to endure.

Examinations soon commenced, by taking us one at a time, before two men selected for the purpose, when we were asked many questions ; but we soon discovered that their object was to cause us to criminate ourselves, at the same time telling us we need not fear, for what we acknowledged to them would not be brought up against us at our trials. Now the

most of us knew too well their object, and was determined to say but little. They commenced with me in this manner: "Did you cross over on a steam boat on the morning of the 4th of Dec., with an armed force, and land near Windsor? Come, tell us all, we will promise it shall not be mentioned on the day of trial; we are friends to you and want to know all, so that we can assist you all in our power, at your trial?" After waiting a little; "Come," said they, "go on; tell us all about it: tell the whole story; it will be better for you." A short pause; and "Come, go on with your story." Now I was not in a very good humor, knowing their evil desires. I replied to all their questions, that I had nothing to say, at present. "Did you not cross over on that boat, with an armed force? come, go on with the story; tell us all about it." I have nothing to say, at present, I repeated. "Take him away," said one, "and bring in another:" and so on, until all had been overhauled. Some acknowledged more than others, and every word was recorded, and presented on our trial; before the court martial, so called. O! that I had room to go through with all the intrigue and deception practiced by that corrupt court. Every imaginary measure was resorted to to prevent the prisoners from having a fair trial.

About this time we were moved about from cell to cell, being separated as often as possible to prevent us from agreeing too, or planning any means of defence. We were not allowed council, except of their own choosing, which was of their own kind, and with them in league to please their beloved Governor, Sir George Arthur, who delighted in deeds of blood, and who caused fifteen hundred human beings to be extended between the heavens and earth, during eleven years of tyranny in Van Dieman's Land: and through his orders were the aborigines of the Island hunted down and cruelly murdered. He was at this time in Canada, and had commenced the same slaughter among all those that dared to assert their rights against tyranny. We were brought before crouching menials and petty office-seekers, who are ever ready to stoop to any act to obtain their ends, even to deliberately murdering better men than they ever were. And why? because the very government under which they serve, sanctions it, and have to resort to such means to support monarchy, and awe the people into subjection. You have only

to refer to the past history of England to know the fact. I might present many proofs on this subject, but I shall leave it for the present. I must observe, however, that I believe there are a great many good men holding office, notwithstanding, I believe there is great need of reform in general; so that those who have good desires may have a chance to manifest them for the good of the people.

We were brought before the court in twos, threes and sixes; and in no case, less than two. It was necessary to have evidence, which could have been obtained among themselves; but that would not do, as it would give the people a chance to suspect them of barefaced bribery. They must have some out of our party, and I am sorry to say, obtained two or three by threatening to hang them if they refused; the prisoners not being aware that this was the way they managed to procure witnesses in cases of emergency. But the most of us knew their intentions and warned others to be on their guard, and not satisfy them in that respect. Oh, how it grieved us to behold some, at the prospect of death, shrink from duty and cause others to be hung, to save their own lives, after having faced death in almost every form. Thanks to kind Heaven, it was considered by most of us, as an everlasting disgrace, and were willing to die ourselves, rather than be the cause of convicting one of our associates. In the midst of the trials executions were taking place; the gallows was erected at the front of the jail, close to the wall, so that the doomed ones could walk out at a door in the second story on a platform, when the drop was cut it fell against the building, and was audibly heard by us inside.— Benjamin Lynn, I believe, was the first; he had been wounded in the wrist, and having no care taken, mortification ensued, so that he was not expected to live twenty-four hours when the rope was put round his neck; but the blood-hounds were not to be so disappointed, and he was soon despatched. He died in full faith that the cause he espoused was a good one, and was sorry he could not live to see Canada free. He believed it would be so at no distant day. Lynn was a brave and good man, and was the Adjutant to our forces.

It so happened that I was one of six that were the last tried. George Putnam, the witness, was asked if he knew any of the prisoners at the bar; when looking at each one



for a moment, he replied, "Yes, I know Mr. Marsh." He was then asked if he knew any more of them; to which he answered "No." Well, go on and tell us all you know about Marsh. Was he not in the engagement at Windsor?" "He was." How was he armed; come, go on, tell the whole story? "He was armed with a rifle, brace of pistols, and dirk." Did he hold a commission? "He did." What was it? "A Lieutenant's." I was then told by the Judge if I wished to ask the witness any questions, I must address myself to him and he would put them to the witness.

Now I had intended to say something, but when I saw their manner of proceeding, and the lawyer selected by them as dumb as a brute,—to tell you the truth, I was so provoked I could not utter a word; besides I knew it was of no use for me to attempt to speak at any length, so I merely remarked, that it was useless for me, or any of the prisoners to say a word, for sentence was passed before we were brought into the presence of the court: it's in your power to do with us as you please. The lawyer then whispered in my ear—"tell them you throw yourself on the mercy of the court." There is no mercy here, I replied.—The court were at this time in a little room where the grog was deposited, which room they visited very often, and were heard to laugh and talk for a few minutes, then return and proceed with the trials. The prisoners were obliged to stand in the box the whole time. We had suffered much, and many were very unwell; one man fainted, and was obliged to be carried out, yet there we had to stand during the whole trial. I will briefly remark that this was the manner of procedure during the term of trials. I understood at the time, that Albert Clarke had not a word of testimony against him, but the court concluded, as he was a good looking man, he might have been an officer, and thought it best to hang him; accordingly he was hung. No man received a sentence at the bar; as soon as tried, each one was ordered back to his cell without knowing what was to be his fate, until the sheriff came to the door,

called a name, and read the warrant, which gave some twelve, and some twenty-four hours, to prepare for death.

I was at this time in a room in the second story, with ten others. Amos Pearly had just been notified to prepare for death the following day. During that day we discovered Sweetman, the Queen's witness, in the street, opposite the jail ; for there were two windows in that room. Pearly remarked that he wished he had his rifle ; and surely it was hard to see a man at liberty who had escaped by swearing away the lives of his associates. Pearly was about to suffer death on his testimony, and there was no chance for redress. Pearly had a cousin, who was a tory, and one of the court-martial, who seemed disposed to show him no mercy. That night he was taken out of our room and put into the condemned cell, which was the last we ever saw of him: he talked to us on the subject, before leaving, and said he meant to meet his death like a man; that he had committed no crime—said much of the cause of our failure, and believed their executions would have a tendency to exasperate the people; and he hoped, if he could not live to see it, that Canada might yet be free ; that we, also, might yet be set at liberty, and hoped, if any of us were doomed to follow him, we would not shrink from duty, but with our last breath, declare the cause which we had engaged in, to be just and holy; and although we had failed, it was not our fault. He talked much on the subject: he was a good scholar, and a good man.

Joshua G. Doan, Albert Clarke, Daniel Bedford, Amos Pearly, Hiram Lynn and Cornelius Cunningham, were the six men executed at this place. I believe that Arthur had signed the death warrants of others, but all at once there appeared something which convinced him that there was illegality respecting our trials ; the act under which we were tried had previously been sent to England for sanction, but was condemned. They had

commenced hanging, supposing the act would be sanctioned by the home government, and what was to be done? there had already been some 20 or 25 illegally executed. Arthur's blunders must be plastered over in some way, as similar acts of Governors in Canada, as well as other of her Majesty's colony's had been done before. I know that among many people, there are many minds, but it was and still is my opinion that we were not guilty of any crime; and were not tried according to the laws of any nation, and suffered the extreme penalty—not of law, but of power. I believe those that suffered upon the gallows were murdered men, and those that were sent to Van Dieman's could, if they had friends and means, bring an action against the English government for false imprisonment. I am not alone in this belief, but some of the ablest men in England, as well as the greatest counsellor in Van Dieman's Land has told us that the English government expected it would be done as soon as we were liberated. They laugh in their sleeve to think and know that they have so long detained the citizens of the United States illegally, without their daring to resent it.

We remained in London about three months, and my treatment had been so severe, that the second week after my arrival at that place, being chilled through, and suffering from frozen feet, starvation, galling chains, vermin and filth, that I had a fever and pain in my breast, so that for six weeks I was not expected to live. There were a number afflicted in a similar manner. Dr. Moore seemed willing to do all in his power for us; I believe he was a reformer at heart, and wished to be so by practice. Mr. David O. Marsh, who was living in London, heard of one by the name of Marsh, that was a prisoner, and very sick; he called, and by much persuasion the turnkey consented to let him come to the door. We had not much time to talk, to know whether we were in any manner connected, and he said he would try to assist me, but the turnkey was

such a tyrant he did not know as he could, but would try. I thanked him, and he went away; in about an hour my name was called by the turnkey, and as the door opened, Mr. Marsh approached with a blanket, which he gave me, and also a bowl of porage, which relished very well. The turnkey remarked, that if I was not sick, this would not be allowed. I unrolled the blanket, and found about 3 lbs. of tobacco, which I thought was intended for all in the room, and accordingly gave it out to those that used. I was called as often as once a day till I got better. The turnkey would say, "here is a bowl of gruel Mrs. Marsh has brought for you." She sent or brought Indian meal gruel till I got so that I could eat other food. Their kindness to me at that time will not be forgotten.

Some may say, "Are you not doing wrong in mentioning their names?" If I was not confident there was no danger, be assured I would not do it. I was given to understand that he, Mr. Marsh, had spoken to the Doctor respecting my need of something of the kind, and of course, the jailor could not refuse; so no thanks to the turnkey, who was daily in the habit of purloining things that were sent to the prisoners. We found out we had a great many friends in and about London, who brought in a great many things, and which he promised the donors he would deliver to us, but we did not receive half. He would not let any one come to see us, but said he would hand it in. After we had found him out and accused him of it, he would abuse us and treat us like so many dogs, and a great deal worse than they treat their dogs.

Elijah C. Woodman, whose family was living in the place, was with us, and in the room with me. He told me a circumstance that occurred the year before, when the reformers were hunted down and thrown into prison, among whom was Mr. Marsh and himself, and were imprisoned in that jail. It was crowded to its fullest extent during the first year of the out-

break, likewise all the jails in the province. He said Mr. Marsh had been put in for a witness against some of the reformers. His wife came as often as possible to bring him whatever she might be allowed to. Says she, "don't you swear against the reformers, not in any case; do you stay in jail till you rot, first; I will manage to get you something to eat, and if I don't, do you die before you swear against your friends." He did not, and after keeping him a long time, they were satisfied it was no use to keep him longer, so liberated him. A number in the room said, "Well, I don't know what others may think, but I think that is just such a wife as I should like." I remarked to Mr. Woodman, that I thought he was blest with a wife of the same stamp, for she came to the room soon after we arrived there and told him not to swear against any of his comrades on any account. "Yes says Woodman, my wife is a regular down easter, a yankee. I might say a great deal respecting our stay at this place, but as it might not be interesting to many, I shall pass on.

After the execution of those before mentioned, and the liberation, of some of the younger ones, there was a company of us, eighteen in number, started for Toronto, in waggons, on the first day of April, 1839. We were near a week on our journey, treatment as usual. You must know our sufferings were not light; some of us quite unwell, and with our frozen feet and galled ancles, climbing back and forth in the waggons, chained, or rather, fastened with clevis and pin, which held us still closer together, for we were fastened by pairs, however, we were glad to leave London, where we had seen so much inhuman treatment. We were still more rejoiced, if possible, on leaving the waggons; not, however, for a better place, but one, if possible, worse than the place we had left. Now some might say, if I had been one, in traveling from London to Toronto, I would have made my escape. But if it could be possible for you to know our condition, you would not think it in our power. It was now warm weather, and our treatment had been so bad, the vermin increasing at the approach of mild weather, and many, or all,

in poor health, and very much reduced, it was as much as we could do to get in and out of the waggon, especially, after setting all day, for we were not allowed to get out but once during the day, and at night to lay down on the floor without any bedding, in the morning eating a little, start off, and a bit of hard bread thrown in to each waggon for us through the day. Finally, taking all things into consideration, my opinion is, you could not have made great progress in escaping. On our arrival at Toronto, we were put into the jail, in a hall that was occupied during the day by thirty or forty, and at night all locked in different cells—from five to eight in a cell. The jail was crowded full; some crazy, some for murder, some for stealing, some for desertion, and various other crimes. This old jail, as well as all others, was alive with vermin. It is out of my power to describe this place, and our feelings at our entrance, and during seven weeks confinement in this horrible place. Our rations were hardly sufficient to keep us alive, what there was, was more filthy, if possible, than any before. Bullock's heads, boiled with a very few peas, that the rats had been among, and I declare it was impossible to tell, many times, of what our scanty meal consisted, it appeared to be their intention to poison us here. The bullock's heads were boiled with brains, teeth, and often the hair was so thick in the broth, together with the effects of rats and mice, that we could not stomach it, we came to the conclusion that our days would be ended here. Many of us lived on three quarters of a pound of bread per day, during our stay there. I must here mention, that after we had been two weeks in this place, a gentleman by the name of Richardson, a Methodist Minister, residing in the city, visited us, he said he had heard of our condition, fearing we could not long survive under such treatment, had brought with him what we most needed, excepting liberty, which was a large basket of provisions, he said he had tried to see us before, but was not allowed till then, and expected that would be the last. He stopt a few moments, and comforted us in our affliction, by telling us he could not say for certain, but he believed it was their intention to liberate us in a short time. This kind act was received with grateful hearts, was often spoken of, and I believe will not be easily forgotten by any

of us. There were some others who visited us, but very few with the same feelings of Mr. R.

My mother called on a Col. Booth, at Lundy's Lane, to enquire if he could give her any information respecting the removal of the prisoners from London to Toronto. "Why," said he, "what do you want to know about them? have you any friends amongst them?" "Yes, I have a son a prisoner there." The brute replied, "God Damn him, we'll hang him, the d——l rebel, we'll hang him," at the same time calling a guard and threatening to put her in the watch-house. He appeared in a great rage and observed. "who knows but what she has some sharp instrument about her." I suppose the noble Col. had been taking a little too much, I hope he will never come in my way. By the kind interference of some friends she escaped the watch-house, and learned of some one more disposed to give her information, that which convinced her of my being at Toronto. She immediately set out upon the journey, which was some fifty miles. She came into the jail and enquired if I was there, and if she could have the privilege of seeing me. The turnkey replied that I was there, but that he had orders not to let any one in to see the prisoners, however, he would see Mr. Kidd, the jailor. Mr. Kidd consented to let me come down and see her a few minutes, we were up stairs at the time. The turnkey came up and told me that my mother was below, waiting to see me. Now, reader, I was glad and I was sorry, to appear as I was, dirty and lousy, and looking very poor, for I had been sick, and I knew it would make her feel bad, to see me looking so. I arranged my apparel as well as I could, and went down, you may judge of our meeting, for I cannot explain it. I had to equivocate a little, in answer to some questions she asked me, to spare a mother's feelings. I appeared as contented as possible. She said she had heard we were lousy and loaded with chains, with frozen feet &c. &c. O, says I, we stand it very well, I think we shall all soon be liberated, then I will tell you all about it. She had brought me some clothes, but I told her I would not take them, they would be ruined, and I should be out soon. We had made preparations to break jail, but were removed sooner than was expected. We could not talk much, Mr. Kidd being present.

She asked him if she would be allowed to let me have some money, he replied "yes, but there is not much chance of using it." I would not take but a dollar, thinking it would be all I should need, for I did not think of stopping there a long time. She went away and returned the next day, she told me she had been to see Governor Arthur, I told her I was sorry, for I had intended not to ask any favours of the old tyrant—we had all come to that conclusion. Lount and Mathews were hung at that place, and while their wives were humbly pleading for their dead bodies, were spurned from his presence. We knew it was useless to appeal to him. I told her if I had known that she was a going to see him, I should have strongly objected to it, yet I could not blame her, knowing that she wished to do all that was in her power. The old reprobate lied to her, he told her that we would all be liberated in a few days, when at the same time he knew better, he came in to see us, but soon discovered that we were men different from those he had been in the habit of dealing with, no doubt he supposed we would get down on our knees to him and beg for mercy, but instead of that, not a man saluted him by taking off the hat, which was customary in our situation, until requested by the jailor. He waited some time expecting that in accordance with permission given, some one would ask of him some boon, which we knew he stood ready to deny, but he had not the chance. He told us we had got into a bad scrape, and must expect to be punished. We told him we did not consider the cause we had embraced a bad one, and believed we had been punished sufficiently, as he must know the cause which induced us to take up arms. "Rebellion is a great crime, and you ought to be severely punished," said he. Your excellency will please consider the cause which led to rebellion, and you certainly cannot consider it a very great crime. Nothing further was said, and he withdrew, when a man that was in an adjoining room, who had heard all, remarked, well, I guess he didn't make much out of you chaps this time.

Sir John Colborn, Sir Francis Bond Head and Sir George Arthur, were all three tyrants and cowards, and backed by the same in England and Canada. It was by the acts of such characters as these, that the Canadies were well nigh ruined. If I had room I would give you a description of the charac-



ter and conduct of these, and similar characters, which have been the sole cause of the rebellion in Canada.

Just imagine what the acts of a tyrannical, covetous, blood-thirsty, cowardly, selfish, overbearing, crouching, menial office seeker, supporter of monarchy would be, and you can form some idea of the acts which led to rebellion, for you have the characters of the men that have governed in the Canadas, I may say, ever since they have been subject to the crown of great Britain. I will refer you to Gen. McLeods history of these men's proceedings, likewise Mr. Waits, Dr. Theller, L. Miller, and some others, as I have not room in this work, to do them justice. I must proceed.

Whilst we were confined in this place, and likewise in all others, we were not allowed to write, except our letters were first read by the authorities, and if there was any thing in them that did not suit them, they were destroyed. Consequently, when we did write, were obliged to write lies to our friends, representing our situation different from what it was, and often flattering those in power. Under those circumstances, we wrote but little, and our friends could not be fully apprised of our situation.

Mr. Charles Fell, of Chipaway, will please excuse me, for taking the liberty in this, of thanking him, for his friendly visit to me, in this place, ("a friend in need, is a friend in deed.") Whilst we were there, a man by the name of Perry, a Catholic, from Ireland, who had been confined for some time, was let out about noon, he returned in about two hours, with his hands and clothes covered with blood. As he was shoved into the hall amongst us. "Well," said he "I've done it." Done what? says two or three at the same time. "I have killed her," said he. It appeared that his wife had been the means of his previous confinement, as there had been some difficulty between them, with regard to some property. On being let out, he went directly home, seized the axe, and killed her on the spot. He appeared to be deranged, and was to be executed the day after we left. This is a sample of the men we were confined with, in Toronto, during seven weeks.

About the first of June, the Sheriff came to the door with a list in his hand. and commenced in this manner. "John B. Tyrrell, John Sprague, John Williams, John Simons,

James M. Aichenson, James P. Williams, James D. Fero, Alvin B. Sweet, Elijah C. Woodman, Henry V. Barnum, Chauncey Sheldon, Robert Marsh, Samuel Snow, Elzur Stevens, Simeon Goodrich, Michael Murray, William Nottage, Riley M. Stewart and Horrace Cooley," added to our number at Toronto, all of us answering to our names as they were called. Says he "prepare for a move." In less than ten minutes a black smith was amongst us, and we were soon ushered forth; not as a wonder to the people of Canada, (for there had been so much wearing of the Queen's Jewels, in the Province, for the last two or three years, that it had become no wonder,) but to take up our line of march, accompanied by a strong guard, to a Steam Boat deck, amongst cattle and hogs, during our passage to Kingston. As bad as it was, we were glad of the change. Now some amongst us, were strongly of the opinion that when we left that place, it would be to return home, consequently, we were not all of a mind respecting a trial to escape from Toronto jail, if caught in the act it would have a tendency to prolong our confinement, however, some were determined to try it, and would have made the attempt, but were called away just in time to prevent it. The jail was guarded out side, day and night. We had been waiting for some dark and cloudy night, which might assist us in the undertaking.

I wish the reader to bear in mind, that we had been tried, illegally, which, no doubt, was the reason we had not received a sentence. On our arrival at fort Henry, we were put into different rooms, where were sixty-four confined, that had been taken prisoners on the 16th of November, 1838, near Prescott, who on crossing had taken possession of a windmill, Gen. Van Schoultz at the head. The same mismanagement prevailed here as elsewhere.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Battle of Prescott.*

From Miller's work.

"Early in November, 1838, the movements of the Patriots on our northern frontier, indicated that renewed attempts were about being made for unfurling the standard of Liberty, in Upper Canada. The zealous watchfulness of the U. States authorities, and the indecision, mismanagement and, possibly, want of energetic courage in some of the leaders of the party, divided, and finally withheld the main body of the invaders; but there were a few choice spirits who, shrinking from no danger, and confidently relying upon the pledged faith of their compatriots, rushed boldly forward to pave the way for others. Their leader, Col. S. Von Schoultz, (a Pole, of noble extraction, who had fought the battles of his own oppressed country, and afterwards sought a refuge on our shores) was in every respect worthy to act in that capacity.

With orders to storm Fort Wellington and unfurl his banner upon its walls, (a preconcerted signal for the Canadians to join them,) he found himself opposite Prescott on the morning of the 11th, with two schooners, containing about 200 men, arms ammunition, artillery, provisions, &c.; but unhappily, in an attempt to effect a landing at the wharf, both vessels ran aground, where one remained several hours, while the other got clear, but was only able to make the Canada shore at Windmill Point, a mile below the Fort. Here Von Schoultz landed his men, and took possession of a stone mill, and three out-buildings.

The steamboat "United States," and the small Canadian steam ferryboat were taken possession of by the Patriots, at Ogdensburgh, and after several attempts, in which they were opposed by the British steamer "Experiment," in which eleven of the enemy were killed by musket and rifle shots, succeeded in hauling off the schooner from the shoal in the river, and landing some of her men at the windmill, but in the confusion and mismanagement attendant upon the oppositions of

the enemy, left with nearly all the munitions of war so much needed by Von Schoultz and his party.

In the evening, Col. Worth, of the United States army, arrived at Ogdensburg, with a detachment of troops, and a United States Marshal, and took possession of the steamboats, schooners, &c., thus cutting off further supplies of men, arms, &c., from the Patriots at the Windmill, who busied themselves during the night in strengthening their position, having been repeatedly promised large reinforcements from the American shore since their landing. Alas! they were cruelly deceived.

On the morning of the 12th, an attempt was made by the enemy to dislodge them. Three armed steamboats dropped down the river from Prescott, anchored opposite the mill, and commenced throwing balls and bomb-shells; at the same time the 83d regiment, supported by about 1200 provincial soldiers, made their appearance in the open field in front, the latter forming the right and left wings. The Patriots now marched out and formed in line of battle, entrenching themselves behind stone walls, ditches, &c. The enemy advanced to within about one hundred yards, and opened their fire, which was immediately returned with great spirit and effect. The provincial troops were the first to retreat, leaving the 83d unsupported, and they too, after fighting bravely until literally cut to pieces, retreated. Thus, after a desperate engagement which lasted upwards of three hours, this little handful of Patriots were left in undisputed possession of the field of battle, having fairly beaten more than eight times their number of the enemy. Their loss in killed and wounded was about thirty, while that of the enemy is said to have been nearly three hundred. The annals of history record but few victories achieved against such fearful odds, and probably there never was a braver band of men engaged in deadly combat with British forces. During the engagement, the American shore was thronged by thousands of spectators, who constantly cheered the Patriots, but that was all! No efforts were then or afterwards made to reinforce or bring them away.

On the 14th, a flag of truce was sent by the British, asking permission of the Patriots (who occupied the mill and stone buildings) to bury their dead, which was granted. On the

15th, the enemy were greatly reinforced, and all chance, either of escape or final success, cut off. On the 16th, the Patriots sent out a flag of truce, the bearers of which were fired upon as soon as they made their appearance in the field. A white flag was at the same time displayed from the summit of the mill, but without being regarded. A little before sunset, Col. Dundas sent a flag summoning the party to surrender at his discretion, which was done. Thus ended this unequal and sanguinary contest! The loss of the vanquished party in killed and wounded, was said to have been less than fifty, while that of the victors was nearly six hundred.

Of the captured Patriots, their brave and noble leader, Von Schoultz,\* Col. Abbey, Col. Woodruff,† Daniel George and 7 others, were executed; several of the youngest pardoned, and the remainder sent to Van Dieman's Land."

The men here were astonished at our appearance. They would not have believed that our treatment had been as bad as we represented, if they had not have seen us on our entrance at that place; we were so poor, ragged, dirty and lousy, and after beholding the galled ancles and wrists, and hearing us all tell one story, they were all astonished at the cruel and inhuman treatment that we had received. They said they had fared sumptuously compared with us; they had during the winter, stoves and plenty of wood; their rations were much better than any we had seen during our confinement; they had received considerable money from their friends,

\*Van Schoultz was a Polish exile, and at the time of his death was thirty-one years of age. He had distinguished himself, in 1830, in fighting against Russia, and in defence of his own unfortunate and down-trodden country; and was beloved by all who knew him.

†Col Martin Woodruff was deputy sheriff of Onondaga county, N. Y. The tragedy of his execution is thus described by the editor of the Kingston Spectator: "This gallant soldier was brought from Fort Henry upon a carter's rough train, attended by two priests, escorted by a party of volunteer cavalry to the jail, and soon after to the door leading to the scaffold, when the sheriff read Arthur's warrant to execute him. He was then placed on the platform, the cap pulled over his face, and the hangman placed the rope to a hook in the beam over his head. The platform fell, and presented a revolting, disgusting and disgraceful scene. The knot, instead of drawing tight under his ear, was brought to the chin; it did not slip, but left space enough to put a hand within; the chief weight of the body bearing upon the rope at the back of the neck. The body was in great agitation and seemed to suffer greatly. The spectators said it was a shameful management, when two hangmen came out, endeavored to strangle the sufferer, and not having succeeded, they returned again to their disgusting work. His neck was not broken till the hangman on the cross-tree had pulled him up by the collar, and let him fall four times in succession."

which enabled them to purchase from the canteen which was kept inside the fort, such things as made them quite comfortable to what we had been. However, the long confinement in one place, and their anxiety to get their liberty to return to their homes were weighing heavily upon them. We had all endeavored to bear up and be as cheerful as possible.— We soon exchanged a part of our clothing, or rather threw them aside after being supplied with clean linen, &c., by those warm hearted friends in distress. We were soon acquainted, and we found them to be mostly men of good characters and principles. It was lucky for them that they were kept in fort Henry, and allowed to be visited by their friends, and could receive many indulgencies which we had been strangers to. I mention this, not because I think their punishment has been to light; by no means, for their punishment has been severe, considering they had committed no crime; but to show you that men taken for the same crime, (so called) but at different places, the different treatment they receive. One man, giving an account of the sufferings of the prisoners in Canada as well as at Van Diemens land, may vary from the account of another, though a fellow prisoner with him, because you perceive the treatment can be different, even in the same room; but my object will be, and I believe has been, so far, to give you a general history, (not of my own) but of our sufferings, for I have not been alone in persecution.

We remained in this strong fort about three months, certainly expecting when we left, it would be to return to our homes, but you will perceive we were doomed to sufferings of a little different character, but in many respects more severe than many of us had before experienced. Soon after we were ordered to prepare for a move. We were all introduced to a new set of jewels, two and two. Presently we discovered through the windows a strong guard which reached from our door to the outer door or gate which led to the street, after our irons were on, (for we had worn none during our confinement here) there were 3 or 4 very good singers amongst us which made the fort ring with the "American Star," "Hunters of Kentucky," and other similar songs, which caused many to flock to our windows. Some of them remarked, "You will not feel like singing in Botany Bay."—"Give us Botany Bay," said one, and it was done in good

style. The "American Star" was sung again by request of an officer who had manifested much sympathy for us, and wished us well. We have found during our confinement, many that have wished us well, but have not had it in their power to render us much assistance. In about an hour and a half from the time our irons were put on, the Sheriff, together with eight or ten others, visited the different rooms, calling their names, telling them to prepare for a move. After going through, we were, in a short time, paraded inside the walls of the fort. Our names were called again, which together with the 19 before mentioned, were as follows:

John Bradly, Orlin Blodget, Chauncey Bugbee, George T. Brown, Lysander Curtis, Robert G. Collins, John Cronkhite, Luther Darby, Moses A. Dutcher, Aaron Dresser, Leonard Delano, Elon Fellows, Emanuel Garrison, John Gillman, William Gates, Garriet Hicks, Daniel D. Hustis, James Inglis, David House, Andrew Leeper, Joseph Lefort, Daniel Liscomb, Andrew Moore, Foster Martin, Ira Polly, William Reynolds, Orrin W. Smith, Henry Shew, John G. Swanburgh, Thomas Stockton, Riley Whitney, David Allen, John Morriset, John Thomas, Edward A. Willson, Hugh Calhoun, John Berry, Jehial H. Martin, Alson Owens, Samuel Washburne, Michael A. Fraer, Gideon A. Goodrich, Hiram Loop, Calvin Mathews, Nelson Griggs, Chauncey Mathews, Jacob Paddock, Hiram Sharp, Nathan Whiting, Jerry Griggs, Asy W. Richardson, Stephen S. Wright, Thomas Baker, Bemas Woodbury, Patrick White, James Pierce, Solomon Reynolds, Joseph Stewart, Asa Priest.

I will here remark that they had been careful to put some amongst us, as we have supposed, to act the part of spies. Two accompanied us from Toronto, and we found two at fort Henry. Their names are as follows: Edwin Merritt, John McMuligan, John Dean, William Highland; the first three for murder, the latter for desertion. They were sent with us to Van Diemens Land, but we were led to believe they had been promised favors, if they would watch and detect anything we might say or do, which might assist them as well there as on our passage. We were now marched out of the fort with a guard of regular soldiers, double file on each side, and about one half a mile from there lay a barge ready for our reception. As soon as we were all on board we moved off down

the Ridau canal, into the St. Lawrence to Quebec. We suffered considerable on our passage, there being so large a number in so small a space, and all being in irons. I will leave you to judge of our situation during a voyage of five days and five nights to Quebec. After leaving the canal, we were taken down the river by steamboats; we run along side of the ship Buffalo, which lay about one mile off Quebec, at anchor. A list or roll was handed the captain, and by his orders read to us as we stepped on deck, which was no more nor less than a list of our names; each one answering to his name as it was called, and instantly passing below the second deck. It was quite dark, but after being there some time, we found fifty-seven French prisoners, who had come on board the day previous; but they, as well as ourselves, had been tried by a corrupt court, and had received no sentence and did not know where they were bound, but they learned some days previous that they were soon to go on ship board, with the prospect of a long voyage. This gave their friends an opportunity of fitting them out quite comfortable to what we were; we having not thirty-five minutes from the time our irons were on, before we were under way, and as you may say, entirely destitute of the comforts of life, and literally alive with vermin, which, during the warm weather, instead of decreasing, had been increasing to an alarming extent, and you may judge what kind of condition we were in for a four and a half months voyage on the ocean.

Her Britannic Majesty's ship Buffalo, Capt. Wood, on the 28th of September, 1839, weighed anchor and set sail. Reader! can you judge of our situation, not only bodily but in mind after enduring for ten months in Canada, all that we could endure and live. I say, what do you think must have been our feelings at the prospect of leaving friends, wives and children, fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, and perhaps our own native land forever; and no prospect but to drag out, perhaps, a long life of misery, and may be, of servitude, in a British penal colony, amongst the offscourings (so called) of all Europe. You will perceive we were left to our own surmisings as to our destination. We were now under way; perhaps the first time that many or all of us were ever on board a ship. We are soon in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; it is very rough and we begin to be sea-sick. Oh! that you



could behold us! One hundred and thirty-eight of us in the holo, on the 3d deck, which caused us to be under water, as you may say, during the passage; the sea beating against her sides, which often resembled thunder; the ship rolling and tumbling, throwing us from side to side; the tubs for use, perhaps full at the commencement of the rolling, and now going with us, and among us, from side to side; emptied of their contents, together with the effects of sea-sickness, which caused the deck to be slippery, sending forth not a very agreeable smell; some endeavoring to hold on to others; some laying down; some sitting; some going on all fours; in fact, I cannot describe all the forms and manœuverings that we went through with for one week. Many, during the week, had not tasted a morsel of food; others would throw it up as soon as swallowed. Some with holes cut in their heads, and other parts of their bodies by the tubs and the posts of our berths. But I will not attempt to further describe our situation. The reader may perhaps say, 'Oh, I have been seasick, I know what it is. But allow me to ask if you have ever been seasick, and in the same or similar circumstances that we were? I think if you could have seen us, you might be able to describe sea-sickness differently from any that you ever before beheld.

When we began to be a little over our sea-sickness and had put things a little to rights, we were ranked up, all that could stand, and divided off into messes of 12 men each, and one man appointed out of each mess to attend to procuring and dividing the rations. When the cook called out from the hatchway "dinner, O!" the sentry from the upper deck would pass the word to the sentry on the main, or 2d deck, and he to the 3d, when he would unlock the trap door, and the captain, as they were called, of each mess would ascend the narrow ladder up to the 2d deck, for the doorway was so narrow and small that but one man could pass up or down at a time, make their way to the cook's galley; each one take his kidd and return one at a time until all was below. The door was fastened at once after the last one was up, and opened again as they returned with their Kidds, and then opened again until they were passed up to the sentries or cook's mate, who carried them to the galley on the upper deck. My object in describing so particularly our situation, is, to answer, those

who have said to me since my return, "O, if I had been aboard that ship, I think I never would have gone to Van Dieman's Land." Now, such a man, whoever he may be has no idea of the condition we were in on board a strong prison ship, with, at least, twenty-five men, armed and equipped as the law directs, on duty over us at different stations, day and night during our passage. (These are the kind of men that knew the patriots would fail.) Now, I have learned this much for certain, during the last seven years; that when I hear a man talking much and boasting loud, and telling what he would do; how he would fight; that he would let them know that he could do this and that; that he never would submit or in any manner knuckle; that he would fight till he died, &c., &c.; I say I have learned to put him down as a coward. I said I had learned this within the last 7 years. Now, I was fully convinced of the fact about the years '37 and '38, and the reader will know by this time who I have reference to. It is chiefly on the account of these very tremendous smart and brave men, that hundreds have been doomed to death and sufferings that cannot be easily described.—Notwithstanding our condition on board the ship Buffalo, the prisoners were not blustering men, neither were they cowards.

After we had been about three weeks at sea, and having recovered a little from our sea-sickness, and the most of us having arrived at the conclusion that we were bound for Van Dieman's Land, we felt anxious and willing to attempt to turn our course, if possible, to the coast of America. But, you say, "could you manage the ship?" Yes, we had with us an old and able sea captain, that had followed the business from his youth up, and under his instructions, we would in case of emergency soon have become sailors. There were about 140 prisoners and we should have to oppose us, 140 sailors and soldiers who could be armed at a moments notice. Through the influence of the Doctor, who was a man and a gentleman, we were permitted to occupy the upper deck in portions of two messes for an hour under a strong guard, however, and then return and others come up, and so on until all had had an hour each day, for the benefit of our health and to prevent us from getting the scurvy. The Doctor had a certain sum for all delivered alive, therefore, it was for his

interest to keep us alive if possible; although the condition of the prisoners was very bad indeed. During our short visits on deck as above described, on looking aft, near the cabin door, we discovered some 40 or fifty muskets with bayonets in a stationary rack, so fixed that rough weather could not affect them. They were spare arms, so called, that in case of necessity, the sailors could be quickly armed. It was mentioned that if we could manage to get hold of those muskets, and at the same time keep down the hatches, that none could come against us but those on deck, and at the same time let up the prisoners, the ship might be taken. As hazardous as was the prospect, I believe that nearly all were willing to attempt it rather than go to Van Dieman's Land. In case of a failure, we expected to swing on the yard arm, therefore, you might expect that we would have done all in our power, and the story would have been told in a very few minutes from the start. The Captain and guard came below, when the Captain remarked, "I have been informed that it is your intention to try to take the ship." We were all very much astonished, but replied at once that he had been wrongly informed; that we had no such intentions, for we knew it would be folly to attempt it. "Well," said he "it may not be so, but as I have been informed of the fact, of the attempt, I shall be under the necessity of putting a double watch over you, likewise of depriving you of coming on deck, although it was for your health that you have been allowed that privilege.—He remarked that some captains would put us all in double irons, but as he had a sufficient number of soldiers to prevent us from succeeding in an attempt of that kind, he would dispense with the chains for the present, and made some few remarks respecting our future conduct and left us. Now, of course, he did not tell us who the informer was, but whoever he was, it appears that he had overheard some remarks which led him to believe he might be rewarded by informing against us. However careful we had been to avoid saying anything in presence of the four men before mentioned, we supposed one of them had overheard something that might have been said and immediately informed the captain of the supposed plot; but I believe the captain more than half suspected that he had done it without any foundation, and as a matter of course, we did all in our power to make him think so.—

Thus you see, it is not so easy a matter to take a ship like that and in the condition we were in. Some might wonder why we were not all put in irons, but that can easily be accounted for from the fact that we were in a strong prison-ship, and when in our prison, there was no prospect whatever of escape. But one man could ascend the stairway at a time, and double sentries were placed on each deck, and at each door; the doors being fastened by a bar of iron across it, and a padlock. Even if the door had been kept open, a man with a musket and bayonet could have kept us all down, as only one person could ascend at a time. We were now getting where it was getting quite warm, and being allowed but one pint of water per day, after our sea-sickness was over, we suffered greatly from thirst. Between hunger, thirst, vermin and close confinement, very little or no air, not being allowed as before an hour each day on deck; and many other inconveniences, besides living on salt provisions; we came near perishing.—Scarcely a day passed, but some one of us had one, two, three or four teeth extracted, and some were obliged to call the doctor from his berth in the middle of the night to extract teeth for them; and some were so loose that we could pick them out with our fingers. I was compelled to call him on one occasion in the night, when it appeared to me that I could not live until morning. I had had the tooth ache before, but it was but a slight pain compared with what I then suffered, it was now so severe, that it was impossible for me to lie in my berth, and it appeared to me that a person could not have the tooth-ache half as bad as I did that night. It appeared to be a second double tooth, and I told the doctor that I was ashamed to call him up to extract a tooth for me. “Oh,” said he, “it is nothing strange; I have seen people perfectly crazy with it. It appears you men will loose all your teeth before we get into port.” “Yes,” said I, “and I believe it is on the account of long confinement, and bad treatment,” to which he assented.

After being out nearly two months, we put into Rio Janeiro, South America, and lay there three days. It happened to be the Emepror’s birthday, and although we were not allowed to go on shore, we could discover through a skylight, the flags on the pinnacles of houses and hills apparently reaching to the clouds. There appeared to be flags of all

nations, and it being the latter part of November, the hills were green with verdure, but our confinement prevented us from taking a view of the city, but from what we could learn it was delightful, at all events, we would have been glad to have stopped there. The doctor, knowing a little fruit would be good for us in preventing, as well as curing the scurvy, told us if there was any one amongst us who had any money, we could send it on shore for some fruit, as boats were constantly going back and forth from the ship to the shore, and that any of the officers, soldiers, or sailors would bring it for us. Some of us had a little money, others had none, but the fruit purchased was distributed among all. Oranges, lemons, pine-apples, and limes. It is a fine harbor, and a good many vessels from different nations were there. We were visited while there by a British Admiral who said we needed some fresh provisions, and asked some few questions and then left. The 4th day in the morning, we about ship—set sail, and was soon on our way, we knew not where. Not long after leaving this place, the ship encountered a severe and heavy gale, which caused her to leak very much. She was an old ship, and had formerly been a man-of-war, but for the last two or three years she had been employed as a convict ship to transport prisoners from England to Sidney and New South Wales.

We were compelled to take our turn at the pump, which required to be kept in motion to keep her from sinking. Now, this was tolerable good exercise for those that were able, but I can assure you, we were very little frightened, and cared but little about her staying above water, it appeared to us a matter of little consequence; I know some may say life is sweet, but to us it appeared very bitter. I am confident that there are certain periods in a man's life, when he has no desire to live. Towards the end of the voyage, many that were sick, and in fact those that were not, were allowed on deck daily, not without a strong guard, however; but I must confess that the prospect of our taking the ship was very poor, and they knew it. The doctor was afraid we would all die, and had persuaded the Captain to allow us to come on deck more, though it be but a few at a time. When we were on deck we could see thousands of Mother Carey's chickens, Sea Gulls, Albatros, and flying-

fish in abundance. These fish weigh from one to two and three lbs.; their wings or fins resemble a bat's wing only little longer. They raise with the swell and as it leaves them, you can often see thousands of them a few feet above the water. They often light on the ship's deck when they cannot rise more than any other fish; they are also very good to eat. Porpoisses were to be seen in droves of hundreds, very often. They weigh from ten to two and three hundred pounds, and their body and head resemble a hog in shape. When you see them at a distance, you would think they were tumbling over and over; they have no scales but a dark skin. They are often taken and cooked and the flesh resembles beef, only a little darker and not quite so good. We saw a number of sharks, and three or four whales on the way, but I shall not say much respecting the whale and shark here, as I shall have to say something more about them in the after part of the book.

Asa Priest was the only one out of our party that died on our passage, but a great number of us were sick. Myself, together with three or four others underwent much suffering from frozen feet, and when we got where we could pull off our socks, the skin came off with them, which made our feet feel tender and the effects of salt water caused such itching that I really thought we should scratch them off. The pain in my breast was very severe and the rolling and tumbling of the ship made it worse, this was the effects of the first two months imprisonment in Fort Malden, Upper Canada. Mr. Priest was a very quiet, social man and he left a wife and three children. He was taken on deck and laid on the main hatch, some strong thick canvass was sewed tight round his body, with two 18 pound shot in the sack at his feet. About twenty-five of us were called on deck, the funeral service read by the first Lieutenant of the ship, and the corpse was raised on a board by four men laying one end on the ship's side, the other raised up till he slid off feet foremost and soon disappeared. We could not mourn for one we felt sure had bid adieu to a life of suffering, and whose spirit had returned to God who gave it. While we were on deck the sentries were armed with pistols as well as muskets, and as Mr. Curtis and myself were sitting opposite our berth conversing, the sentry's pistol accidentally went off the ba

passing between us, lodged in the ship's side. The report gave a general alarm, every officer and soldier rushing to the hatchway, supposing we had made an attempt to take the ship, but having learned the cause of alarm, soon all was quiet again. We passed near, and in sight of a few small islands, names not known by us. One little island, the sergeant said, was called St. Paul's, and I should judge by what I could discover that it was not over five or six miles in length. The doubling the Cape of Good Hope was somewhat rough. We are now in the Indian Ocean, but have not yet learned our destination. The sentry remarked that we would soon be in port. "What port?" says one. "Hobart town," replied the sentry. Can it be possible that we are going to a penal colony, and there to remain after going through with so much suffering? Yes, reader! we are doomed to suffer, not only for our own crimes, but for all the supposed crimes of the liberal party in Canada, as well as the alleged insults of the United States ever since their separation from the crown. It was repeatedly thrown in our faces—"you are a rebellious set, you yankees; you have caused England a great deal of trouble, not satisfied with revolting yourselves and deigning to trample upon our flag but must induce and assist the peaceable Canadians to follow your example, but we've got you under our thumb now and until all difficulties between us and the United States are settled, you need not expect liberty. You know the Caroline and Maine boundary line and Oregon, and some other difficulties, were in agitation about this time, and we were given to understand we would be held as hostages until all difficulties were settled. "But," said we, "would it not be unjust to punish a few for the crimes of a whole nation?" "Oh!" said they, "you yankees are all alike, we can't punish you amiss; you are a rebellious set; but we will yet convince you and your nation, that you cannot trample upon the British flag with impunity." Not only once or twice, but often, have we been obliged to hear such language from Noble Briton's favored sons, in office. You may ask, "is this true? was it so?" I ask you was it not so? Was it until there was a general Amnesty, granted to all that had left Canada, and until all before mentioned difficulties, between England and the United States were settled? before we were allowed to

return to our homes, (if we could get there,) after seven long years of imprisonment and sufferings, without a penny, sick and worn out, without friends sixteen thousand miles from home. "But," says one, "were you not assisted in getting home?" Not a farthing, from either Government or individual.

Now, to many, it may appear strange, but it's no less true, that it was not actually the crime we had committed, but to show the reformers of Canada, as well as the United States, their Almighty power, and awe them into subjection, to show them what they might depend upon if they dared to lift a finger against their right to rule against law or justice. Has it had the desired effect? has Canada or the United States, dared to say a word, or ventured to make a demand of those that have been illegally and severely punished, for the same crime that hundreds and thousands have acknowledged just and holy? How were those difficulties settled between the two Governments, by which we, on the part of Great Britain, were held as hostages, and in the settlement were we included? It may be the settlement has added glory and honor to the Stars and Stripes of our Flag, but many say not. Some have asked us, or said to us, I suppose when you get home, you will commence a suit for false imprisonment? To some I have replied, oh no our Government has said we "need not look to them for assistance, to besure they have had bad luck, though it was a good cause, we are sorry, but cant help them, England may do as she likes with them, they have broken our laws, and they must expect to suffer." Thus virtually acknowledging the cause to have been good, and instead of demanding us of the British Government, that we might be tried by our own laws, that we had broken, and punished accordingly, we were allowed to be tried in Canada, where no law or justice existed\* by a corrupt Court-Martial, consequently we received no sentence, and you see what followed.

Oh! my beloved friends, and sons of our father's of '76 that so nobly fought, bled and died, for ours as well as their right, what will be done to sever that old aristocratic chain, which is daily strengthening, that reaches from England across the

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\*Lord Durham declared it, and did not blame the people for rebelling.



Atlantic, into our Legislative Halls, and from city to city through our once happy America; which chain bids fair to encircle us, the object of which, is, to bind the hands of the poor laboring and honest man, that his pockets may the more easily be emptied of his days labor. As a friend of liberty and equal rights, may I here warn you to see to it before it is too late. What would Washington think and say, if he were to visit the United States, at this time? think you he could shake hands with as many warm-hearted patriots and friends of liberty and justice, in our Legislative Halls, as when the Chief Magistrate of our Republic? Judge ye!

It is now the 10th of February, 1840, but hark! what do we hear? The weather-beaten sailor from the mast-head, sings out, "land ho," "where away?" cries the captain; "three points on the weather bow, sir." Now many orders are given in quick succession, and obeyed as quickly—the wind is fresh from shore—now the order, "about ship," now "all hands take in sail." The wind increasing, we were driven off, and lost sight of land—we discovered it next day, but was on the wrong end to make harbor. On the second day we returned to where we were on the first—the wind increasing we were driven off again—third day, made the mouth of the Derwent river, thirty-five miles from Hobart-Town Harbor; the wind shifting, blew fresh up the river. In a short time the order was heard, "all hands take in sail." Presently was heard, "cast anchor."

Here we are, safely anchored in Hobart-Town Harbor, Van Dieman's Land, February 13th, after a tedious, and to us, a distressing voyage of four months and a half from Quebec, distance 16,000 miles.

We were soon visited by the board of health. We remained on board the ship twenty-four hours, during which time, Mr. Gunn, with two clerks, were in the cabin, before whom we were undergoing an examination, which was as follows:

We were brought in before him, one at a time, and asked the following questions: which we replied to. "What is your name? What is your age? Your trade? Your religion? Your native place? Where were you arrested? What were you tried for? Where were you tried? What was your sentence?" An answer, "never had any sentence." "For what length of time were you sent? An answer, "cannot say." (Turn

ing to his clerk.) Put them down for life. "When were you tried? When did you leave Canada? Are you married? If married, where does your wife live? Of what religion is she? Have you any children? How many males? How many females? What sex is the oldest? What the youngest? What are their respective ages? Are your parents living? Where do they reside? What their native country? What their respective ages? What their religion? Can they read or write? Can you read or write? Have you any scars on any part of your body? (speaking to a servant.) Take him aside, and examine. What is your number? That will do."

At the time this was taking place, another man was carefully eyeing us, and as we learned, was taking down our likenesses; spot, scar, mole, color of eyes, hair, shape of mouth, nose, chin, general appearance of features, number of teeth lost, weight, height, etc. Finally our likenesses were taken, and so minutely, that either of us could be detected, in case of any escape. The French prisoners, fifty-seven in number, were exempt from the examination, as above described, because they did not leave the ship at this place, but were taken to Sidney, which is about 700 miles from Van Dieman's. We afterwards learned that they were treated much better than ourselves; they were liberated some time before we were, and assisted in getting home. We expected after hearing Governor Franklin's splendid speech, which we were honored with, the first morning after landing, that the old reprobate was death on the yankees, and were afterwards fully convinced of the fact.

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## CHAPTER V.

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### *Arrival at Van Dieman's Land.*

We were soon mustered—the before mentioned list or roll, that was called over, at our going on board the ship, at Quebec, was now repeated by Mr. Gunn, the principal superin-

tendant of convicts—and we were escorted to the shore, in a scow with six oars. On landing, there were a goodly number of Her Gracious Majesty's lackey's, dressed in blue, with roundabouts, and in one hand a club, and on one arm a badge, that they might be distinguished as peace-officers, or constables. We were ranked up, and commenced a march, we knew not where. You would have laughed to have seen us move off; the ground seemed to be moving, and we reeling and bracing to keep erect; but some loosing their balance, fell to the ground; they were helped up and commanded to proceed; but some being weak and sick, were obliged to fall in the rear. One who had never heard or seen the effects of a long voyage at sea, especially upon persons in our situation, would have supposed us all drunk. Our guard, or peace-officers, singing out every little while, at those that could not keep up; for we were hurried along; "come along you bloody crawlers, you'll have to walk faster than this to-morrow, with a cart load of stone—my bloody oath you will—come along there, you are not quite so smart now as when you was in Canada, shooting the Queen's Loyal Subjects, with your yankee rifle's; you've got no rifle here, but you'll find plenty of carts and stone." "No," says one, "if they had their rifles now, you would not dare talk so." We afterwards learned that the man who made the remark, was a yankee sailor. Curiosity was excited, and a great many came around to see the "rebels from Canada," as we were called.

Here we are, at Sandy Bay Station, one mile from Hobart-Town. There are eight or nine huts, built of split stuff, standing upright; ten or twelve feet in length, fastened at the bottom to logs or sleepers, and thatched rough, no fire-place except in the overseer's and clerk's hut's. Their huts are all fenced in, by similar split slats of timber, ten or twelve feet long, with a large gate, which was kept locked, only when going out and in. The huts will contain, some ten, some twenty, and sometimes fifty men—berths all round—two tier, to contain one man each—no floor; they are built in a circle, or square, leaving a yard in front for the men to muster. This is a brief description of the prisoners huts, at this, and other road stations. When I speak of station's, hereafter, I need not describe them. There are a great number of these stations on the Island; the principal part are on the

route from Hobart Town to Launceston, a distance of 147 miles; nearly from one end of the Island to the other. There has been thousands at work on this road, for eighteen or twenty years, in cutting through woods and hills; when we left, it was nearly finished. It is a beautiful road; stages run it daily; it is much traveled. At these different stations, are road parties, some fifty, one hundred, and two hundred men, all the work is done by hand, no teams of horses or cattle are allowed, but prisoners do all the hauling of stone in carts.—Some places are two or three miles from the hills, some places one mile, some half a mile. These stone are used for macadamizing. Some are employed in drawing, some breaking them, some wheeling, some shoveling, some pecking, &c. &c.

I will here remark, that the very worst of characters are selected as overseers, at the different road stations. I mention this, because we hereafter, have a great deal to do at these stations, and with the tyrants that manage them. I will now return.

We were mustered in the huts for night, after receiving a pint of skilly each, and each one a blanket and rug, a suit of coarse gray cloth, striped shirt, leather skull-caps, all numbered, and the broad "R," on each, everything taken from us, money, tobacco, knives, watches; some two or three had managed to keep them till now. I need not mention articles, for everything was taken. We are now in a convicts suit. On turning out early in the morning, at the ringing of the bell, a pint of skilly, and one pound of bread for the day. The clerk came round to each room and told us to appear as well as possible; the Governor was coming to see us that morning. It was about ten o'clock, when he was discovered approaching, there was a great parade, we were ranked up in quick time, with orders to take off our caps. as he approached. There was quite a train with him, some on horse back, and some on foot. Presently the gate was opened, and all eyes were open to behold a Governor of her Majesty's penal colony, Van Dieman's Land. Behold he comes! Capt. Sir John Franklin, R. N. K. T. Lieutenant Governor of the Island of Van Dieman's Land, and its dependencies, commander-in-chief of her Majesties forces therein, &c. &c.

The great man is before us—his private secretary by his

side—the rest of the train stopping on entering the gate. The big man is seated on a large bay horse, but no larger than his rider; he is dressed in full uniform, no doubt feeling highly honored to address so many Americans. He rides back and forth along the line, like a General reviewing his troops, two or three times, at last he halts about the center, takes a long breath, draws himself up, making the great mass of corruption and wind, appear as consequential as possible; all eyes were upon him, expecting when he opened his mouth to hear something resembling the report of artillery, or of thunder, for he was as big as a large thunder cloud, and being her Gracious Majesty's representative, and with all a glut-ton, for we were informed that he devoured a sheep each meal. His head thrown back, his eyes turned upward, partly closed, nothing discernible but the white, resembling two large pealed turnips—his mouth is open—hark! what sounds are those we hear? The first words, “well men, (apparently in distress, fetching a long and heavy sigh,) you have been sent here different from any men ever before you, (a heavy puff) I don't know what to do with you, but I shall send immediately home for orders, (a heavy puff) and in the mean time, I shall see fit to put you on the roads on probation, (gasping for breath,) and your term of probation will depend upon your good conduct, for I tell you men, good conduct *shall be rewarded*,” putting great stress on shall be rewarded, that we might not doubt it; but we not only doubted it, but afterwards were fully convinced that it was a downright lie. (struggling for words,) “I am glad to hear that your moral characters are good, that none of you have ever been tried or criminated for any crimes until now, and regret the first should be one of such magnitude, rebellion! one of the worst of crimes in the world.” Here, at the word rebellion, Capt. Wood remarked, “your excellency, many of them are United States citizens.” “So much the worse, not satisfied with the folly of Republican institutions in their own country, must endeavor to instill it into the hearts of the Canadians, who are living under one of the best Governments in the world. If her Gracious Majesty lacked in any favours towards them, which, however, I believe she has not, but if so, they might have had a right to complain, but you yankee sympathisers must expect to be punished. I do not consider the poor sim-

ple Canadians, especially, the French, in the Lower Province, so much to blame, for they have been excited to rebellion, by you Americans. I have sent them to a different place, and kept you here, for severe punishment, (in a rage.) Bad men, very bad men, though your characters heretofore might have been good, it will avail you nothing; you are now in a penal colony for punishment; it will all depend upon your future conduct; but I shall send immediately home for orders, to know what to do with you; and when I have orders, I hope they will be favorable, for I feel disposed to be lenient towards you; but it is a very bad crime, it is a very bad crime. I believe you have been severely punished, but you ought to be thankful that your lives have been spared; you must expect to be severely punished. (greatly at a loss for words) Bad men, very bad men, very glad to hear your conduct has been good during your passage." Turning to the officers of the ship, (who were present, and no doubt feeling ashamed of the great mans abuse, and low-bred slang to us,) he asked them, "have you any thing against these men, during the passage?" (no doubt thinking they would have enough against us, whilst we remained under them.) They at once replied, "not the slightest, your excellency, they are well behaved men." "Very glad to hear it, very glad to hear it, I hope they will remain so." The Doctor, as I before remarked, appeared to be friendly, and had promised before landing, that he would speak to the Governor in our favor; and at that time, as the old man was taking breath, he began to say something; but as quick as the old granny discovered his object, he raised his, or her hand, remarking, "that'll do, that'll do," apparently exhausted. Thus ended one of Governor Franklin's splendid speeches.

Now there was fifteen or twenty, of what are called "old hands," that were likewise in rank, a little in the rear of us, and as the old man had turned his horse a little one side, I heard one of them remark to another: "I think the old mutton-eater, will want as many as two sheep for his dinner to-day," "why," says one, "is he so fond of mutton?" "yes," says he, "one sheep at ordinary times, satisfies him for a meal, but on over action, like this, it takes two." "I should think so," says the other, "to supply the vacancy in the loss of so much wind." "My bloody oath," said another, "he

puffed and blowed like a porpoise." The Governor then turned to the four men, before alluded to, as being sent with us, three for murder, and one for desertion, standing by themselves. "What men are these." Mr. Gunn approached with their warrant in hand; "they are four men from Canada, three for murder, one for desertion, your excellency." "Ah! almost as bad as rebellion: read the warrant." Mr. Gunn read it. They were found guilty in Canada, and sentenced to seven years transportation. The old man talked to them a little; he could not say much, for he was nearly exhausted, after delivering the splendid address to us.

Mr. Skeane, superintendant of the station, then asked the Governor if we should go out on the road to work that day, as it was about noon. "Oh yes, it will be good for their health, after so long a voyage, even if they do not work much to-day the walk will do them good. It will be much better for them." He said something respecting the fine clothing of the prisoners, that her Gracious Majesty was good enough to allow us—hoped we would be thankful for it, and be good men. His horse I felt sorry for, standing for nearly two hours, supporting an enormous mass of blubber and wind, weighing I should think, three hundred pounds: but I suppose by what I had heard, there was so much combustible matter that the great mass might fall a little short in weight, you need not laugh, for I assure you it was the largest lump of human composition that I ever beheld. I suppose it was on account of his bulkiness and knavery, that he had been allowed such great honor amongst the brother-hood; I am sure it was not on account of fluency of speech. The horse although a large one, fairly reals as he moves off.

Now reader, what should you judge must have been our feelings, when the very officers of the ship, especially the Doctor, after hearing our doom, manifested feelings of pity, mingled with disgust, at the outrageous abuse, and irony, heaped upon us by the noble Captain, Sir John Franklin, the great navigator, that had once been driven to the necessity of eating his boots; but now the representative of her Majesty's Penal Colony, V. D. L., Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c. As they withdrew, we could discover their sympathy, by their downward heads, and the handkerchief to the eyes of some as they passed by. The Doctor shaking hands with us, remark-

ing in a low tone, as he passed on, "I am sorry that you have fell into such hands, after suffering so long and severe. I am fearful you will never see your native land again; bear it as well as you can—God bless you." He appeared to be choked—wanted to say more but could not.

They are gone—the gate is closed. The clerk sings out to us, "get your dinner men," and in the mean time, a tin pint-cup, and a tin plate, was dealt out to each one, with orders for us to put our number on them, that each one may know his own. Our huts were likewise numbered, with the number of men in each hut, which was handed to the cook, that he might know how to divide the vittuals, which was taken from a large copper, set in an arch, and put in kids, which are likewise numbered. Presently 'no. one,' was cried out, from the cook-house. A man starts from no. one hut, gets his kid; no. 2, no. 3, no. 4, no. 5, and so on, 'till each hut has their kid with dinner.

I will here give you a list of rations, allowed by law, to each man, which will be a sample during our stay on the roads: One and a half lbs. bread, (coarse flour,) dealt out in the morning, for the day; two oz. flour per man, weighed out, and made into skilly, measured out to each one, a pint. Noon—one lb. mutton, before boiled; when divided amongst us, there was often not over one fourth of a pound each: Evening—pint of skilly, similar to gruel. The rations after being weighed out, have so many hands to pass through before they get to the prisoners, or laboring men, that they often fall short half. The clerk's, constable's, wards man, overseer's and some other favorite one's, that wait on them, have their choice of the quantity weighed out, and what is left, the poor convict has to take up with; and if he complains, is sure to be punished with ten days solitary confinement on bread and water, or thirty lashes on the bare back; which lashes, however, none of our party ever received, but solitary confinement on bread and water, often fell to our lot. But to proceed. A man comes round, telling us to hurry and get through with our dinner, and we would take a short walk to see the country. "A fine country, this," says he, "I think you will like it much better than America; we'll go out and take a look at the roads. We have got a fine road of one hundred and forty miles, as



good as any you have in your country, I'll be bound it is; it is not quite finished yet, but soon will be." He talked some time after this manner, and appeared quite sociable. Presently the clerk sings out, "muster." We were all ranked up, and the same list of names called over. We were ordered to answer as they were called, saying, "here sir." Some two or three not answering, he was told that they were in the huts, unable to come out. He repaired straightway to the huts, calling their names, and was told that they were lame or sick. "You had better come out, the Doctor will be here soon, and if you are not sick, you will be punished." However there were three or four, who could not go, and many that did go out, were scarcely able to walk. The gate was opened and we marched out, three overseers and five or six constables with us; we traveled near a mile, when we came to where a party had been at work, who had been removed from that station a few days before, (I think it was the day before,) for our reception. "There," says the overseer, "you know the Governor told you it would be good for your health, after being so long at sea, to exercise a little; you need not do much to-day." Now all things appeared so flattering, the overseer's so sociable. We thought a little exercise would do us no harm. We leasurly picked up some a shovel, some a pick-ax, some a wheel-barrow, worked a little while, and then set down to rest, for we were all very weak and feeble, on account of being so long confined. That after noon passed off very well. At sun down we marched into the station, somewhat tired, though we had done but little that day. The ground seemed to be reeling to and fro, like a drunken man, for a number of days. The traveling to and from work, was about as much as we could do, for the first two or three days, during which time there was not much work required; afterwards the reins began to be pulled tighter by degrees. Every day a little more work was required, the principal overseer was a pardoned felon, and a complete tiger, which enabled him to hold the billet from year to year. Many is the poor man who has been driven to desperation and a felon's grave, through his tyranny. These are the kind of men, the Governor wants for overseers; if they prove not to be tyrants, they are quickly removed from their office, and put in the gangs to work; for

all the overseers are convicts. If they prove to be tyrants, and get a great deal of work done, and men frequently brought before the Magistrate for disobedience of orders, that the cells, triangles and flagilator, may be occupied, they can hold the office for a long time. These overseers have masters over them, such as a superintendant, to each station; a free man, with a salary; but they likewise are liable to be removed by the principal superintendant of roads, or in other words, the king of tyrants, whose salary is high. Now we have, with a tyrannical Governor, a tyrant principal superintendant—tyrannical petty magistrates; tyrannical superintendant of stations—overseers and constables, in abundance, of the same stamp—Doctors and Parsons, (with great salary's) apparently all combined to crush the poor unfortunate prisoners. It is on account of the tyranny of such characters, that thousands become prisoners or slaves in England, as well as Van Dieman's Land.

Oh how my heart yearns over the unfortunate poor slaves of happy England, as well as those of color that were planted by them, on our shores, and continue to be held by men of the same stamp—lovers of pleasure, heady, high-minded, covetous, over-bearing, lovers of gold obtained by the blood and toil of their fellow man. Oh! the old aristocratic chain! What will be done to prevent its completely encircling us? that we cannot move hand or foot. Oh! that the people would arise and assert their rights! It will continue to lengthen and strengthen, as long as you quietly submit.

Here the question may be asked; why did you submit to the tyrants? If I had been there, I would have done different. The fact is, we were deserted by our friends in time of danger; when we most needed them, they were not to be found; we were in the lion's grasp, and there left to be devoured, and I have often thought that being so long gnawed, mangled and torn, that our escape has been as wonderful as Daniel's from the Lions Den. Permit me to answer you, and I say it without hesitating, I am fully convinced that the men who have suffered so much for the crime of taking up arms in favor of liberty, and against tyranny, are the last men to flinch in time of danger, and in a good cause, and notwithstanding our long and severe sufferings,

not a man was ever heard to say, that the cause we had espoused was bad, or that he was sorry he had espoused it; we were only sorry for the failure. Now in submitting to work on the roads, as we were situated at that time, you may be assured we did what we considered for the best; we were strangers in a strange land, not knowing our destiny from one day to another; we had not much time to consider, and if we had known what our fate afterwards proved to be, not a man would have raised a finger to work on their roads; we certainly thought we would not be long allowed to remain on the roads. If you could only know the flattery and deception used by the tyrants in power, (as well in England as in that place) the plans, intrigues and means resorted to, to keep the upper hands, and to grind the poor prisoner to the dust, you might then say, "well, I do not know as I could have done any different in your situation." Now, as gloomy as the prospect was, of our subduing this numerous banditti, or den of thieves, (I mean the principal and lesser ones, which comprise nearly all that held office,) if we had had each one of us a rifle, we would have taken the Bush, and made it a warning to them.

The second day, Skean, the superintendant of that station, comes out but says little, next day he comes again, and says to Tom Hewit, the overseer: "it seems to me, you do not get along very fast." "Sir" says he, "the men are many of them sick." "Well," says the superintendant, "I will send the Doctor, and see if your gang of laboring men can't be added to a little." The Doctor appears—inquires into the cause of complaint, but to nearly all he replied, "oh nonsense, I'll give you a few pills, take two each night for a week, and you can commence work to-morrow." To-morrow comes and eight or ten are driven out, scarcely able to move. "Well," says Tom Hewit, "I have got a pretty good gang to-day; I think I can have some work done; the Super. will be here this after noon, and he will find fault; he already says there is not much work done. The principal superintendant of roads says he don't think you men will be prisoners long, and he is in a hurry to have this part of the road finished, it has been a long while doing; likewise the Governor is in a hurry to have it finished, and a good many other gentle-

men are complaining of the length of time I have been to work on this piece of road. My bloody eyes, it will never do, I shall be broke of my billet. Come see what we can have done against the super comes. Come all hands, if the Doctor says you are able to work, you must work. "I am expected to have work done according to the number of hands." We were divided around without any regard to size or ability to perform heavy labor—some to wheeling, some pecking, some shoveling, some at carts. It is beginning to be hurrying times. Some of those who were not well, asked the privilege of being taken off from drawing carts; after he discovered that some three or four were near fainting, he says, "who are these men that are invalids, that the Doctor sent out this morning; let them step forward, that I may know who they are." Myself, with seven others stepping out: "You can go to breaking stone to-day, but to-morrow you must do other work, for I don't want stone broken yet." Now this was considered light work and so it was, compared to others, but to me it was very bad work, the dirt from the stone, and constant motion with the hammer, was increasing the pain in my breast, and it was with much difficulty, that I stood it until night; when I was very tired and hungry.

Next morning at the ringing of the bell, which was before sun-rise, all hands turned out and took their pint of skilly. Our names are called over by the clerk, ranked up and marched to our work; with very few exceptions, none were allowed to stay back; they must be very sick or lame, to be allowed to stop in; those that did stop were invariably abused and insulted by clerks and other lackies. The huts were so miserable, and no accommodations for either sick or well; that many who were not able to work, have preferred going out with the gang than to stop in.

Now the barrows and carts are ordered to be loaded a little heavier. The boxes of the carts were six feet in length, four and a half feet wide, and nearly two feet in depth; they must be filled, invariably, no difference whether with dirt or stone. Four men are allowed to each cart—no resting allowed—but all hands must be constantly moving, no matter how muddy, rain or shine, the roads must be made. "I think it was on the fifth day, Lysander Curtis, together with seven

eight others, were wheeling on a "run," as it was called, that is one wheeling the barrow until he meets another coming back with an empty one, who leaves the loaded and takes the empty one, till he meets one loaded, and so on. I was, and had been, during the day, until the middle of the afternoon, wheeling to Mr. Curtis. He had not been well during some weeks; he told me that he could not stand it, that he felt very bad. I told him to speak to the overseer, but he kept on wheeling—I discovered that he was fast failing; I again requested him to speak for permission to stop. He said that he knew it was of no use to ask the brute, but at last was compelled to do so. Tom replied with an oath, "that he did not care; he was sent out by the Doctor, and he should wheel it or die by it, he did not care which." I was listening, fearing something of the kind; I immediately spoke, telling him that Mr. Curtis was very bad, that he had been sick some time previous, and at landing, that I knew he was unable to do the work imposed upon him. Some others spoke to the same effect. Tom Hewitt replied, "do you think that you know better than the Doctor, whether he is sick or not." We told him, whether he or the Doctor knew it or not, we were sure Curtis was not able to do the work, and begged he might be allowed to go in to the station; he could scarcely stand, but was commanded to wheel on. We were all tired, myself quite unwell, having a high fever produced by the sufferings, with the pain in my breast. I could scarcely walk with the loaded barrow, but we managed so that Curtis would have but two or three paces to wheel it, however, he soon sat or rather fell on to the barrow. We took hold of him, for he could not raise himself, and laid him on the ground, at the same time a man bringing his coat to put under him. It then wanted an hour and a half of sun-down; we asked Tom Hewitt if we could not be allowed to take the cart and carry him in. "No, dam it, sure he won't die before quitting time." We spoke two or three times for the privilege of taking him in, but were not allowed. He lay on the ground until the gang quit work, which was not until quite dusk; we then drew him to the station in a cart; he belonged in the same hut that I did. There was no care taken of him that night; the Doctor not living on the station, was

not called until morning, although many of us requested the clerk to call him. I did not sleep a wink that night, although very tired. There we were, in a damp, cold hut, without any fire, and the nights very cold, though the days were warm; it was in February, the last summer month, (for you must know that it is winter there, when it is summer here;) there he and myself were, cold, hungry and tired—no bed, and no light. I watched by him, as he lay on the boards, during the night; two or three times, I expected he was dying; he was very sick. At last morning comes—the bell rings—the door is unlocked by the sentry, who stands watch outside the huts, during the night. “How is that sick man,” sings out the clerk. On being answered, “well never mind, one dead man is nothing; get your skilly, all hands. I suppose that sick man will have to stop in to-day, if he’s like to die; I will send him to the hospital.” We had a few minutes to talk, but he could not say much; he said he should not live long. “Oh the poor prisoners! Oh! England! Tyrants! Tyrants! Oh! I wish Canada was free from them! Oh! I wish you were all out of their hands. Thank the Lord I shall soon be. (shaking hands with as many as could get to him) “God bless you, I shall not see you again this side of heaven, I feel as if the Lord was doing me a great favor, in taking me out of the hands of these tyrants. Oh! if the people had turned out to help us as they agreed to, we would not have been doomed to so much sufferings, but, but,” as the word muster all hands, “tell my wife and children I die happy.” we were hurried away, and never saw him more. He was taken that day to the general hospital, in Hobart Town, one mile from our station. We afterwards learned that he lived three days after leaving our station. Some of us requested the privilege of going to see him, but were refused.

It is impossible for me to relate every circumstance that occurred during our stay at that place; the increase of labor, abuse and tyranny of the overseers, and the scantiness of rations, and poorness of quality; for our meat was mutton, supplied by contract; and the settlers would select the oldest, out of perhaps, 20,000 head, no matter if they were poor and just ready to have lambs; they would kill them to keep them from dying, to furnish road stations with; they were “good-

enough for prisoners. I say prisoners, we were not only prisoners, but slaves, in every sense of the word. We were threatened with the cat o'nine tails; but we agreed that if ever we were flogged, as we had seen many of the old hands, death should follow immediately, on the first attempt. One day the carts were loaded so heavy, it was impossible for us to draw them; the overseer said if we did not, we would all be flogged; we told him not a man of us would stand it. "Why?" said he, "because, we are doing all we can, to keep out of trouble, and you seem to be doing all you can to get us in to trouble." "What will you do, if you should be flogged?" We told him at once, that every man would fight until he died. "Well, say you wont draw them carts." Now we had told him we could not, but he wanted us to say we would not, that he could take us before the magistrate, for disobedience of orders. Hundreds have been driven to say, "they will not;" the consequence is, sixty lashes, and sent immediately to work, with their backs bleeding, and the overseer allowed to tyrannize over them, and drive and starve them, to such a degree that they are obliged to take the Bush. They are then advertised, and if taken alive, the gallows is sure to end their days, or years, of slavery. One thousand five hundred, under similar circumstances, suffered upon the gallows, during bloody Arthurs cruel reign, of eleven years, previous to his being sent to Canada, to put things to rights there. But I was speaking of the carts being so heavily loaded, it being very muddy at that time. We were compelled to tell him we would not draw them; at the same time, telling him we *could* not. "That'll do," calling some constables, whose huts were close by; "here take these men to the watch-house." Eleven of us were marched off—lay in the cells twenty-four hours, and were then taken before a magistrate. Tom appears as only witness. "Well, Mr. Hewit, what is the complaint against these men?" "Disobedience of orders, sir; they refused to work, sir." Magistrate. "Refuse to work, do they?" We then attempted to tell him the reason. "That'll do, that'll do; the prisoner always pleads not guilty; not a word, not a word; Mr. Hewit is considered a good overseer; I shall only sentence you to seven days solitary confinement on bread and water, as this

is the first offence; constables, take them away." This, reader, is what is called a sample of good Government, in Van Dieman's Land.

These are the kind of men, that for a paltry sum and for the name of holding office under the crown, are sent to that country to grind to the dust, the poor of England. Thousands yearly, are torn away from their friends and native land; for what? for the very same reason that hundreds are obliged to take the Bush; hundreds and thousands starved and worked to death; the Doctors of course, have the privilege of their bodies, for dissection; the pieces, perhaps, of five or six different bodies, are put into a rough box, thrown carelessly in to a hole, carelessly covered up. The stranger may come along and enquire, "who is buried there;" the answer may be, "oh, no body but prisoners; that is where they bury convicts." The gentlemen have a burying-ground by themselves. If the question was asked me, "who lies buried there," I should answer after this manner: "These are what are called convicts; their parents perhaps were born poor, and were obliged to work for a shilling a day, and having a family of perhaps seven or eight children; to keep them from starving, are finally driven to the necessity of begging or stealing, begging being a poor business, they are finally obliged to steal; why? because their children are starving. These are the poor men and women of happy old England, who have been doomed to a life of horrible suffering; and at last to death; and after being cut in pieces by surgeons, are tumbled into boxes and hurriedly covered up, not at all sufficient for a decent burial; why? because they are convicts."

Our sentence in the sells, having expired, we were sent directly to work, with the gang, very weak and poor, having had nothing during our stay in the cells, but bread and water. It began to be whispered around that if this abuse and tyranny continued, not a man will be alive at the end of six months. We had made inquiry respecting those that had left Canada, for transportation, a short time before us, and found they had arrived a few weeks before us; their party had come by the way of England. It consisted of Benjamin Wait, Samuel Chandler, Alexander McLeod, John Vernon, John McNulty, James Wagoner, Norman Malery, George



B. Cooley and Garret VanCamp, who had arrived in the ship *Marquis*, of Hastings, and had been assigned to the settlers.

Lynus W. Miller, John Grant, James Gamel and Jacob Beemer, had arrived about five weeks before us; and like ourselves, were put to work on the roads. Miller, Grant and Gamel, from the ship *Canton*, had been sent to a road station about ten miles from us. On hearing of our arrival, they requested permission to be sent to the station with us, but were told, "they had better stay where they were, for we were marked for severe treatment." They replied, "they had much rather be with their countrymen, even if the treatment was worse, than remain with the old hands," as those were called, who had been there twelve months. Their request was granted after we had been at our station about three weeks; and we had the pleasure of shaking hands with those three warm-hearted patriots, whose sufferings had been severe, and now with us, there was no prospect of their becoming lighter. We soon received, not only their history, but also of those who were on loan to the settlers. We heard of the death of VanCamp, McNulty and McLeod, also of the conduct of the traitor, Jacob Beemer, who was then constable. Mr. Miller, Mr. Grant and Mr. Gamel, soon found it true respecting our treatment. Why our ships company were selected for severe treatment there, after suffering so long and severe, before getting there, is what I cannot say; unless it was because Arthur, not being allowed to murder us all, in Canada; had sent to Franklin, to murder us there, out of spite; for I am sure, that between them both, the work was very nearly accomplished.

About a week after the death of Curtis; William Nottage was cruelly mangled, by blasting rocks, and was obliged to be taken to the hospital; he lived seven days.

Four men now took the *Bush*; Horace Cooley, Jacob Paddoc, William Reynolds and Michael Murray; after wandering about, living on roots and shell fish or muscles, picked up along the beach, and sleeping in the woods, for two weeks, they were taken, tried for absconding, and sentenced for two years, to Port Arthur, which is considered the worst place on the Island.

During our stay at Sandy Bay Station, scarcely a day pas-

sed but some were threatened with the cells. I cannot tell all that occurred whilst here, but on account of our complaining to the magistrate, of poor rations, and that one half allowed by Government, was stolen from us by clerks, overseers and other billeted men, and an American Captain of a Whaler, calling to see us, we were strongly suspected of contemplating an escape, being near the harbor, and in sight of the shipping. We were, within three hours notice, ordered to take up our line of march, each with his blanket, tin-cup and plate on his back, with six constables and twelve soldiers to escort us on our way; we knew not where. We were allowed three days rations to each man, which consisted of poor mutton and bread, and obliged to roll it up in our blankets, they being literally alive with fleas, which are very numerous on the Island.

We are now on our way, after a stay of over three and a half months at Sandy Bay Station. The roads were muddy, and some of the party being unwell, we could not get over twelve miles the first day. We put up at a road station, where there were some, one hundred and fifty at work; we huddled in amongst them, and rested as well as we could through the night, after cooking some of our mutton, in a kettle which we borrowed of the overseer, by a fire built outside, for there were no chimneys in the huts. We turned out in the morning at the ringing of the station Bell, and saw four men flogged before breakfast—cooked some more mutton, and discovered that we had lost a good share of that, and of the bread, during the night.

I must here remark, that we were again introduced to some of our old friends, called lice, which continued to increase, in spite of all our efforts, during our stay on the roads. These and the fleas, which are in abundance around these old huts, together with extreme sufferings made our situation one not to be desired, and one that cannot be fully described.

We took our scanty breakfast and were soon on our way. That day many were unwell, and the coarse, thick shoes, without socks, (for there were none allowed summer or winter) many were obliged to carry in their hands. Some part of the roads being newly laid with stone, of about the size of hens-eggs, only not quite as round, being flint stone, with

edges as sharp as a knife. Our feet were sore and bleeding; tired and hungry, we got but little farther than on the first day, though continually hurried along by our drivers. If we refused to go, "Well dam your bloody eyes, go along a little ways farther, there is a watch-house we will put you in and keep you on bread and water a few days, and see how you will like that." Some, however, were obliged to stop before night. That night we stopped at a small village, called Bagdad, which consisted of prisoner's barracks, a large watch-house, two or three taverns and two stores; some soldiers and plenty of constables and petty magistrates; for this was a place where prisoners were brought from different stations each way, to be tried and punished; which made it quite a place of resort for petty tyrants, that for a small salary, leave England for the honorable office of assisting to crush the poor prisoner to the dust. They are so hardened and eager to punish, they have been known to leave their dinner for that purpose, which I believe an Englishman was never known to do on any other occasion. I suppose it is when a settler sends in a man to be flogged, with a letter, telling the magistrate to be in a hurry, to give the man sixty lashes, that he may return to his work without delay, and in the letter, a promise of a fat pig or goose, when he calls to make him a visit, which is often the case. Most of these settlers are very rich, and of course have a great influence over the magistrates; in fact, nearly all the settlers are magistrates; many of them try their own servants, and send them to these stations to receive punishment, perhaps seven days solitary confinement, but oftener thirty five or sixty lashes, because they are in a hurry for their labour, which the poor prisoner gets nothing for, except poor clothes and poor fare, until his life of slavery is ended, which often leaves his body, a lifeless lump in the hands of the Doctor; it can now be of no more use to the rich man. It is thrown into a rough box and sent away by prisoners or slaves, and thrown into a hole, two or three feet deep, and the ground merely leveled. This is the end of the prisoner.

The same old list of names that followed us from Quebec, (which was all the warrant or sentence we ever received) was called over by the keeper of the watch-house, and after cook-

ing the last of our rations, for nearly all of it had been stolen from us the first night. We turned in among prisoners, that had some of them been in for months, and were covered with filth and vermin; some of us slept a little, others none at all. Next morning we were obliged to start off without any thing to eat; we told them that our provisions had been stolen, but that made no difference; it was weighed out to us for three days and we could get no more. The third day, just at night, we arrived, the most of us, at a place called, Lovely Banks Station; but to us it proved any thing but lovely. It was the latter part of June, which is the first winter month there. There is very little snow, but a great deal of wind and rain, but we had the same clothing for summer as winter. We were here, as before, obliged to work in all kinds of weather—wet, cold and hungry—no fires were allowed. There was scarcely a week, during two and a half months, that our clothes were dry. I must not attempt to describe all that took place here; those that were over us, were worse, if possible, than at Sandy Bay Station. Our work was two miles from the station, it was mostly carting stone. We never left off work until sun-down; when we arrived at the station, and by the time we got our pint of gruel drank, it was quite dark; we mustered into our huts, no fire, no light, cold, hungry and tired—nearly every night wet to the skin, the doors locked with sentrys outside day and night.

Mr. Braterson, the superintendent, was a tyrant and over-seers the same. They seemed to delight in having a "down," as it is termed, on some one: in which case, the man or men, are insulted in every possible manner. Many of us were thrust into the cells, to please the overseer, for no offence whatever, merely to show us that we were in his power. There are many ways for the overseer to punish individuals through the day, such as causing his barrow to be loaded a little heavier than usual, or a bad tool put into his hand and compelled to do as much as another with a good tool, or put in a bad muddy place to work; if his breaking stone is found fault with and are not broken as well as the next man's, who may be a favorite of the overseer, he is obliged to break them over, making him work as much again as his neighbor.—Various are the ways and means, to cause one mans work

harder and more disagreeable, than others, in the same place. I mention this, to show that of a number of men at work in the same gang, some amongst them, may fare much harder and experience different treatment than others; consequently, each one in giving an account, may vary, and still all be true. The above mode of punishment is in the power of the overseer; if you complain, or threaten to take him before the magistrate, he is sure to get the start of you; no matter whether you are guilty or not, he goes to the magistrate with you, and commences a long list of complaints, which are listened to; "This man, sir, is a very bad man, sir; he is saucy, sir; he gives me insolence, he refuses to do what I bid him, sir; he is lazy and slights his work; when I pass by him he looks with contempt at me sir; he is very obstinate, I have more trouble with him, than any other one in the gang" &c. If the prisoner attempts to say any thing in his own defence, the magistrate will stop him by saying, "oh you cannot plead not guilty, to all of these complaints; this man is a good overseer and you prisoners are very bad; you need not attempt to excuse yourself, I shall see fit to give you ten days solitary confinement, on bread and water; take him away." Thus you see the prisoner has no possible chance of right or justice. When he comes out of the cell, he is sent immediately to work, so weak he can scarcely walk, and the same abuse and insult commences again: the overseer contemptuously laughing at him: "there you see what you get by threatening to pull me; I told you so."

I was under the necessity of complaining to the magistrate, on account of the barrows being loaded so heavy that it was impossible for me to wheel them; the overseer had been imposing upon me for some time, on account of a complaint to the magistrate, of things being taken out of our hut at different times. I told him it must be some of the old hands about the station, for they were taken whilst we were out to work. On pleasant days, we would, some of us, leave our shoes, or coat, in the hut; a number had lost them; I had lost a pair of boots. The magistrate said the doors must be locked, whilst we were out to work. There were five or six old hands, billeted men, about the station, that would steal our cloths, and often we were punished for losing them. *Now*

the overseer was one of the gang of thieves, and took the privilege of abusing me, in every possible manner, saying every little while, "accuse us of stealing, will you." I finally told him that he was as bad as those he upheld, in such conduct, and I believed by his conduct towards me, that he was the one that took, or caused my boots to be taken; likewise the other things we had lost. Myself, with two or three others, had come to the conclusion that we should be obliged to take the Bush. I told the superintendant of the overseers abuse, to me and some others, but got no satisfaction; because one was as bad as the other. I told him that I had a pain in my breast, and could not stand it, to wheel such heavy loads: but was told, I must do it. I saw that I could not stand it much longer. The magistrate was to be there the next day; when he came, I told him of the overseers abuse to me, and that I could not stand it but a short time. The overseer, Tom King, was called, and went on with a long list of complaints. I told the magistrate that they were all lies, and could be proven so by every man in the party; I told him the cause of the overseer's treatment to me, and that I was not the only one, who would be driven to death or the Bush, by the tyranny and villiany of our overseers; the Doctor was called and I was examined; I told him of the pain in my breast, that I had been troubled with it a long time. Said he, "did you tell the overseer of your situation?" I told him that I had. "That will do," said he, giving me a plaster. The Doctor and magistrate talked together a short time. The magistrate told me that he had not time to go through with a trial, but must put it off until another day, and that I could withdraw. He then talked to King, so loud that I could hear him from the adjoining room. Said he, "If this suit should go on, and Marsh should bring witnesses, it must go against you; the Doctor tells me he is not able to do heavy work, and it is evident you have abused him, by causing him to work harder than he is able; you see it would send you to Port Arthur six months or a year: so you may thank me for not bringing the case to trial; put him at light work, and let me hear no more complaints of this kind." So saying, he left the station. The Doctor told him he ought to be flogged, for treating me as he had. Said he, "you might know that he

was not well by appearances, and when he told you he was not able to wheel such loads, you ought to have brought him to me, to know whether he was able; do you put him at very light work, until you have other orders from me." I had it easier after that, for some time, but suffered much from pain. I believe this was the only instance, that any of us had received any thing like justice, I may say, during our stay on the roads. I believe the Doctor was the cause of this single act of benevolence to me. The overseer felt that he was next best in that one instance. About two weeks from that, he began to manifest signs of renewing his tyranny towards me, by various acts. One night as the gang had got nearly in to the station, he enquired for the crowbars, and was told that they were left. "I meant to had them brought in," said he. It was Saturday; the tools were to be taken in for inspection. The gang was stopped, myself and Wright, another one that he had a "down" on, for some trifling offence, were called out and sent back two miles for the crowbars, there was one small one, and one very large one, we tried, on our way back, two or three times, to break them, but had not strength; at last, by throwing the big one from our shoulders across the small one, which lay on the ground, we at last broke it near the center. It was nine o'clock when we arrived at the station, very tired and hungry, after taking our pint of skilly, we went to our huts for some rest. Next morning we were called upon and questioned concerning the broken bar; we told them it must have been broken by some one during the night. We were threatened with the cells, but as it could not be proved, we being alone, we finally received nothing but threats.

Two of our party now take the Bush, for the sake of getting out of the hands of these tyrants, and if possible make some arrangement with an American Captain of a whaler, as there were two or three in port. Linas W. Miller and Joseph Stewart, undertook it; after doing all in their power, they failed in the attempt. They were taken, tried, and sentenced two years to Port Arthur. They suffered much, for the first few weeks, after an abusive speech from the Governor, some of the officers of that place considered it very hard that the Governor should be so severe on them, for at-

tempting an escape, and manifested a disposition to treat them better. Mr. Miller and Mr. Stewart being good scholars, Miller was employed as teacher of the children of the officers; on the station; Stewart as signal man. I will leave them for the present, and return.

On the Governors' hearing of their leaving the party, and hearing, likewise, that on account of bad treatment, the whole party would soon take the Bush, he gave orders that we should all be clothed in magpie, which is striped with half black, half yellow; it is considered the most degrading suit a prisoner can wear; they are intended for doubly convicted felons. He ordered us all dressed in that and to be removed to another station, where it was more convenient to keep the military to watch us; we were accordingly dressed in this splendid suit; it was a comical dress, you would have laughed to have seen us; we knew it was for punishment, so we appeared to feel very proud; some would dance, others strut around very much pleased with our new suit, it having a different affect from what they expected, it caused some of them to look rather shamed.

We remained at this place during the winter, suffering much from cold, hunger and hard work; wet mostly all the time, obliged to wash our own shirts, with cold water and little soap, mend our own clothes, for we were allowed but two suits a year; it was with much difficulty we could keep them on our backs; some having them stole, were obliged to go without, many obliged to go barefoot.

It is of no use for me to undertake to tell of all the abuse we received from the petty tyrants on that station, many would not believe it. Many were put in the cells for seven, eight and ten days on bread and water for very trifling offences, and in fact for no offence whatever. Two or three were put in for refusing to work without shoes in the frost and on the flint-stone road—kept in until almost starved—taken out and obliged to work, being promised shoes in a few days, finally when the time comes to deal them out, which was twice a year, some with their feet so cut with stone, so swollen and sore cannot wear their shoes; but there is no excuse when you complain of sore feet, "well you have got shoes now, before you could not work you



said you had none—now you have got them you must work, no excuse now, only feet a little sore, that's nothing, go on with your work" &c.

Now comes the word, "all hands get ready for a move,"—our lousey blankets which we were obliged to keep during our stay on the roads, our tin household furniture, the same all collected which amounts to one cup, one plate, no knife or fork, no tables, no chairs, no nothing. But utter destitution of every thing that would have the least tendency to make us comfortable. A days rations were weighed out to us—we are now under marching orders, with a respectable posse of the Queen's peace officers with blue roundabouts, muskets and clubs in hand: they are not only sworn to keep the peace, but to swear in favor of the crown against any prisoner, at all times, in fact, they are the government's standing witnesses, they are very numerous, they, together with the overseers are selected from the prisoners—and for a little better fare and a trifle of gold, stand ready to crush the prisoner, and if he says a word against it, bring him at once before a man called magistrate, whose pay is a little more; and between them all, the prisoner, though his conduct may be good, who has been trying all in his power to keep out of trouble, is sure to suffer. These men's characters you will find delineated in the 7th chapter of Micah, second third and fourth verses.

We are now on our way back towards Hobart town, enduring as it were a forced march. Arrived that evening very much fatigued, at a place called Green Ponds Station, distance twenty miles from Lovely Banks and twenty miles from Hobart town. Near the station were soldier's barracks, and a company of about sixty soldiers stationed there for the purpose of hunting or rather watching for bush-rangers and escorting prisoners on their way for punishment. I must not be particular in describing every thing that occurred whilst at this station; they were similar here to other stations. The superintendant was a man they called Bobby Nutman, and by the old hands, a Tiger. Many were the men that had suffered under him, but to us he appeared to be friendly, said he did not consider us the same as other prisoners. Now the Governor was disappointed; for he con-

sidered as old Bobby was a tyrant, that under him all would be severely punished, because two of our party had absconded; but hearing old Bobby was manifesting signs of mercy (which was perhaps the first he was ever known to do) he had him immediately removed, and a man by the name of Wright, to us all wrong—but the right man for the governor Sir John, was put over us here, and I verily believe he lay awake nights planning and devising means to make us unhappy and miserable. The party was driven out to work as soon as they could see in the morning, and worked until dark and often until eight o'clock, before they arrived at the station, get their pint of skilly—tired, wet and hungry, mustered, turned into the huts, doors locked. There we are amongst the bed-bugs, flees and lice, a tub for use in each hut, If we could sleep, well and good, if not, all the same: we turn out as soon as daylight, take our pint of skilly and are marched to work, which was principally carting stone. Some five or six at this place, were ruined for life, and not any but can refer back to this place as one of horrible sufferings and with disgust at the petty tyrants who were over us there. At this place were cells, a flagellator, and triangles. We were obliged every few days to see some one of the old hands brought to our station from one about two miles distant to be flogged. We getting tired of seeing it, took the triangles, not without some difficulty, however, and concealed them and in a day or two a man was brought to be flogged, but on looking for the triangles, they were not to be found; so the man escaped that time, we were all threatened but no one knew anything about them.

Some two or three of our party had managed at different times to obtain a little paper for the purpose of keeping a Journal, though not allowed to do so. Mr. Wright and the overseers were fearful that if ever they were published, they would be exposed. He had us all ranked up and with constables, clerks, overseers, and other bilited men, had us all searched. Just before the search took place, I was seen by a man with a piece of paper of some kind, supposed to be a Journal, information was given and I was ordered to take off all my clothes and be thoroughly searched; not submitting they were taken off entirely, but found only a newspaper

that one of the soldiers had handed me with something in it he said, respecting the Canadian prisoners, as we were called, Now it was so managed by government, that every few weeks a paper would be handed us with something favorable intimating if our conduct was good we would all soon be liberated, and in fact for a long time before we were liberated it was in the papers in England as well as other places that the Canadian prisoners were all liberated. But we afterwards learnt it was done not only to deceive us and keep us quiet, but to deceive our friends and keep them in the dark respecting our actual condition and sufferings.

During the search there were one or two journals found, and in them his own character, with others, was partly described, but in such a manner that it could not be distinctly made out. I understood that Wright went with it to the magistrate, Mr. Erskine, who had a hearty laugh over it. Says he to Mr. Wright, "there appears to be much truth in this journal, according to all accounts; if you are guilty of such little mean acts, I do not blame the men for finding fault. I shall look into it, and if true, you must expect to be punished." Wright was pretty quiet for a spell; we had become satisfied that if the magistrate here had taken notice and done as Wright wished him respecting us, our situation would have been worse, if possible, than Wright had it in his power to make it. Mr. Erskine was the best magistrate we found whilst on the roads; but knowing that Sir John had sent us to that station for punishment, and to be under the eye of the military, and that he had selected Wright for the tyrant superintendant, he could not do much for us only by taking little notice of Wright's complaints. But Wright, you may be assured, did all in his power to make us miserable; he boasted that he would subdue our d——d yankee spirits. Now, as I before remarked, there was scarcely a week but that some gentlemen, as they are called there, in passing by would tell some of us we might depend upon our liberation in a very short time, at the same time giving their reasons, which to us appeared reasonable. Some thought the United States Government would demand us; others, that the difficulties between England and the States would soon be settled and we allowed to return home;

others that a general amnesty was granted to all that left Canada : Papineau was a leading character ; Lefontaine and others were back and holding office under Government. Surely, they will do something for you after being punished so long—surely, Government will release you after releasing so many or all the leading ones in the rebellion—that Canada was quiet. Some of them told us the rebellion had done a great deal of good, and if you ever get back, the people of Canada ought to remember you who have suffered so much—they surely will. We told them, if our sufferings had done any good, we were glad, but if the Government was satisfied that good to the people generally in Canada was the result, instead of farther punishment, they ought to liberate us at once, and handsomely reward us for being the means of doing so much good, instead of knight-ing and lavishing great salaries on men guilty of such disgraceful and cowardly acts as the burning of the *Caroline*, and such men as Col. John Prince, Sir Allen Mc Nab, and a host of others who would be a disgrace to any nation ;—yet they reward them for evil acts, and punish us for good acts. England is noted for such conduct, yet would be considered a humane and Christian nation.

After hearing so often such favorable accounts from men who appeared to know, and being anxious to return if possible to our native country, to gladden the hearts of our friends, and looking and believing that every week would bring us some good news, and learning, after being a short time there, it was useless in our situation to attempt to escape from the island, especially while on the roads, even if we took the bush—taking all these things and many more which none but those in our situation can know into consideration, we concluded we were doing what was for the best in submitting to work on the roads—but if we had the same to go through with again, and could know it beforehand, as those did who knew the patriots would fail, we should do differently.

## CHAPTER VI.

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*Second speech of Sir John,—removed &c.*

Kind reader, you must now have the patience or happiness of knowing that we are favored with another splendid speech from Sir John. After we had been about five weeks at that place, we were told one evening his excellency was expected along the next day, and that we need not go out to work, but set about putting things to rights about the station, cleaning out the huts, etc. etc. About noon, as we were on the point of taking our poor boiled mutton and bit of bread, a messenger arrived, declaring his excellency was not over two miles from the station.—That very moment was heard the order, “Turn out, turn out, all hands, muster, muster;” of course, we had to leave our splendid dinner, and were soon ranked up. In about a half an hour, another messenger arrives, his horse all in a lather, and declares, his excellency, the Lieutenant Governor was close by—he would be there in a few minutes—be in readiness. He spurs his horse around the yard two or three times, as large as life, because he was one of the big man’s life guards; they were in all some eight or ten, dressed in livery; some were dispatched to announce his near approach—others to remain near his royal highness, probably to protect his noble person from any danger that might occur from men that have been driven by his tyranny to take the bush—or for fear the old gentleman might tumble from his horse, for he was in the habit of taking a little too much; but as I learned, it was for the purpose of assisting the digestion of the enormous quantity of food which he was obliged to have in store; that he invariably travelled on horseback.

About an hour from the first messenger’s announcement of his excellency’s near approach, we have the pleasure of seeing him; he is now riding back and forth, reviewing us,

and halts about the centre :—" Well, men, I am very glad to hear your conduct has been so good up to the time of Miller and Stewart's leaving your party ; they are very bad men ; I have been to Port Arthur and have told them they need never look for release from punishment—they shall be punished to the extremity of the law. I know your object was to make your escape from the island. I know all about it, but you can't do it. I have ordered you to be dressed in magpye and to be sent to this place for punishment, and that you might be under the eye of my military. I have given them orders to shoot you down like wild beasts, if you should take the bush ; (in a great rage) depend upon it, if you should attempt it, not a man of you will escape. Even if you should abscond, and have the fortune to get to America, but that is impossible ; but if you should, I should send my military all the way there after you, and have you brought back. Depend upon it, you cannot escape punishment ; (catching for breath) he advised us not to associate with the old hands for they are all bad men ; they may advise you to take the bush, as many of them have done, but they are sure to be taken and severely punished. They used to be all hung for taking the bush, but now they are all sent to Port Arthur, which is nearly as bad as death ; depend upon it, men, you will be severely punished. I have not received orders from the Secretary of State yet concerning you, men, but as quick as I do you shall know. I hope it will be favorable for you ; if your conduct remains good, you will soon be off the roads. I am very sorry you have taken it into your heads to take the bush, thinking to escape punishment, and I tell you you cannot escape it." We could easily discern that punishment was the old gentleman's meat and drink ; he seemed to rejoice that he had got so many Americans in his power. He was glad our conduct was good, yet he must punish, for fear it would be bad. This was his motto with us during our stay on the island. Finally, after repeating over the above and similar language three or four times, which amounted to—good men, bad men, punishment—the old man, getting entirely exhausted, withdrew, leaving us to wonder whether bad conduct or good conduct would make

any difference in the eye of a man that supposed all men sent to a penal colony, whether good or bad, must be punished. I suppose the old simpleton, thought he was there for no other purpose—and, in fact that appears to be the principal object; we certainly found it so.

Wright, the superintendant and overseer, now took fresh courage from hearing it was still the old man's determination to punish. I shall not go through with the various modes of punishment, which, if possible, continue to increase; you have had a sample of them. Many were put in the cells for eight or ten days, on bread and water, for daring to speak against the horrible treatment received. We were here through the summer and fall. Wright would take for his family use all the fat and best part of our meat. We never got over half the rations allowed us by Government, which was not enough for us, working as we did. The blow-flies are much more numerous and different there from the flies in America. As soon as a sheep is dressed, unless put at once in a safe, it is covered, not with fly-blows, as in America, but with maggots; for it is a fact that as soon as a fly lights, you can perceive a deposit of live insects, spreading in all directions, and in the course of an hour or two are full grown maggots. Our poor mutton is all put in a large cauldron, set in an arch and boiled for all the party. It is often the case, that after the meat has been a short time in the warm water, the maggots rise to the surface, completely covering the water from sight, until it boils; this is the situation of our meat during nine months out of twelve. I am aware that it is hard for some to believe, but it is true. There are many things I have neglected mentioning, because you would think them not true; many of the modes of punishment resorted to in this penal colony, I am sure I never would have believed if I had not experienced them.

In about two months from his first visit to this place, his excellency called, and we all ranked up as usual. He addressed us in his usual manner, telling us he was glad to hear our conduct was good, and that the crime of rebellion against one of the best governments in the world was the worst crime in the world—that we were very bad men, and

must expect to be severely punished ; and that he had written to Lord John Russell, her Majesty's Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and had just received an answer, and you ought to be very thankful that it is as favorable as it is. I will now cause it to be read to you, and turning to his Secretary, told him to read the letter. It was short. The purport of it was, that he, Lord John Russell, had delayed answering his excellency's letter, on account of his waiting an answer from Lord Sydenham, Governor General of the Canadas, for instructions concerning us, which were, that he, Lord Sydenham, Governor General of the Canadas, had no objections to Sir John Franklin's granting the Canadian prisoners any indulgence his excellency might see fit, only not to allow us to return to America, for the safety and well-being of the North American colonies.

You see by this, that Sir John had it in his power to alleviate our sufferings. Recollect, he had told us, he hoped when he received the letter it would be favorable, and that he felt disposed to be lenient towards us—was glad our conduct was good, and hoped it would remain so, for I tell you men, good conduct shall be rewarded, etc. etc. But what does he now say and do ? After the letter was read to us, what does the daring navigator and great and noble philanthropist, Sir John Franklin, now say to us ? He talks after this fashion :—“ Now, men, if your conduct remains good during your term of probation, which is two years from the time you commenced—it's now you know two-thirds gone—I say, if your conduct remains good during the expiration of the two years, I will then grant you the inestimable privilege of tickets of leave—I don't mean to leave the island, but the privilege of going any where on the island. You will have to report yourselves every week to some police officer, that we may know you have not escaped. (Here he commented at some length on the consequence of attempting an escape from the island, the enormity of our crime, and that we ought to be thankful for the great privilege of tickets—it was the next step to freedom ; he now tells us he is glad our conduct has been so good, and that he has such a favorable letter, we ought to feel thankful.) If your conduct remains very good, you may



get your tickets before the expiration of two years, but you ought to be thankful to get them then."

He said something more, but to no purpose, and then leaves us. Now, we had sent him a memorial, requesting him to do something for us to alleviate our distress. Unless something was immediately done, we did not know the consequence. We, however, received nothing but abuse from him. We had thought of speaking to him respecting our treatment—but finally concluded that all their rascality to us would be sanctioned, and on hearing the last speech were completely disgusted, and determined never to ask a favor of such a barefaced, hypocritical, lying, knavish old turk as he was, although her Majesty's representative and favorite. The above is his true character, which can be proved by all the American state prisoners who have survived his cruel tyranny. He doubtless had his instructions in regard to our treatment from bloody Arthur, who was well acquainted with the mode of punishment in Van Dieman's Land, for it was from this place he was sent to Canada. Being supposed to be the greatest tyrant in her Majesty's dominions, he was thought the most proper man to govern the Canadas at that time.

Now our abuse at this as well as other places, increases ; it seemed as if they were determined to drive us to commit some act that would be considered worthy of capital punishment, that they might have the satisfaction of seeing us plunged deeper and deeper in misery. Seeing and knowing their intentions, we tried all in our power to disappoint them. We knew that if we took the bush, in our situation and knowing the situation of the island, we never should have lived to reach America. After being deceived and lied to so long, we thought, if it was possible, we would try to obtain our tickets and then make a trial of escape.

Wright's mean low-lived acts increase to such a degree that we are obliged to go to the magistrate with a complaint against him. Soon after the last-mentioned splendid speech from Sir John, (or as he is called by some, the old granny, and by others, rutton-eater) we told Mr. Erskine that we had put up with Wright's abuse until we could stand it no longer, that the consequence of a continuation of such abuse could

not be explained, and we hoped he would take immediate measures to have him or us removed, before something else occurred which could be explained. He saw we were in earnest, and told us, that he being a superintendant and a freeman must be tried before three magistrates; he would bring Mr. Wright to trial the next day, and we must appear as witnesses; it was accordingly done. The magistrates being convinced that we would not remain under him, caused us to be removed shortly after the trial, to another place called Bridgewater station, twelve miles from Hobart Town.

It is now winter. On account of some difficulty at that place with the old hands, (for it was a large station, and some one hundred and fifty old hands in the same huts with us,) after being here two or three weeks, we saw we could not get along without a field fight with them. Our rations were mostly all stolen from us here, and we could not stand it. Sir John had advised us not to associate with the old hands. We told the magistrate here, one Mason, that we had been strictly forbidden to be with the old hands. Certainly, if he was aware of it he would not allow it. This petty magistrate took it as an insult against his majesty, and sent immediately to him that the Canadians had accused him of not keeping his promises, and some other complaints which so incensed the old man that he gave orders to have us immediately removed, by separating us by tens and twelves, and sent to different stations about the island, with the old hands. You can begin to discover, unless you are totally blind, how the old man is rewarding our good conduct and at the same time keeping his word.

Accordingly, after receiving a mean, low-lived and contemptible address from squire Mason, of New Norfolk, after remaining at Bridgewater station about three weeks, we were told to step back as the gang were mustered in the morning for work. A party of twelve were called out from among us, constables called, and started immediately off, giving them no time to bid their comrades good-bye and not knowing whither they were bound. Our party was then put to work, wondering what was the cause of so sudden and strange a move. But this is the way they deal with prisoners, never letting them know when or where they are bound.

It is considered a disgrace even to speak to a prisoner, and it is never done except to punish and keep them in subjection. The next day, another company of ten or twelve was sent away in the same manner as the first—next day another, and so on, until all were gone. Myself and eight others were the last; we were escorted to Hobart town, and put in the prisoner's barracks, or *tench*. The yard contains nearly two acres; around it is a high wall, and on top broken glass with cement, to prevent scaling it. With the prisoners barracks are a tread-mill, clerk's office, cook-house, &c. At one end is a church, with cells underneath, generally full. There are generally from two to four hundred in these barracks. They are capable of containing a thousand, and at times there are that many there. There are a great many overseers and constables constantly about to keep order, as well as hangmen and flagellators, who comprise the very worst characters that can be selected from thousands. Our party of nine were there four weeks. I cannot attempt a description of what took place within the walls of these barracks during that time. There were chain gangs, with their overseers, mustered every morning, and sent away to work at different places about the city, which contains some ten or twelve thousand inhabitants. Some of the gangs are to work on the streets, some on government buildings, some on wharfs, boats, &c. We were taken about a mile from town and put at work quarrying and breaking stone. At the same place was a gang of boys of about eighty, from seven to eighteen years of age, employed in breaking stone, with overseers over them. They were obliged to break a certain quantity or be punished by flogging or cells. Many of them did not know what they were transported for. I asked them at different times, as I had opportunity; some would say, for picking pockets; some that their own father or mother had taught them to steal something to eat, as they had a large family, and were starving; they had been caught in the act and transported seven years. Others, that their parents, believing by false reports in newspapers, &c. ingeniously circulated, that Van Diemens is a fine country, and having a large family, think some of their children will do better there; to keep them from starving at home they go

before a magistrate with a boy of perhaps twelve years old and swear he has been stealing, and in this manner get rid of some of the family. Others knew not what they were there for—were told of some crime, but had no knowledge of it.

Our overseer was an elderly man, apparently well informed and quite sociable. I one day commenced a conversation with him, by asking him if it was possible that the English government transported boys of that age, many of whom knew nothing of the crime for which they were punished. His answer was different from what I expected. He says, there are not only hundreds of boys, but females of the same age and many older, now in this colony, who are suffering all the degradation of convicts, who only know the length of time they were sent for, and have no knowledge of committing any crime. He continued talking for some time, confirming the statements of the boys above alluded to. I know it to be the fact, said he, that many of the poor young women, being obliged to be servants to the rich in the old countries, and being thought nothing of on account of their poverty, are abused and insulted in every possible manner, by noblemen's sons. Hundreds, by having fair promises, offers of marriage, &c. &c., have advantage taken of their necessities, and when they consider themselves about to be disgraced by exposure, get some one for a few shillings to bring them before a magistrate and swear she has been stealing; and perhaps the same magistrate that passes the sentence of seven years transportation upon the poor unfortunate girl, is father to the same young gentleman, as he is called, before spoken of. Maybe the father was not acquainted with the circumstance, until the young lady attempts to defend herself, because she is not able to employ counsel. The father, discovering that disgrace and guilt is like to fall on his own son, instead of the girl, hushes it up at once by having her sent as soon as possible to Van Dieman's Land. Thus his dutiful son is screened and protected in crime, while the innocent victim is doomed to drag out a miserable life in a penal colony, where they are looked upon and used worse than the brutes by the same kind of characters that have been the means of

sending them there. This, said he, is the true character of the nobility, and the rich lordlings and tyrants of England. Said I, are you an Englishman? Yes, said he, I am, and have been ruined by our own corrupt government, as millions of others have been. I know, he continued, that England has and can produce some of the worst characters in crime of any nation in the world; but what makes them? I assure you that they are not among the likes of us, poor people, that they are to be found, but amongst the very leading characters in the nation, who, to hide their own crimes, palm them off upon others, and so, in nine cases out of ten, the innocent are made to suffer instead of the actually guilty. O, said he, you Americans, poor men, I feel for you; I have heard of your sufferings, for what I consider no crime at all. I suppose, said he, you of course know something of the manner of the management of England's lordlings over the poor, and the means they have to resort to to support monarchy and crush the poor to death, that they may keep the upper hand. He seemed to be rejoiced that he had found some of nearly his own opinion respecting England, to whom he need not be afraid to speak his mind. He appeared to be so well informed and anxious to talk that I could scarcely say a word.

The tenth bell rings, which is the signal for all gangs within hearing to quit work. We are ranked up, and on our way to the tenth or barracks, spoke to each other, wondering how such a man became overseer, and was glad we had been so fortunate as to have him over us. It appeared as if it were a miracle, that after being so long on the island, we had found a liberal minded overseer. We wondered much, but if you could hear all his history, as he afterwards gave it to me, you might wonder to,

We have now got to the tenth gate, after marching through some of the principal streets on our way to and from work. I felt at first a little ashamed while passing by the houses shabbily clothed in a convicts suit of magpye, but when I considered my crime, and that many of the citizens had been convicts, besides many more well dressed respectable looking men called freemen, and that many of the nobility ought to be convicts, and the prevailing misery,

and the little notice taken of the prisoner, except to punish for not touching your cap as these scape-gallows pass you by—taking these things into consideration, we were induced as we always had done, to carry our heads up, which was a great wonderment to them. We have often been asked why we appeared to stand our punishment so well? We always told them it was because what they considered a great crime, we considered an honorable action, and if we had succeeded, we should have been honored instead of being treated as we were.

Sometimes we have to stand near the gate half or three quarters of an hour, waiting for gangs of a hundred and fifty or two hundred to pass in, each gang taking their turn until all are in. The gate is then locked. Sentries are placed day and night at the gate.

It is often nine o'clock in the evening before they are all in, and then such work in getting our skilly, such rattling of chains, some fighting, others trying to fight, constables making their way to the church with some that had refused to work, or that had given insolence, or some other crime so called. I said to the church, but not to hear the praise of the good, for they are scarce there; but they are drove, starved, tired and discouraged, to take their night's lodging under the church, in dark, damp cells, with no sign of bedding; but maybe a little bread and water. They are brought in the morning before Mr. Gunn, and questioned by him as to their crime, and how they came in the cells that night.—In the bustle and confusion, they perhaps know not who put them in the cells, or for what, being hustled in by some constables. Perhaps the same constable, not being on duty the night before, was prowling about the city in a convicts dress, robbing some one, and immediately changing his dress, appears as peace officer, very much engaged in search of the stolen property; he had previously deposited some of the articles in the birth or bundle of some one of the prisoners. There is soon a reward offered for the goods and thief, perhaps five pounds. The constable now appears with the prisoner's bundle and some of the stolen articles; he had been on the look out; knew the prisoners would be brought before Mr. Gunn, Esq., and as he is questioning his intended

victim, the constable steps up. "This man, sir, was out night before last, sir—that night there was some goods stolen, sir. I mistrusted him, and put him immediately in the cell, sir, and on searching have found some of the articles in his birth, sir," (producing them rolled up in the prisoner's old shirt.) Here is the advertisement describing the stolen goods, likewise the reward. Mr. Gunn looks at them, and turns to the prisoner's police register. "I see, I see, this is one of the prisoners whose time has nearly expired, and who has been allowed on account of his good conduct the privilege of going out at evening to do some little jobs for himself, but could not keep from stealing; what a pity! in a few days you would be due for your ticket." The constable leaving no stone unturned, there can be no mistake. "This is his number and name on his shirt, sir, that the articles were rolled up in, sir." The prisoner attempting to speak in his own defence, the magistrate says, "Silence, you can say nothing to clear yourself; the crime is plain enough against you. I shall see fit to give you fifty lashes and twelve months addition to your original sentence on the roads. What a pity, as your time was nearly out."

The above sentence cannot be given by a single magistrate; there must be two, but it makes no difference if there was a dozen, in a case so clear as this, the man is sure to be severely punished, and the constable gets the reward and his name put in the gazette as being a very good constable, and recommended for higher office. I mention this as a sample of nearly all the peace officers. Hundreds of poor prisoners have been driven to desperation by such and similar acts; the consequence is they become what is termed very bad men, and sooner or later, giving up all hopes to end their long years of suffering and degradation as convicts—commit some desperate act, on purpose to end their days on the gallows, and their bodies are then mangled by young students that are numerous here from all parts of the old country, being allowed all the subjects they want amongst the prisoners, to practice upon, dead or alive. I would advise some of the faculty in this country that are obliged to rob the graves of their habitants if they could spare the time, to go to Van Dieman's, where they can have plenty of subjects to

dispose of as they may see fit. If there is one not quite dead, and is wanted for that purpose, he is completely in your power—do with him as you please—he is a convict, no one will enquire for him, perhaps all his friends have been convicts, and he the last one of the family, left for slaughter; but may be his wife knowing he was sent to a penal colony has been diligently searching him out—the last account she has of him is at the hospital. She may now be there asking you if you know anything of a man by the name of ———. You tell her you dont know there is so many brought to the hospital, and so many dying, you dont remember one of the name. She passes on to another and finally learns there was a man two or three years ago by the name, died in the hospital. She feels a little better; asks to be shown his grave, to sooth her she is shown the grave of some one or pieces of ones—tells her he is sure he was buried there, but it is a long time ago, tells her so, that she may not venture to take him up, he leaves her there—walks off laughing to himself, thinking how he had fooled the old woman, but no matter, if she is satisfied its her long lost husband, its just as well. The poor woman is now mourning over the grave, as she supposes, of her husband, broken hearted, pines away; is soon taken to the hospital, there you have her also; do with her as you please, she has no friends.—Thus England is rid of one poor family, but there are thousands more following them. In the general hospital in Hobart Town, passing the door of the dead house as it is called where bodies are deposited as soon as dead, and the dissecting room contiguous to it, I could see all round the room, and as it happened there was no one near me, I stepped to the door, it was a large room with tables or rather benches all around it—they were all filled with bodies, some whole, but mostly pieces. In one place lay a leg, in another an arm, head, &c. &c. Some bodies partly covered, others quite naked. Some pieces in boxes not covered, other boxes covered, ready to be carried away; eight or ten men in the yard dressed in long white frocks waiting to be called for—they were as I afterwards learnt, constantly employed in carrying away boxes with remnants from this and the dissecting rooms. As I stood gazing with wonder and astonishment at the beautiful



scenery before me, a man behind took hold of my shoulder, turning me suddenly around; "who are you? who told you to open this door? what business have you here? who gave you orders to look in here?" &c. &c, he went on so fast I had no chance to tell him that the door was open. He was a very savage looking man, although I say it myself, I am not in the habit of being scared at trifles, but just then I felt a little streaked; now you may laugh, but what was the cause, I cannot say; but just at that time, I thought of the Morgan scrape and the prospect of being blind-folded, gaged, bound hand and foot, and cast not into Niagara River, but prostrated on a dissecting bench, and of soon feeling sharp edged instruments, such as surgeons use to work up subjects with, but was soon relieved of my fears by finding myself in quick time in the yard, with orders not to come in again without particular business. As I found he was going towards the outer door, I needed very little compulsion, for that was the place I most desired, just at that time. On my arrival in the yard, which was not so very slow, a man asked me what was the matter. I told him I had given offence by taking a peep in the dead house, "Well," said he, "no one is allowed to go in there excepting particular persons." He appeared to be astonished; "it is a wonder," said he, "that it had not been your last peep." I said nothing respecting the door being already opened, and concluded if they would drop it, I would: for it seemed to me a rather unpleasant piece of business—this peeping into places where you are not allowed. I had to laugh about it many times afterwards; not of the scenery inside—but of my short peep and manner of introduction to "the hole the carpenter made." You may be assured, I was glad when I got into the yard. For some time after, it seemed as though I could feel the sharp instruments about my body; at all events, I have to this day, sharp pains in my body, produced by the tyrants daggers, that have so long and severely pierced me, yet I live, it is a wonder to me—and I am very confident that I am not the only one that can testify to the fact of having pains that will follow them to their graves, from the same cause, and many of our party, as well as thousands of their own subjects have not been able to withstand their repeated thrusts, have been obliged to

quail beneath them, and have gone down to a felon's grave, rejected and forsaken of man, and apparently of God; but is He not the prisoners God? consider this, O, yea Pharisees and hypocrites, who for pretence, make long prayers, wolves in sheep's clothing, who devour widow's houses, oppress the poor, &c. &c. I have reference here to some such as pretend to preach the gospel to prisoners in Van Diemens Land, that have great salaries, and care nothing for the soul of the prisoner—faring sumptuously, and have been known to be so inebriated with liquor, even on the sabbath, that they could not stand in the pulpit, whilst reading the old thread-bare form, which consists chiefly in reverencing Kings, Queens and earthly lords. I have reference to some such as the one who, on visiting the new scaffold that had been erected in place of the old one,—in company with his excellency and some others and being asked how he liked it, and if he thought it would answer the purpose, remarked in a careless manner, "he supposed it would do, but thought it was not as large as at times would be required; I think said he, ten would hang comfortable, but twelve would be rather crowded." I think this was when Arthur was there, the gallows was not large enough to hang them as fast as they were taken, after being compelled to take the bush, and for other crimes they were driven to. I was credibly informed this parson's salary was nearly as large as the governors and was a man of great influence in government affairs, always in attendance when there was a man to be hung—not so much to pray and give him comfort in his last moments, as to make him confess (if he was a bush-ranger;) where his plants were concealed, which were money, watches, jewellery, plate, &c., which they often have, perhaps taken from a rich settler, who has been the means of his taking the bush. Sometimes the old parson as he is called, gets hundreds of pounds in this manner, and as soon as he gets all the information necessary to find their plants, as they are called, is in a great hurry to have the rope put around the prisoner's neck, a short prayer is muttered, a form offered up for him, and the parson goes immediately in pursuit of the plants, in this manner a great many things are recovered, and if the parson is honest enough to restore them to the owners, is generally well

rewarded. If there is any government property, he is sure to restore it and by government sure to be handsomely rewarded, and so he is considered a very influential and useful man in government. He is however, hated by the prison population, which I was agoing to say was the best of the two, I suppose I might as well say it as think it, but are not the poor prisoners crushed to death under their cruel oppression? I say yes—are they his own crimes altogether for which he suffers? I say no. There was a man told me a circumstance that took place in the women's factory, as it is called, where there are hundreds kept to work with overseers over them; it is the largest building on the island, done off with two or three hundred small apartments, just large enough to contain one woman and a wash tub, together with a large square room to muster in, "one day," said he, "they were all called from their different apartments, and ranked up in the large room by their overseers, being told the parson would be there in a few minutes; now the female prisoners had mostly all heard of the old parson, and of his anxiety and delight in having the rope put around the necks of the prisoners; likewise of many other acts not very honorable for a parson, they had concluded if he ever came to see them again and talked as he had done to them and others, about their enormous crimes, &c., that they would give him a benefit. He soon came in, and began lecturing them by telling them of the enormity of their crimes, that their conduct had been disgraceful, that they were very bad women, &c. &c., and at the same time apparently under the effects of old alcohol, a signal given by some one of the ladies, they all made a rush at the parson, tore off his clothes completely, got him down and dragged him by the hair two or three times around the room, he at the same time halloing, "murder! murder!" Some of the ladies sang out, "tell us where your plants are, as you have made hundreds tell you, and then be in a great haste to have the rope put around their necks, for fear they might live to tell some one else." At the commencement of the row, the overseers had fled, for fear they might be served in the same way—had collected a force and returned, just as they were trying to make him tell where his plants were; after much trouble, they succeed-

ed in getting the reverend gentleman out of the room in a perfect state of nudity, and apparently little signs of life remaining, but mostly through fright—"for," said he "all they wanted was to frighten him, he being a tyrant and of course a coward. Their plan succeeded admirably." Said I "was not the women punished?" "yes," said he "I believe they were kept in the cells for a time, on bread and water, and he believed the old parson had not dared to venture there since, now two years.

He told me much more about the parson, but some may think I have already trespassed upon the character and dignity of the reverend gentleman. I have great reverence for good men, and by delineating the character of some, I would not be considered as alluding to good men and christians, by no means, for I believe there are a great many such in the world. Would to God there were many more, whose acts would show that they not only loved God, but the creatures he had made. O, that Love was more the ruling principle in man. Then there would not be so much cruelty, oppression and tyranny in the world. Religion does not consist in great profession of love to God, and at the same time grasping for salaries, whereby to lord-it over the people.

I was at another time listening to the conversation of a couple of men in Van Dieman's Land, respecting a parson who was in the habit of compelling us to listen to the old story on the sabbath, after a hard weeks toil and fatigue; not a man of us but who would have considered it a privilege to have rested on that day; but no, we must turn out to hear what to us was disgusting, especially from the source it came. They were talking of the parson's conduct towards a poor man that was driving a few sheep to the market—but on his way was obliged to stop over night. The parson happened to be near the road; as it was quite dusk, the man asked him if he knew of a place where he could put his sheep until morning, and as I understood, told the parson that he was out of money, but on his return from market would pay for the same. The parson told him he could turn them in the grave-yard, there was very good feed there, the parson ordered the gate opened; the sheep were put in and the gate locked. The man called in the morning for the key to open the gate that he

might take out his sheep, but was told he must, pay I think it was ten shillings, before the sheep were taken out. The man was obliged to borrow the money to pay the demand, that he might go his way. "I suppose," said one of the men, the sum demanded would amount to one of the poor man's fat sheep, I believe the man offered him one, but by demanding the money knowing his inability to pay, he expected to get two of them; "but," said he, "the good man was disappointed. When the money was tendered him, of course he could not refuse it." Whether this was true or not, I cannot say, but I heard a number speaking of the circumstance and all corroborating the above statement. I mention these things to show you that the reverend gentlemen appointed with great salaries, to teach the poor prisoner the way to Heaven; belong to the same craft with those who tyrannize and oppress the poor, and are supported in their rascality by government, because under the garb of the clerical suit, they can the easier blind the eyes of the people, and are some of the best tools England has for deeds of blood. I have been obliged to listen to the prayers of some that have told me, and others with me, that we had all ought to be hung, that they would do all in their power to have us hung, &c.. Still we have been compelled to attend their service as christian teachers.

But I must stop—not through fear of such characters as I have described, but of wounding the feelings of christians. But remember, it is not of christians I have been speaking. God deliver us from the hands of tyrants whether in the form of parsons or demons. I might say a great deal upon this subject, but must leave it, hoping that abler hands may take it up and fearlessly defend the rights of man against cruel oppressors, no matter how powerful they may be, it is every good man's duty to oppose them whilst he has breath. Have they not ruined Ireland? have they not only ruined thousands but millions in every country where they have had the power?

But as I before said, we remained at Hobart Town four weeks under this good overseer, but on the account of his not driving us to desparation, the superintendadt Mr. Slean, not only threatned to punish him, but threatned us all with

severe punishment if there was not more work done; now every man of us was anxious to do all we could to prevent this overseer from being punished, but all we could do would not satisfy him—every time he rode out to see us (the superintendent is allowed a horse to ride around to the different gangs;) his duty is to threaten and cause punishment. He came around every day—but no stated time in the day, but would approach from a direction different from what was expected, on purpose to catch some one idle, and it was often the case. He would send him at once to the cells, appear himself as witness—the prisoner is sure to be severely punished under this functionary's oath, nothing can save him.

Our overseer gave me an account of the petty officers, overseers, &c., on the island, but I cannot go through with all, as he told me, but the amount of it was, that they were obliged to be tyrants, but they did not want much compulsion, "for," said he, "I believe it is natural for an Englishman to be a tyrant, although I am an Englishman myself, I am not like the most of them—after being ruined by their own government, think, if they are not flogged every other day, that they do not get their deserts; and after having their backs literally cut in pieces, have been known to fight a man that dared to speak against the government.

He told me a great deal that many would not believe—but that I had seen, and known to be true. During our stay in the tench, every sabbath, all hands were ranked up, the names all called—and marched to the church—perhaps five, six, or seven hundred, to listen to the old tale, from men who we had been compelled to believe our enemies. I will not attempt a description of the scenery, for I am confident you would not believe it.

I suppose the reader has got tired of hearing of our sufferings—but have a little patience, I will be as brief as possible—the relating of them is not very agreeable to me, but not so bad as enduring all and more than I have time or room to relate. We were using our best endeavors to please, hoping Sir. John might see fit to show some signs of rewarding good conduct, by giving us our tickets, as he had intimated, before the expiration of two years. We had not

much hopes—still we did not know but some one would tell the old simpleton that he had punished us long enough without orders, and without a sentence. But we looked in vain for mercy from that quarter.

The clerks were busy one morning calling and selecting out a party of men to be sent away; amongst the number was myself and eight others of my comrades. We started out immediately with a guard—for when they are ready to move a party, they do not consult with you as to whether you are willing or ready to go—you have nothing to say in the matter whatever; no time to see friends or to settle long standing accounts, away you go at once—you need not ask your place of destination, for you are not your own, but belong to the Queen you are her slaves. She has a great many thousand in Van Diemens Land, as well as England and other parts. She is very rich, if you call holding slaves riches. But if all accounts are true, she must receive a great deal of money, obtained by the blood and sweat of these slaves, as well as by the sword and bayonet, from weaker nations—but I am getting off the track again. I might here say a great deal of her formidable Banditti. We are on our way, and to our surprise find ourselves in about an hour's time, on board a government schooner and very snugly stowed away in the hold, and the hatch closed, it is now dark—daylight was denied us because we were prisoners, but we are here in the dark four feet eight inches between decks; there had just been taken therefrom a quantity of coal, the coal dust together with bilge water, and nuisance tubs left no place to lay or even sit down, on account of the number, and obliged to stoop, for there was not room to stand. Taking all these things and more that cannot be described into consideration, you may be assured our situation was not one to be envied. During two days and nights, especially after putting to sea, the little bark rolling and tumbling, some singing out. "Oh God! I am dying, get off of my head."—some sea sick, some crying water for God sake some water, I shall die." but none of the calls were responded to, except by curses and imprecations, saying, "if we did not keep quiet, every man would be taken out and flogged." Some five or six when called up to leave the craft, could not get up without help.

Here we are, cast anchor within fifty rods of what are called the coal mines. Some thirty-five or forty were landed there, about thirty together with ourselves, not exactly tumbled into an old scow with six oars; but some being weak and feeble fell from the schooner's side into the scow. We was soon started off across the bay about three miles, landed, and marched up to a station in the bush, about a half a mile from the beach. It is now July, the second winter month; as we came from the hold of the schooner, it was cold and raining quite hard and continued to rain during our passage across the bay in an open boat. We were wet, chilled and starved to such a degree that it was with much difficulty we reached the station. You would have laughed to have seen us, for as bad as it was, we had to laugh at each other to think of our transformation from white slaves into black; for the coal dust with perspiration, had so changed our complexion, we hardly knew each other. The teeth and white of the eye resembled a darkey, but the general features, lips, nose, forehead, &c., indicated the white man. But in our situation, it made very little difference which we were. And to tell you the truth, the superintendant on beholding us, felt ashamed of us; you must know we looked bad. We were immediately searched or frisked, as it is called. This is customary at every new station we arrive at, and many times during our stay, for money, tobacco, or any articles not allowed by government. We were all paraded and searched; my health was poor I asked the superintendant if it was possible for me to have some dry clothes; "no," said he, "you cant change your clothing here as you might in England; even if you had to steal them, they might be had, but you cant steal them here." I then asked the good man if there was a doctor on the station? "no," said he. "there will be one here to-morrow, but you need not expect any favars from him unless you are actually sick." I then asked him, if there was a magistrate. "He will also be here to-morrow: do you wish to see them both," I do said I. "Well, you can go to work to day, and see how you are to-morrow." One or two of my comrades spoke and told the good man, Mr. Pringle, that I would not stand it long, unless I got help; but it was of no use; we must all go to work; it



was a new station, there were some three hundred at work grubbing trees, some sawing the timber, others carrying it together in large piles for burning, some carrying bark for huts, others splitting and carrying timber, whilst others were employed in building huts; the trees were grubbed, cut and carried together on ten or twelve acres. There were thirty or forty employed with the long English hoe, digging up the earth. Some were quarrying stone for cells others drawing them in carts about a mile from the station, others engaged in building a bridge or getty, as they called it, across the creek, from which the station derived its name, Saltwater Creek Station. There was no fresh water within a mile and a half of the station; there was a gang of ten or twelve employed with barrows and a half barrel cask fastened on each. The water was in a very bad place; the gang had to go three quarters of a mile across a flat, and when it was high tide, they had that distance to wheel the barrow, loded, through mud and water, often three feet in depth; and when we came to the creek, which is about twenty rods across, at times our heads were all you could discover. It was a sluggish stream; with very little current; if there had been much of a current, it being so deep, it would have been impossible to have forded it, especially with loaded barrows. The water was cold, for it is now winter, there was no snow or ice, but cold winds and rainy disagreeable weather.

My object in describing this place, is, because it is the last station we had anything to do with, and we were near ending our days there. There were constables and soldiers in abundance, to prevent the prisoners from taking the bush, and overseers to each gang, for there was so many kinds of work, it required a great many overseers. Some gangs of six, some of twelve, twenty, thirty, thirty five, &c. There were as many as fifty overseers, and nearly as many different gangs. There was two gangs of boys, of about twenty five in each, from nine to eighteen years of age. At this station, as well as all others, it will be impossible to relate all that took place, but I shall without any exaggeration attempt a description of a part. Now please to consider our situation on landing there, and of being in less than two hours, in the water gang, as it is called. It was considered the

worst place, and as we afterwards learnt, all were sentenced to that gang for punishment, from the different gangs, but many of them were released as we arrived to take their places. We are now on our way for water, there was three or four old hands ahead, going faster than a walk, the overseer singing out, "keep up, keep up," we are now crossing the flat, water a little above our knees, but growing deeper,—now crossing the creek, water up to our necks and quite chilly—After we got through (overseer.) "fill up them barrels quick."—soon filled; "pick up your barrows and move on, no resting." About eighty rods from the creek, the low land was rough and muddy. We are now back and in the creek, but in getting up the bank, some, myself one, could not get our barrows up, overseer cursing and damning us at a terrible rate, threatening to take us before the magistrate, finally having his own sport for a time, he orders some of those that were stroger, that had got through, to take hold and help us up the bank. Although it is winter, we are now very warm, the sweat rolling from us in streams. I cannot describe my feelings, but was confident in my situation that two or three trips in the water gang would put an end to my sufferings in Van Dieman's Land. At all events I was determined to ask no more favors, let it come as it would, but J. D. Fero one of my comrades and a fine young man, seeing and knowing my situation, without my knowledge, went to the superintendant and told him he was confident that I could not stand it to wheel another load of water. He told him to go to his work, but just as we were starting back for another load, the superintendant called out "Robert Marsh," I answered, "come this way," I stepped up to him. Said he "I heard you are like to die and cant stand it to wheel." Said I, did not I tell you that I wanted to see the doctor, that I was quite unwell. "Yes," said he, "but there are so many complaining, I cannot hear to all. You can go to the hut, the doctor will be here to-morrow, but if you are not sick you will be punished." I went into an open hut with no fire, unrolled my old blanket, and rugg, and lay down—being wet and almost worn out. I had by spells through the night cold chills and a high fever, slept none, had no appetite, and could not eat a mouthful. I can-

not describe my feelings, but I had very little hopes of ever recovering. About noon the next day, the doctor came into the hut and asked if there was any one sick. I was laying in my berth covered up, before I had time to answer, he was told by some one, there was none sick in that hut, but he believed there was one in the next one. With much difficulty, I got out of my berth, went to the door and told the sentry to call the doctor. He came back, "Well," said he, "what is the matter with you, why did you not speak when I was in." I told him he went away so quick I had not time. I at once gave him an account of our situation on arriving there, and of my treatment, as well as others, and of my complaint, which was pain in the breast of long standing, that I had told Mr. Pringall, likewise some of my companions told him my health was poor, and that I needed some dry clothing, &c., He gave me some medicine with directions, and said I must keep quiet. He went to Mr. Pringall, told him he had just heard a very bad account of him and if true, he deserved punishment, told him to get some dry clothing immediately, and cause me to be taken the best care of until he came again. In about a week I began to get a little better and in the course of a fortnight the doctor said I could do a little light work, but must be very careful, for said he, "it is doubtful whether you ever get over the pain in your breast. I told him I had been exempt from hard labor two or three times, since I had been on the island, but when I was willing to do all I could, more had been demanded of me, until I was obliged to complain to the magistrates, &c.

There was what was called the invalid gang; picking up brush, &c. I was put with them but did not stay long, Pringall the superintendant had marked me for severe treatment, on account of complaining to the doctor, which had caused him a severe reprimand from him. The invalid gang was ranked up every morning and were told they were much in want of two or three men to join some gang that was at some work they were in a great hurry to have done. Now Pringall durst not order them at heavy work without orders from the doctor, but would ask if any one two or three would volunteer to go, "Marsh," said he, "it is not very hard work

had not you better try it." I told him the doctor had given orders for me to do light work. "O, well," said he, "that is light work;" perhaps the first day the overseer may favor you a little, but you are soon forgotten as being an invalid and obliged to do the same as the rest of the gang, although the work is very hard and you are confident it is injuring your constitution, yet you cannot get out of the gang unless you are actually down sick. Now, I was not sick, but in constant misery from pain in the breast. Many were the nights I never closed my eyes to sleep from pain fatigue and hunger, for our rations was never as much as we required; we were hungry all the time, unless actually sick. I was sent in the bush with the bush gang. Each gang is known by the work they are doing; some were employed peeling, some cutting trees for peeling, which was often a mile and a half from the station. The bark was green and heavy, it was from trees called stringy bark, it would peel similar to our hemlock, and grow about the same size. The trees were mostly all cut down with a cross-cut saw, then gurdelled round every eight or ten feet—the bark peeled off whole and is used for covering huts. The strips were very unhandy to carry, we were obliged to lay them on our heads. there were thirty or forty in single file, each one with his bark on his head travelling through the bush, with the overseer giving orders, which generally was "move on, there, go a little faster." If you did not obey the orders, or if you stopped to rest without orders, you are taken at once before the superintendant, "this man disobeyed my orders, sir, he refused to carry his load sir," and he is put in the cells, and perhaps lays there two or three days, before the magistrate comes on the station, then he often has ten or twelve to try, and scarcely one escapes punishment in some way, either by flogging or a continuation in the cells perhaps ten days. When they come out they look like skeletons, but are obliged to go immediately to work. I remained in this gang three days, and then told Mr. Pringall the work was rather hard for me. He then put me in the hoeing gang, digging up the earth with the long heavy hoe; "that," said he, "will be a little lighter. I remained in that gang four days and told him the work was rather hard. He then put me in the

carrying gang. Said he, "you can carry light timber." There were three gangs at work carrying large and small timber from different parts of the bush, for the bridge, or getty, as they called it. It was nearly a half a mile in length and ten feet in breadth, it was to extend across the low land and creek, where there was a stone quarry, and fresh water. There were two gangs of twenty each, engaged laying the large timber. Three of my comrades were in that place through the winter, they were obliged to be in the water the most of the time, up to their knees, and all the time with wet feet.

I was sensible there was no use in complaining, for invariably, instead of bettering my condition, Mr. Pringle would so arrange it, that it would be harder instead of lighter. I continued in the carrying gang some time, that overseer was not quite as hard as some others; although he allowed me to carry small timber, it was green, and heavy for me in my condition, and I have often thought that if my work was at times a little lighter than others, that scarcely a man in the whole party actually suffered as much as I did. Some in the party seemed to be sensible of it, and others would sometimes complain, thinking their's was much harder than mine. Even if I had done nothing at all, I believe my actual sufferings exceeded those that were well and able to do heavy work. Scarcely a man however, but was obliged to work harder than he was able, being cold, wet and hungry—their constitutions have been ruined forever. I am sure mine has. Nearly all the prisoners at this place were Irish, but English overseers and officers, and I can assure you, there was very little mercy shown the poor Irishman.

It would be hard for you to credit the sticks of timber that we carried on the shoulders at that place, recollect all the logging was done by hand. We had no cattle as we have in this country to draw the logs together. The timber was very large and green, they had to make very large piles in order to burn them which required a great deal of it to be carried eighty ninety and one-hundred rods. The men being arranged along on either side, the overseer sings out, "pick it up," perhaps after two or three trials they succeed

in getting it on their shoulders; orders are then given to move on, and they cannot stop until they reach the pile, let the distance be short or long. If a man is seen to flinch under the enormous weight, which some being taller than others are obliged to do, they are sent at once to the cells, tried, get thirty or sixty lashes, and set to work at once with the back unmercifully mangled and bleeding; perhaps before it is healed gets thirty more. I am aware this will be hard for many to believe, but it is truth. The flagellator is a prisoner, and if he fails in striking with all his might, is sure to be broke of his billet and receive the lashes himself. There was scarcely a day that we were not ranked up on the square in the morning, and obliged to witness one or more—often five or six flogged, and then all hands marched away to their work, ten was the highest number flogged at that place, at one time, the flagellator gave out, the second man was called to finish the two last. There was one man flogged whose age was sixty-one. I have often seen men of forty and fifty years of age lashed hand and foot to the triangles and receive sixty lashes on their bare backs and for what I considered no crime at all. There was a man whose business it was to travel back and forth from this place to the mines every other day with despatches for the officers of the different stations. The coal mines are eight miles by land and three by water. One day he told us he saw one-hundred flogged there, before he left, which was ten o'clock. He said they had four flagellators and four triangles at the mines, which were idle scarcely a day in the year. It is a horrible place, we used to hear from there often, and have seen many with their backs so cut in pieces that they were quite crippled for life. They are obliged to bring a sack of two bushel stone coal on their backs or shoulders through a dark narrow passage on their hands and knees, thirty, forty and fifty rods. Many unable to stand it long fail, and are often flogged for it.

Port Arthur is on a peninsula and likewise our station, the distance from port Arthur being fifteen miles; There was a party of forty came from that place to our station; they had been there but a short time before they wished themselves back. Scarcely a man of them but said the work was a

great deal harder than at Port Arthur, although that place was called the worst on the island; it was very bad, but they thought it was not as bad as Salt Water Creek Station. We heard by them from our friends that had been sent there for taking the bush, they were all well; they told us they had it much easier than we did. They said that the three or four first weeks they had it very hard, we were glad to hear they were having it easier, for we had feared, according to accounts and by what Sir John told us, that they never would live to see America or any other part of the globe—but it appeared that the officers there (on account of their being there for the crime they were) after hearing Sir John's abusive speech to them concluded to treat them better. May they never be sorry for that kind act; as Miller and Stewart left our party for the purpose of getting out of the hands of tyrants and had it been in their power to have assisted any or all of the party in getting away, I believe they would have done so; but on account of failing in the attempt, the whole party were made to suffer. Sir John did not only intend to have us all shot if we took the bush, but was going to follow us to the United States if we succeeded in getting there, and bring us all back. Although he was a big man and had us in his power, yet I believe after all his severity and threats, not a man of us was ever very much frightened.

After we had been about four months at this place, Pringall gave out word at evening that the men could all stop in the next day, that his excellency the lieutenant governor, was expected there; we must all appear as well as possible; accordingly about noon he appears—we were in rank by ourselves. After he had delivered one of his splendid speeches, to the party in general, his Royal Highness' eyes were fixed on us, "O, these are some of the Canadians, (turning to the superintendant) how has their conduct been since they have been here?" "generally good, your excellency." "I am glad to hear it. I told you if your conduct remained good you would soon get your tickets; your time will soon be up now, and I shall see you get your tickets the very day you are due for them. I hope you will continue to be good men, &c." Now we were determined to ask no favors of him, after lying to us so often. So we said not a

word to him, feeling confident his word was good for nothing. He asked if the men all attended church every Sabbath, and was told they did. "I am glad, and hope they will all become better men; you all came here, with very bad characters; you are sent here for punishment, though some of you have committed greater crimes than others, and some perhaps worse men than others—but it makes no difference; you are all sent here for punishment, therefore you must expect it, but depend upon it, men, good conduct shall be rewarded." Now I was not the only one that was perfectly satisfied that the big man was not only flattering, but wilfully telling falsehoods: we had proved him to be a man destitute of truth. Now, every Sabbath the men were all ranked up, and their names called; they were even taken from the cells and all marched into a large temporary open building, denominated the church—a temporary pulpit erected at one end. After the men are all seated, the Rev. Mr. Pringall, the tyrant superintendant appears. After the constables, overseers and soldiers had succeeded in enforcing silence, some present that had the day before been flogged, hundreds that had been at different times, others who have been punished in different forms, are now favored with the reading of the old church of England form in a great hurry, by Mr. Pringall. It was soon through, if there was some that could not sit still, being in misery from hard labor and abuse, their backs sore from the lashes, &c., they are put at once in the cells, and sure to be punished for bad conduct in time of service. Thus the prisoners in Van Dieman's Land, although outlaws and very bad men, as Sir John says, after being drove, starved, flogged, kicked, pounded and insulted in every possible manner through the week, are blest with divine service on the Sabbath. O, what an inestimable privilege; what a blessing, had not the poor unfortunate slaves of happy old England ought to feel thankful that after being ruined and driven to desperation, insulted and abused in every possible manner, had they not ought to rejoice for the privilege of hearing the gospel on the Sabbath day. Service is performed to satisfactorily answer the question that may be asked, how are the poor prisoners treated in Van Dieman's land? if answered by a prisoner is not believed, but an En-



glish gentleman will tell you they have all the privileges that can be wished for, they have good clothing, good provisions, good comfortable huts and bedding, good men to oversee them, good magistrates—finally officers all good—and to convince you that England is a good and christian nation, tells you that they have at a great expense furnished the prisoners with christian ministers, &c. His account of the prisoners are credited, because he is a gentleman and perhaps is sporting on the prisoners just dues at the same time. I mention these things not to screen the man that justly deserves punishment. I believe there are many among the prisoners that are deserving of it, but in nine cases out of ten they are punished because they are unfortunately poor and have been robbed by the same ones that are oppressing and grinding them to the dust; and to show you at the same time, that the prisoner has no possible chance of escape or redress, because the means are put out of his power, they are kept so they have no hope in this life, no friends, nothing but despair and grief and thousands of modes of sufferings that cannot be easily described and only known to the prisoner; finally they sink to their graves neglected and soon forgotten, felons and very bad men and women, excuse me for I cannot express my feelings on this subject, although I have been an eye witness for seven years, what I have endeavored to say, though the half cannot be told, be assured what I have said is no fiction. I have experienced it and much more, but I am not the only one, there are others that have returned with me, ready to testify to more than I can say upon the subject, in this pamphlet; besides about forty more remaining in Van Dieman's Land when I left, that I will warrant you will not be backward, if they should ever be so fortunate as to return, in confirming the truth of my statements respecting the oppressors.

O that it was in my power to bring them from that horrible place! I cannot express my feelings and anxiety in their behalf.

We remained at this place through the winter, spring and summer, undergoing many changes, but always for the worse; it was with great difficulty we survive our appointed time of probation. At last, the two years expired, and we

informed the good Mr. Pringall that according to Sir John's promise we were due for our tickets, "yes," said he, "but there is no vessel here to take you to Hobart Town, but I expect the government schooner here in a few days, then you can go to town and get your tickets, but you will only be allowed to choose a district in the interior, and there remain." But, said we, Sir John told us we would have the privilege of the island, excepting Hobart Town and Launceston; as they were seaport towns, we would not be allowed to stop there for fear we would make our escape. "Well," said he, "this is the order of the governor; you can come up to my office and make choice of your district;" We were not acquainted with the districts and did not know which was the best for us; we could all choose one district if thought proper, but must remain there; he had the names of seven for us to choose one from; he told us he believed Oatland, and Cambletown districts were considered two as good as there was; we chose them; not knowing which was the best; "now," said he, "you had better keep on with your work, the schooner will be here in a short time; then you can go to town and get your tickets, we continued on five weeks, and the sixth week the schooner arrived with a load of prisoners, and we together with some fifty-six others were stowed away the same as we were on going to that place, and suffered equally as much; we were nearly three days going to town, about eighty miles, the wind not being favorable. Notwithstanding all that went were due for their tickets, yet they were treated the same as other prisoners, on board that terrible little prison schooner: as we were undergoing all that men could and live on board that craft, during three days and nights, we reasoned one with another wondering what our destiny would be, and how long Sir John would continue to reward us after that manner, for good conduct; although her Majesty's representative, can you doubt his being a liar?—excuse me for using the term; I must tell my opinion and what I know to be facts, although he is a big man. I know him to be one, because he promised we should have our tickets at the expiration of two years, and that it should be for the privilege of the whole island, except Hobart Town and Launceston. Does he reward us for good conduct? no, but

continues to punish.—Did he warn us not to associate with the old hands? yes,—did he separate us and distribute us around the island in small parties to mix with the old hands? he did,—did not he say he hoped when he got the letter from England concerning us, that it would be favorable and when he gets the letter, was it not in his power to show us some more favor, than he was showing?—it was. Is not Sir John Franklin, Lieutenant Governor of the island of Van Dieman's Land, commander in chief of her Majesty's forces therein, &c., a big man and a big liar? I positively declare that he has been nothing to us but a liar, a tyrant, and a villain in every sense of the terms. Does England uphold him in such conduct, and suffer us to be ruined without any recompense or chance of redress. That remains to be known.

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## CHAPTER VII.

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*Receive that inestimable Treasure, A Ticket of Leave, as Sir John terms it, or next thing to Liberty.—&c. &c.*

We arrived at Hobart Town, marched about one-half or three-quarters of a mile to the barracks or tench, scarcely able to stand upon our feet, get into the yard, sit, or rather fall down upon the ground. You cannot imagine our condition; but just refer back to our condition on board the schooner, and on our landing at Saltwater Creek Station, and you may form some faint idea of our situation as we are reclining upon the earth in the tench yard; amongst the rattling of chains, tramping and clamor of some five or six hundred, we crawled into one corner to keep from being crushed to death by the multitude; there we remained about two hours and a half;—it is now sundown, the prisoners are

all ranked up, their names called as they go into their humble lodgings for the night, hungry, tired and discouraged, try to obtain rest amongst filth and vermin. Our names were not called, and we began to think our lodging would be upon the ground that night—it is quite dark and still in the yard, there we are in one corner reclining upon the damp earth, not a word was said by either of us for some time. I cannot tell their thoughts, neither can I describe my own, but I believe we were all thinking of our fate: at last, I broke silence by remarking, if this manner of Sir John's rewarding good conduct and of granting indulgence, continues much longer, although we have managed to bear up till now, I am fearful as the doctor of the ship told us, that our chance of ever seeing our native land was rather small. After remaining there until about ten o'clock, a constable on the look-out discovered us; "who are you, what business have you out here this time of night, was you not mustered?" we told him who we were, and that we had not been mustered since leaving the schooner, except as you see us, and our situation induced us to think, that would be our last muster, except it was to muster what little strength was remaining to bid adieu to this unpleasant isle. "what," said he, you dont talk of taking the bush, now you are due for your tickets of leave? why, said he, I thought you men had all got your tickets two months ago, I am sure some of them did;" we said we did not know but that we had been due for what is called tickets of leave, nearly two months ago, but what it would finally amount to, was more than we could say; but, as Sir John told us at one time it would be next thing to freedom, but not to leave the island; the prospect bids fair for Sir John to hold our bodies and nothing more, for the prospect is of our spirits soon leaving them, either in the hands of Sir John, or the surgeons, but it will make very little difference. 'Well,' said he, 'I should think it was time you was mustered into some place for the night,' said I, it appears our warrant or sentence is lost; "what do you mean by that," said he, "I thought you were all sent here for life; it does certainly seem that our life is what they are after, but it is a singular way of punishing a man for life' without receiving a sentence of any kind, either for life or death; "well," said

he, "what do you mean by your warrant or [sentence?" I mean the list of our names; it must be lost, or we would be mustered. , 'why,' said he, "do you call that a sentence," I dont know what it would be called in a court of justice, but that is all the sentence we ever had passed upon us, but perhaps they may think by calling over our names and mustering us some thousands of times and compelling us to become slaves and treating us as such for the last three years, will answer every purpose of receiving a sentence; it seems it has answered the purpose so far, but I think if the list or warrant is lost, they had ought to let us go free. But hark, the clerk sings out, "where are them Canadians that come in to day on the government schooner." "Here they are sir," sings out the constable;" "fetch them this way." The warrant is not lost, our names are called,—constable speaks, "these men say they never received a sentence, sir," clerk, "silence, I should judge they were satisfied by this time their sentence was life; what business is it to you what their sentence is? take them away," constable, "there are no vacant berths for them sir." Clerk—"put them in the old barracks across the way;" "that place is full sir,," "Well, try, I think you can stow them away." "They say they have had nothing to eat to day, sir," "no matter, its too late now, they must wait until morning." We move off, scarcely able to stand; the door of the barrack opens; there are no berths and some twenty-five or thirty lay on the floor, the room apparently stowed full, the constable sings out, "make room here, lay closer together, we crowd in, unroll our filthy bedding, which was our old blanket and cotton rugg, that was dealt out to us the first night on landing at Sandy Bay Station. All prisoners are obliged to carry their bedding with them wherever they go, to the different stations about the island, until they are completely worn out. We laid down as well as we could, but in our condition could not sleep much during the night. We turn out early in the morning, but our names not being amongst the class of laboring men, there was no notice taken of us until they were all through with their breakfast, or pint of skilly, mustered and away to their work. We being left, were asked who we were; on being told, we were called to the office, our names called

over, and was told by the clerk to wait a short time in the yard; that he would see Mr. Gunn and learn what was to be done with us. Now we had eat nothing of any consequence for the last three days. I asked the clerk whether it was on the account of good or bad conduct that our rations had been stopped. As he held our warrant or list of names, I supposed he would know. He made no reply, except, "I will see." We lay or sat in the yard until noon, determined not to ask again. When the men came in for their dinner, it was mentioned in talking with some of them, that we had had nothing to eat for three days, to speak of. Although they had not enough for their own dinner, they willingly shared their scanty allowance with us. We lived in that way until the second day, when we were again called, our names repeated over by the clerk, and were sent with some constables to the chief police magistrate's office, and received a small bit of paper signifying that we must proceed forthwith to our district, and there remain, and to report ourselves to the chief police constable in that district every Saturday night. If we failed in so doing, or was caught out of our district, we would be liable to lose our tickets and be put back on the roads again. We went back to the tench and two days rations was weighed out to each. We was told, we would be allowed two days to get to our district.

We have now, after serving six weeks over the two years got what is called a ticket of leave; but Sir John told us it would not be to leave the island, but that we could go any where on the island, except the two sea-port towns. It finally turns out that we can go nowhere, excepting in our district, under a penalty of losing what he called the next thing to freedom, and of being put on the roads again. We had been due for slops and clothing three months before leaving Salt Creek Station; we were very ragged, and some of us had scarcely a sign of a shoe to our feet. Add to that our feeble state by being worked, starved and abused in every possible manner, during two years and six weeks in that horrible place, and about fifteen months before landing of sufferings that cannot be described, and now just from that horrible little prison schooner, with scarcely anything to sustain life for the last three days. Behold us now with

our old ragged and filthy bedding, our poor mutton and coarse bread upon our backs, and not a farthing to pay for the least thing on the road, about to undertake a journey in the interior of 55 miles, amongst strangers, not knowing whether we will be able to meet with any one on arriving in our district, that would employ us, or even permit us to work for our victuals. I can assure you the prospect seemed rather gloomy.

We accordingly start off, about the middle of the day, with strict orders not to tarry on the way, for if we failed in being in our district at the time allowed us, we would be liable to be taken up by constables and severely punished. We had not got over three miles, when we were met by a policeman, who demanded an account of ourselves. We at once told him we were what Sir John denominated ticket of leave men. Said he, I am not allowed to take your word for that; produce your tickets; we, of course, having that little inestimable treasure which Sir John termed next thing to freedom, were compelled to show them in less than three hours from the time of receiving them. He looks at them and smiles. Said he, "that is as singular a ticket of leave as I ever saw. Why, you are confined to one district only. It's very hard times, just now, and if you should fail in getting employment there, what will you do, as you are not allowed to go to any other place? The Government deals very singularly with you Canadians, as near as I can learn, the Governor had no business to receive you in the colony. I understand you never received any sentence." We said, "no, we were tried by a corrupt court martial in Canada, and hustled away, our destination being unknown to us, and I believe to the people generally, and after fifteen months unheard of sufferings, especially in this enlightened age, we were finally landed at this prison island;—having no sentence, the governor was apparently at a loss to know what to do with us, but finally concluded to put us at work on his highways. After we had labored about ten and a half months, the loyal general finally concluded he would honor us with a sentence, which was to labor two years on the roads, but with repeated promises however that good conduct should be rewarded. There

has never been any thing but a continual effort on our part to sustain a good character, though everything seemed to oppose us ; but after struggling through the two years, with an addition of six weeks, we are at last in possession of what you now see. Look at that bit of paper, and then upon our situation as to clothing and ability to sustain ourselves, even if we were able to labor for wages. The prospect appeared very gloomy, but in our present plight it looks still more gloomy.<sup>22</sup> He said he was a ticket-of-leave man, and was serving out his time, which was two years, as mounted police-man. It was not in his power to render us any assistance, but he felt sorry for us—he had heard we were well-behaved men, and government ought to feel ashamed to treat us in the manner they had. It cannot be possible that the home government is aware of Sir John's treatment of you. Said I, it is very evident he has received private orders from government to treat us with such severity, for he is too big a coward to do it on his own responsibility—that it appeared to be a smuggled up piece of business altogether, from beginning to end. There appeared to be a plenty of law, but in our cases there has been neither law nor justice. Where law and power fails in England, intrigue and bribery is a substitute. O yes, said he, England is getting very corrupt. Well, good by, take care of yourselves as well as you can ; it is a shame that you should be treated in this manner, for what I consider no crime at all. There needs a rebellion, or something else here, good bye.

Now, kind reader, just imagine yourself in a foreign land, destitute of friends, no money, no clothes, discouraged, sick, and worn out by hard labor, a substitute for horses and oxen, starved and insulted in various forms that cannot be described, for nearly three and a half years, and meeting a stranger, in all appearance a man of knowledge, addressing you, though in a policeman's garb, with words of sympathy and kindness, do you think you could manifest any other than feelings of gratitude, and rejoice to see such a man, though sorry to see him obliged to serve the government which he despised ? I know not what your feelings would be, but those were mine, as he disappeared in the



distance. I felt as though I had lost a friend. These few words of kindness seemed to revive us a little, as we moved slowly along ; for our feeble condition, with sore feet, made it impossible for us to go very fast. We met four constables during that afternoon, each one demanding who we were. To each one we had to produce what was called next thing to freedom, which would allow us to go on a mile, perhaps, before it must be shown again.

Night comes and finds us about nine miles from Hobart town ; we find lodging in a shepherd's hut ; although it was on the ground, there was a temporary covering to the hut. We got a frying-pan of the shepherd, but when we had our mutton ready for frying, found not a particle of fat. So we were obliged to boil it in the pan. We had to go nearly a mile for some water, and then partook of our humble fare. Being tired, we spread out our old blankets, and soon fell asleep. Morning came, and two of the party, upon being told we were ready to start, exclaimed, " why the bell has not yet rung." Upon being told, it had, and the gang had all gone out to work, they sprang up, apparently in a complete state of bewilderment. This was the first night for two years that we had been allowed a good night's sleep without being obliged to turn out at the ring of the station bell ; it appeared very odd to us. We took our bite of coarse bread and poor meat, and started off, met a number of constables and policemen, all demanding a view of our little treasure. Nothing of consequence occurred that day. The feet of some of our party were so sore that they could not wear their shoes, and some, having none to wear, might be traced by the blood caused by the sharp flint-stone that we were obliged to travel on for miles on some parts of the road. Night comes ; we can find no shelter, but build a little fire in the edge of the bush, not far from the road. We roasted some of our meat on the coals, and camped down ; when the fire got low, and we chilly, we got up and renewed it. Presently, a constable sings out, who is there ? On being told, he said it was contrary to orders to have a fire kindled in the bush. We asked him what men were to do who were obliged to sleep in the bush. Well, said he, they must sleep without fire ; there are so many bush ran-

gers about, we might be taken for some, and punished.—But, said I, we are ticket-of-leave men ; certainly, we will not be punished for sleeping in the bush, when we can get no other place to sleep. Says he, it is against the law, you must find some other place.

Here we are in a fine quandary ;—must be at a certain place in two days, a distance of 55 miles, and in our situation not able to get over 15 miles a day, and that with great difficulty—no money to pay for a night's lodging—no one to give as a lodging—not allowed to lay in the bush, with or without fire—what are we to do ? Why, said I, what do we want more, have we not got a ticket of leave, which the Governor said was next thing to freedom ?—are we not almost free ? Yes, says one, we are almost free to be nowhere, and still bound under the penalty of severe punishment if we are not at a certain place at a certain time. Yes, says another, we have finally got the indulgence that has been so long promised us. Well, said the constable, there is a vacant hut about a mile further on ; you had better go there. We finally proceed in search of the hut ; it was quite dark ; we could not see over ten feet to distinguish anything. We searched some time, and at last found it ; we went in, kindled a little fire, spread down our blankets on the ground, which they very much resembled although they were once white. Being very tired, we slept rather late in the morning. We had a small quantity of provisions left,—roasted all we had, which was not enough to satisfy our appetites. It is now all gone, and we half way to our district. We start on ; that forenoon meet two constables, with five female prisoners. They demanded our protection, and on finding we were some of the Canadian prisoners, told us some of our comrades had got their tickets two months ago—said there were a number scattered about in Cameltown district, but it was very hard times, and many of them are at work for their board, and get very poor board at that. He believed there were some that had taken some land to work of a gentleman by the name of W. Kommode, living on the edge of Cameltown district. There were two or three of our party who had made choice of Oatland district, which we had to pass through, and were

within eight miles of the edge of it. The island is set off in districts, some larger than others; they vary from ten to twenty miles in length and breadth. Some of them are more thickly settled and better than others.

All the best of the land has been taken up by rich men from England, there having been a law passed to favor the aristocracy, by granting them an acre of land for every pound currency they might bring into the colony. All they had to do was to show the amount they had on landing, and they could go at once and make choice of the land. This law continued in force until all the best of the land was taken up by rich men, that they might more easily have it in their power to keep the upper hands of the poor laboring man, and continue to crush him to the dust. There were many who stood ready, knowing the scheme beforehand, and having had a voice in getting up and passing the act, to flock to the island, some having twenty, thirty, or forty thousand pounds which, of course was all the recommend that was required by the governor, who understood the game; all they had to do was to show the money, which was a sure sign that they belonged to the clan; the best of the land was thus soon taken up by these gentlemen, and what was left the poor man had the privilege of purchasing at an enormous price.

On our way from Hobart town, every three to six miles we would pass a very fine farm or estate as they are called, with fine buildings. The gentleman owner, though it cost him nothing, is allowed as many slaves from government as he wants to grub and till his land; the lady is allowed as many female servants as she wishes, and if they do not suit, prefers some charge against them, and sends them in to government; you may see them coming and going, some one, two, three, or six, in charge of constables, continually on the road for punishment one way or the other. The constables in charge of those five females appeared sociable. I asked them what their crimes had been that they were going to be punished for. The women speaking, said it was for disobedience of orders; the lady that they had been servants to was a regular tiger, (term for tyrant) do all they could she was not satisfied, would require more work done

than they could possibly perform, and in failing sends them back to the factory or work-house that I have before alluded to, situated near Hobart town ; they are there put to the wash tub, perhaps three months, for punishment, to satisfy lady so and so, and others sent her instead.

These rich men's wives or ladies, are generally well known by the officers throughout the colony, and those are considered the greatest and richest ladies who have the most servants or slaves, and cause the greatest number to be sent in for punishment on account of disobedience of orders; and the excuse is often that they cannot do her work in good style ; this is for a show-off, to make the people think she being such a great lady, so very particular and nice, cannot find servants that know how to do the work in the style she wants, and thus she has thirty or forty different servants sent in every year for punishment, and new ones sent to her. Such a one is called by the servants a tiger, and by the nobility, a great lady. Her husband is perhaps a member of the Governor's council, or a magistrate, and as big a tyrant as his lady. The gentleman often has forty or fifty slaves to work on his estate, and selects the worst one or two for overseers over the rest, and if he does not have the work done and in good style, is broke of his billet and put in the gang to work, and others tried until the tyrant is found who will suit the gentleman, who is driven around his estate in a carriage by a slave, as often as two or three times a week to inspect the work. When he approaches, the prisoner is obliged to touch his old skull cap, and must say yes sir and no sir to questions that he may ask ; but he hardly ever speaks to any one except the overseers ; they are held accountable for everything, and if a man does not do exactly as he is bid by his companion overseer, he is at once taken before the master, with a long list of complaints, and of course must be severely punished, to support the overseer in his rascality and tyranny. Many are the men who have been driven in this way to take the bush, and are then considered out-laws, highway robbers, &c., and a reward offered for them dead or alive. They are sure to be taken sooner or later, and thus their career in this life closes ; they are what are termed very bad men,

but if you had been a spectator, or experienced what I have during the last six or seven years in that horrible place, methinks you would not be long in making up your mind which was the worst, the servant or his master. I am fully convinced that with very few exceptions, the master, or gentleman, or tiger, whatever you may please to call him, is many degrees worse than the white prisoner, servant or slave, as you please to term him.

We are now in Oatland district ; the persons who took their tickets for that district, call at a gentleman's house, or rather at his slave's huts, and inquire if the gentleman is at home ; being told he was, one of them steps to the front door and knocks ; a servant opens the door, and discovering by his dress that he was not a gentleman, but a prisoner, tells him to go round at the other door and wait outside ; she would tell her master ; he stands there nearly half an hour ; at last the master appears. " Well, what do you want ? " " I called to see if you stood in need of a man. " " No," said he, " I have got more now than I want ; " he turns and leaves him. Recollect, we had finished the last of our rations that morning ; it was now about noon. We stopped at the next gentleman's house and tried for work, but could get none ; we asked the gentleman if we could have a bite to eat, as our rations were not sufficient to last us to our district ; we had eaten the last that morning ; we told him it was impossible in our situation to get along any faster ; but he could not wait to hear the story, and with looks of contempt turned away, replying, " O, there are so many beggars in this country, it will not do to listen to all ; you cannot have anything here, you had ought to have travelled farther in a day, and you would have got through before your rations were gone. " The good man is gone, and we travel on, not knowing what to do to obtain a little something to keep from starving. There is nothing said, but I assure you there was a tremendous thinking. At last, one speaks :—" What shall we do ? " " Why," says one, " we must make another trial at the next gentleman's house and if that fail, must try the poor prisoners or slaves ; I think if it is in their power, they will assist us : remember the prisoners in the tench shared their scanty allowance

with us, when we were in a starving condition ; they know better how to feel for men in our condition than the rich." We made another trial at the next gentleman's estate, but failed ; our situation was becoming extremely precarious ; we moved slowly along, being very tired and faint. If any of my readers have been so situated, that they could not obtain a mouthful of food to sustain life, for as it were one day only, you may form some faint idea of our present situation ; but add to it two years and six weeks while we were on the roads, during which time we never saw a day or night but that we retired to our humble lodging tired and hungry, and with many more inconveniences that cannot be easily portrayed. We travel on ; near night we came to an old hut standing some sixty rods back from the road ;—one that was considered the best able was dispatched to see what the prospect was of getting a little something to eat ; we set watching ; presently he came to the door and gave us a signal to follow ; we went in and found a prisoner who was serving his time with a gentleman as a shepherd ; he said he had charge of two thousand sheep, and in case of loosing one was liable to be severely punished. He said he had a certain quantity of provisions weighed out to him weekly had to cook, and did his own washing. His allowance of provisions was of very poor quality, and not sufficient, "but," said he, "you must have a part of it. I will manage to get a little more ; if not, I can stand it through the week on short allowance, but as it is, it is short enough." We told him if it was going to distress him, we would not accept it. "But," said he, "no excuses, you are in a starving condition ; I will manage some way." He at once set about preparing such as he had, though it was not of the best quality, it was very acceptable, and to all appearance was bestowed with a willing heart. I must here say, that in almost every instance that we have received favors it has been from those least able to bestow them. I know this is not saying much in favor of the rich or covetous man.

After thanking the shepherd for his hospitality to us, after we had been denied a crumb from the gentleman's table, so called, we proceeded on our journey, reflecting whether the

real gentleman and lady were not the most often to be found amongst the poor and despised of our race. O that there were more wealthy men and women deserving the appellation of gentlemen and ladies ; then there would not be so much suffering in the world. O the thousands that I have seen of the unfortunate poor, who are held as with an iron grasp by the hand of the cruel oppressor. My heart bleeds for them. May the tyrants arm be palsied, and the slaves go free. If there were not so many grasping after wealth and power, and when it is obtained, however dishonestly, using it in acts of tyranny and oppression, there would not be so many prisoners or slaves. I will not relate all that occurred on that tedious journey, but our prospects continue about the same as on the two first days. On the fourth day, we arrive on the estate of William Kommode, where we found some ten or twelve of our comrades that we had not seen since our separation at Bridgewater station. They had been to different stations. Some of them had experienced better treatment than others, but it was generally bad ; but their different statements confirms what I before remarked, that a number of men being prisoners and in the same place may experience different treatment, without regard to conduct. Some may be more fortunate than others in regard to overseers, superintendants, magistrates, doctors, &c. &c.

The English government have not dealt justly with those engaged in the rebellion ; some that were not guilty, that are what they term guilty, have suffered on the gallows, or transportation, while others that have been deeply involved, have been more fortunate ; a great number of such have escaped punishment altogether. I am glad there was no more punished with that severity which many have experienced, though equally as guilty, (if guilt it can be called ; ) as they have fortunately escaped, they should not altogether desert their colors and those engaged in what was and I hope still is considered a good cause. I hope there are still not only thousands but millions that are ready to step forth and declare not only the unjustness of our punishment, but their eternal hatred of tyrants. Canada, wake up ! never submit or yield one inch to the tyrants we have been so long revelling and sporting on your inalienable rights. So long

as you quietly submit, so long will the abuse continue. I believe the rebellion of '37-8, though it did not succeed, yet had a tendency to open the eyes and ears of the tyrant clan, and to grant you some little indulgencies, in order to quiet you—but look out, be on your guard. That little yielding on their part, has been only to let go the reins, in order to get a tighter hold. I say, look out, or the chains will be round not only your necks, but your legs and arms, and riveted fast that you cannot move hand or foot. This oppressive clan lay their plans deep. Therefore, if you have gained one inch, look sharp, and add to that another, and so continue to strengthen your posts, that when the enemy makes his last and desperate death struggle for your rights, you may be prepared to meet him, for depend upon it, it will be made sooner or later. Reformers of Canada, you are engaged in a good cause! maintain your rights! Though you may be told your cause is not good, believe it not. It is told you by designing sycophants, who will resort to all manner of intrigue to compass their ends. The longer you listen to such tales, the longer you will remain in bonds.—Have you not yet learned who are your enemies? if not, continue to bear the burthens, until you have no longer strength to withstand your oppressors.

Mr. Kommode, the old gentleman, as he must be called, because he was a member of the Governor's council, and of course a rich man, as I was informed, after having command of a vessel that was concerned in the taking and selling of black men, women and children, at last ran her in to some port, and sold the vessel, which he was not owner of, and by that means was entitled to some 30,000 acres of land in Van Dieman's land. Being in possession of so much wealth, he of course must hold a high office. I understood he made a remark in the house at one time, which brought upon him a rebuke from one of the members. It appeared, that they were in want of a large amount of money, and were consulting as to the best manner of raising it. The old man was satisfied they could not get along without it, and made something of a speech. Said he, "money we want, and money we must have, by hook or by crook."—The members thought the expression was rather unbecom-



ing, and might have a tendency to reveal the secret of the means they are often in the habit of resorting to, to raise money to carry out their secret designs, and warned him to be more careful for the future ; he being an old sea-captain, was rather harsh in his expressions. Still, he was a good man for the craft; being wealthy, tyrannical, &c. made him the right man for government ; he was very intimate with Sir John. Hearing of the Canadian prisoners and of their being industrious and ingenious men, he managed by pretending much friendship and sympathy, to enlist a number, by offering what he considered a great chance. We being strangers and in a needy situation, were glad to accept any offer. He said that he would furnish teams and a certain quantity of provisions weekly, together with seed grain—that we could have as much land as we wanted to work on shares. Accordingly, fifteen of us went to work, lived in a large hut, and took turns cooking and washing.

I will not relate all the particulars as they occurred during a year and a half at that place. We had enough to eat, but nothing except mutton and bread, nearly the year round, and the mutton generally poor. We were allowed some tea and sugar. He was careful that everything was charged, and that our account should not run too high, for fear the crop would not be enough to pay him. We also were very saving and worked hard, in hopes we might make something to enable us to get home, if we should get a pardon, or even if we did not, we thought we could form some plan of escape, for we could not think of remaining there any longer than we could possibly avoid. If we could have had our liberty at the time we first landed in the colony, we might have accumulated that which would have enabled us to pay something towards a passage home, but at the time we received what was called, indulgence, or ticket of leave, it was a magna charta on a very small scale. At that time the best of ticket men could not get over a shilling a day and board themselves, or in other words, the provisions were all weighed out to them for the week, and it was so managed by the settlers or gentleman that their rations would amount to as much

as their weekly wages. This was understood amongst these gentlemen throughout the colony, so that a prisoner can get no more. The ticket-of-leave man is not aware of this scheme until he has tried for labor, and finds the chance of laying up a farthing so slim and the rations allowed so trifling that he goes to the next one, but three finds it the same. After trying some five or six, he becomes satisfied that the gentleman farmer is allowed all the help he wants free of cost, and that they are in league with government to grind the unfortunate prisoner to the dust.

It was managed on the same principle with us on this farm or estate of W. Kommodos. After we had broke up and tilled some two hundred acres of rough and rugged land having to clear a good share of it before it was suitable for the plow, and submitting to a great many inconveniences which cannot well be described,—with many insults and abuse from the old man, though we took the land to work on shares, he must be master, which caused our situation to be very little if any better than when on the roads; for you must know that the prisoner or poor man or woman, whether they may be called bond or free, whatever their situation may be, if they are poor, they are slaves in every sense of the word to the rich, and are subject to punishment continually. But as I said, we succeeded in breaking up and tilling some two hundred acres, with great difficulty harvesting and threshing some four thousand bushels of oats and wheat, but the price had become so low, and advantage taken of us, which it was out of our power to prevent as we were situated. After getting through and settling up, there was mere nothing remaining for our year and a half of hard disagreeable and laborious servitude on that gentleman's estate, but he being benefitted greatly by having his rough land left in a situation to be easily tilled thereafter. After making a thorough trial to accumulate something for ourselves; after being fully convinced that it could not be done, that the power was completely out of the hands of the laboring man, and there seeming to be no prospect of our getting our liberty or help from any source—although as I before remarked, there being often scraps in newspapers fa-

vorable, and often being told by gentlemen that we would soon get our liberty, yet we were convinced it was all a hoax, and that the prospect bid fair for us to end our days in that horrible place. We talked, we reasoned together, and endeavored to form some plan of escape. Feeling much cast-down and discouraged, having nothing of any consequence for our year and a half's labor and no possible chance of ever getting anything—under such circumstances you must know that our anxiety to leave the colony and to return to our native land and friends after so long an absence was if possible daily increasing. Mr. Chandler and Wait having landed there a short time before us, were more fortunate than our ship's company—they being bound to a settler who, fortunately for them, proving friendly, exonerated them from the least hardship or suffering such as we were doomed to undergo during our stay as slaves on the roads. A little before we got our tickets, they being in that situation, obtained help and was assisted in making their escape. We were very glad to hear of their fortune, notwithstanding the severity with us, was on that account if possible increased. Still we rejoiced in their escape hoping they might be fortunate in arriving in America, as well to cheer the hearts of friends, as to make known the horrible situation of their comrades in distress; and am happy to learn that Mr. Wait mentions us in his narrative, but not in the glowing color that the nature of the case demanded.

I had written to my friends a number of times, as had the most of our party, but could get no answer, except about this time I received a letter from my father—there had been others sent, but this was the first and only one I had received—as the letters going or coming into the colony are all opened and read by the authorities, and in that case are generally thrown one side and the prisoner deprived of hearing from his friends, but this one was written in such a way, they thought it would have a tendency to keep me more quiet, therefore sent it to me—my father being tolerably well acquainted with their manner of dealing with the poor, which they always treat with severity—having himself experienced much wrong at their hands during the last war with England. Although he was in his seventy seventh year, I had to laugh

at his ingenuity in wording it in order that it might come to my hands.

He warned me not to attempt to run away or get away by any unfair means, but wait until I was honorably acquitted and then says he, return immediately home, that I may see you once more before I die, says he, "I think the British government will soon liberate you all; as they must be convinced ere this, that you have been sufficiently punished. Since they have granted a general amnesty to all the leading ones in the rebellion as well as others engaged. Certainly this act of clemency will be extended to you soon, if your conduct will warrant it."— To wind off he says, "behave yourselves like men, and I am almost sure a pardon will soon be granted you." Now the party in power thought this would not only be good advice for me, but for all the rest of my comrades—so it was sent to me. The above was not all the letter contained, but if that or something similar had not been in, I should not have received it—but I was too well acquainted with his wrongs and sufferings at their hands to believe that he thought mercy need be expected of tyrants unless it would be greatly to their advantage in granting it. He knew their disposition and their love of tyranny; experience and history had taught him that if ever an American should fall into their power, they need scarcely ever expect or look for mercy; myself at all events, can testify to their hanging on to a prisoner to the very last extremity; their grasp is like the death grasp, it has no feeling, no disposition nor willingness to let go their hold, when the dart is made with their poisonous harpoon, their poisonous lances continue to pierce the victim until (to use the sailor's phrase,) 'he spouts blood,' or until the last drop is taken and the victim sinks under his repeated wounds to the dust; excuse the remark my treatment from them warrant me in making such or similar assertions.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Desperate Attempt to Escape—Sufferings continued—&c.*

Just before I received this letter, I had engaged with some others of my comrades, to make one desperate attempt to escape from the island, for as yet there appeared no hope, we having been so often deceived and disappointed, and the prospect still very gloomy of our ever getting our freedom, and no prospect but of lingering out a miserable life between hope and despair in that miserable little prison island—but his advice was about to be disregarded; we had heard that two or three of our party on receiving their tickets, had made choice of what is called Swanport district, and we learnt whilst at this farm that it extended to the sea-shore, distant from us eighty miles. After some difficulty, it was arranged that one should go there and see what the prospect was of some or all getting away from that quarter. Some were willing and anxious that the trial should be made in that way, and others thought it almost impossible to succeed. James D. Fero accordingly succeeded in getting his ticket changed for that District, he was gone some two weeks and returned with a favorable account, and went immediately back to avoid suspicion.

There had been three of our party who had taken some land to clear, and were to have two crops to pay for clearing. The gentleman was to find team, seed, and provisions. They had got some four acres cleared and a fine crop of potatoes and turnips, which were just ready to harvest at the time we were about to make the attempt to leave the Colony. We were a long while making the arrangement, owing to our limited means.

It would be impossible to attempt to describe our situation, and the many difficulties attending the undertaking.

Scattered about the Island, one, two, and three in a place, having no money, not allowed to leave our districts; being closely watched, and of course some one or two, would have

to take the burthen or responsibility of making the arrangement, and attending to getting them together at the appointed time, and there must be no mistake in the time, because some who would not be able to get their tickets changed, would be obliged to take Paddy's leave; and would be liable to be taken up on the way. Some would have fifty, some sixty, some eighty, and some an hundred miles to travel through the woods, over mountains and through swamps and perhaps miss of finding the designated place, and after wandering about perhaps three or four days, tired and hungry, obliged to surrender and perhaps glad to fall into the hands of any one. But it is of no use to undertake to describe the many hinderances we would have to encounter, in the situation we were placed; the number of policemen, mounted and on foot, constables, soldiers, magistrates, and others, all on the look-out for hundreds that have been obliged to take the bush, and in fact it is so arranged that there is scarcely a moment day or night, that the prisoner can make the least move without being discovered, and detected by some one.

I am satisfied, it is useless for a prisoner or a number of prisoners to attempt an escape from that prison Island, situated as it is, and as the prisoner is, unless he is fortunate enough to have friends and, means—and, in that case, scarcely ever one gets away until he becomes free, and then it is difficult to raise means to leave. What makes me so particular in trying to describe our situation is, that some, since my return on hearing of our confinement, and treatment, have remarked, oh! if I had been one of you prisoners, I would have got away! They would not have kept me as long! I would have killed some of them! But my friend, whoever you are, that would be so very smart, remember you are not a prisoner, neither are you deprived of the privileges of free men, as we were, and let me say to you without boasting, because we have been placed in a situation to try men's souls, I have good reason to believe that whoever you are that would be so smart, that you are no smarter, when you are tried' than the little band of patriots were before the life blood was nearly extinguished by the overwhelming band of tyrants, that had compelled us to yield bodily, but not in spirit; I have heard a great deal of what men would have done if

they had been in our situation, but if we had not been so deceived in these very smart men, men that could and would do so much, but come to case in hand, could not or would not do anything; and in that case those that intended and did do as they promised, until it was out of their power to do any more, must now be censured because they could not do any more, even after power had been wrested from them. But I believe I may safely say, that all that escaped the tyrant's grasp will not be backward in exerting what little strength is remaining to oppose tyrants in America, Canada, or any other parts of the world.

After much trouble, one or two succeeded in getting to Hobart town, and managed to see the captain of an American whaler, and agreed with him to come to a certain point on the opposite side of the Island. The day being fixed upon the man returns to inform his friends. Sufficient time being allowed for the men to get to the designated spot, with much trouble twenty-two succeeded in reaching the place.

Recollect, we could not call at a public house for a night's lodging; or to a private house; as we might in the United States. But when we came in sight of either, we were obliged to avoid them, for fear of constables, that are numerous at all these places. What sleep we got, during some week or ten days, was upon the ground, however cold and damp, not venturing to kindle a fire, for fear of being detected. You may ask how we got along for provisions. You must know that for the last six years the scarcity of provisions, and poorness of quality, had enabled us now, especially in an attempt like this to bear up with very small allowances. Some having managed to have some on the start, and others leaving without a chance of obtaining much if any; but on arriving at the hut which was distant from the sea-shore six miles, there was plenty of potatoes, and turnips.

The men living in the bush a long time, had learnt the art of taking the Kangaroo, which was numerous in that quarter—they had snared some two hundred whilst there; they were saving the skins for the tannery in Hobart Town, distant some hundred miles; they had heard they were fetching two and sixpence a piece. they were used for boots and fine shoes, which when tanned resembled the

calf-skin, and equally as good. The flesh is rather coarse and strong flavored, yet it is used by many and very much esteemed.

Their hut was eight miles from the gentleman's estate—but he owned a large quantity of land and it being considered good, had bargained with three of our men to make an opening at this place, and it being so far to carry provisions, were allowed a month's provisions at a time and taken to the hut in a cart, but unluckily for us; it was the latter part of the month and their allowance was nearly gone, and by the addition of our number, what little was remaining was soon consumed, but as there was plenty of potatoes, turnips and Kangaroo, we got along very well.

The Capt. was detained and could not leave port as soon as he expected. As a signal, it was agreed there should be a fire constantly burning on a certain hill near the place designated; so that he might know where to put in. Therefore we took turns in keeping the light. The time set had now overrun—three days—you may judge that our feelings and situation about this time, cannot easily be explained. Some were getting quite discouraged and worn out—we were obliged to keep sentrys out day and night, to warn us of the approach of any one. Two or three times we were obliged to conceal ourselves away from the hut, at the approach of constables, and once or twice the master or owner of the land was there hunting cattle; and in hunting them came very near finding us, it was lucky he did not go to the potato patch, for the Capt. being told we could furnish near a hundred bushels of good potatoes, said they would be very acceptable; so we had dug them, and carried them all to the beach and concealed them in the sand: so you may judge we were not idle, as we had to carry them six miles and could not carry on an average, over a bushel at a time. We carried them in bags or sacks formed of the Kangaroo skins; we had to rest often on the way—but we labored day and night, all that was not on duty as watchmen, were constantly employed in making sacks digging potatoes, and carrying them to the beach. The ground was very rough it being all the way through the bush, with underbrush, and in places long wild grass, and at night so dark, it was a



difficult task to perform, but by perseverance, we succeeded in getting them all to the beach and concealed by covering them with sand. The captain said if it was possible for us to get some wood, he would be glad if we would have some on the beach, for said he, "we need not be afraid of what soldiers and constables they can muster at that point, for if I succeed in landing with my ship's crew, I shall have some guns, and there being plenty of clubs, between us all, I think we can flog all they can send there, whilst we are securing our potatoes and wood. We had managed to procure four guns and had them concealed, as should the vessel come in, we was determined to fight our way on board if necessary. After we had secured our potatoes, we went to work, chopped and carried the distance of nearly half a mile, about eight cords of wood.

Five days had now passed since the vessel was expected, still we had some faint hopes and was constantly on the lookout, though it was dangerous keeping up the fire on the hill, yet it was kept up continually, but with great difficulty, as it was a very high bluff, and the fuel hard to be obtained. There had been two or three sails discovered at a great distance, but we knew by the way they stood that neither of them was the one we were looking for. We were almost on the point of giving up, and I believe one or two had left as a sail was discovered rounding the point at a great distance, but after a while was discovered standing in towards us, but the wind blowing fresh and off the land, they were obliged to beat and tack often, but by the movements we were convinced they were endeavoring to make land not far from us. This was about twelve o'clock the sixth day; they continued beating and tacking, making little progress towards land—the afternoon passed away and left us in the dark as to their intentions. We thought however we could discover the stars and stripes which he was to have in a certain position, that we might know the ship as far as we could discern the colors—be assured it was now all anxiety; the fire was increased that night, but as it happened there was a small clearing and burning of timber near the beach and about ten miles from us; he had put in there or near enough to go a shore with a small boat, but on discover-

ing his mistake, went immediately on board to put to sea, but discovered our light. The wind continuing to blow fresh, at daylight we discovered him near the place where we had lost sight of him, as night hid him from view, we had no idea that he had made land that night.

The wind although increasing, had changed a little, which enabled him to run in and lay too, about a half a mile from shore. It was so very rough and it being a bold and iron-bound shore, it was dangerous at that time to come any nearer; he ventured however, to man a small boat and with great difficulty succeeded in reaching the shore. We was glad to see a free man, and one that appeared to be doing all in his power to make us so. The sailors seemed to rejoice at our prospect of escape. They had fire-arms with them and seemed to be willing to risk their lives in assisting us; we told them we had managed to have a quantity of potatoes, and about eight cords of wood ready to be put on board, together with twenty of us that would be there in a few minutes; as the vessel was discovered approaching, a man was despatched in great haste for the men that were obliged to be at the hut; for we knew, and so did the captain that it would take some two hours to get all things on board.

It was blowing a gale, the captain was fearful that the vessel would be blown on shore; said it was useless to attempt to get anything on board until the wind abated. He talked awhile, told the reason of his not being there before, which was owing to some difficulty in getting water, and some other things that had detained him, so it made it impossible to be there as soon as he expected, he said that he had often thought of our situation and was fearful in waiting we would all be liable to be taken prisoners and severely punished; told of his landing and being deceived by the fire where they were clearing, eight or ten miles from there, but the vessel seemed to be laboring and the wind not abating, he was fearful she would be driven on shore—he could not stop to say much, but said he would have to put to sea, and thought that the wind would fall towards night and he would then put in and take us on board; for it was impossible to get the things or even ourselves on board at that time. He was loth to leave us; but was compelled to on account of the

safety of the vessel. We had seen rough weather on the ocean and was not easily frightened—but I can assure you the swells and breakers at that time and on that iron-bound shore were tremendous, in getting to the vessel, we thought two or three times the little boat and all hands had perished, but with skilful management they succeeded in reaching the ship; we were rejoiced as we beheld them climbing up the ship's side. Just at that time there was a sail discovered approaching; the captain with his spy glass could easily discover that it was a man-of-war. It was kept to protect their whalers and other crafts, that were cruising about that Island, as well as to keep American whalers from landing at different points and taking off prisoners. There had been at different times a number taken away by American whalers—it appears this armed schooner was despatched to watch this whaler; it seems he was mistrusted on account of taking in extra water and provisions; or we had been missed and being reported as missing or absent without leave—one or the other, perhaps both.

Now what should you think our feelings must have been, after making as it were, this last and desperate attempt—after doing all in our power, undergoing many and severe difficulties which you can have but faint if any conception of. When the captain left, said he, “maintain your ground, if the wind will not admit of my coming in this evening or to-morrow, be not discouraged, I shall come back as soon as possible.” But I presume he had not the least idea of there being an armed vessel to contend with, so near at hand, when he left us for his vessel. But here we are—our captain at sea in order to prevent his ship from being stove on the tremendous rocks that had fallen from the mountain, their rugged heads extending from five to fifty feet in a calm, but now the surges beating high hiding them from view for a moment—the water dashing and roaring like distant thunder—the ocean as far as the eye could extend, presenting a white surface of froth or foam. It was a spectacle awful to behold, I had never in all my travel on the ocean, witnessed anything like it.

The armed vessel lay to, under close reef in the roads, to prevent our captain from returning; for they must have

known as they beheld him moving off, that it was impossible for us to get on board, in such a gale, and no doubt was satisfied of his intention of putting to sea. and of his probable return when the wind abated. But in our situation; we was glad the captain went on board just as he did, for he was just in time to make his escape. You must not blame us, but the prospect was if the wind continued, as it was then apparently increasing, that the man-of-war with all her efforts was likely to be driven on shore and at that place, must have been dashed in pieces; I say you must not blame us, for at that critical time, we was in hopes it would be the case. We were looking with eager eyes expecting every moment to see her driven with fury against the rocks—but she weathered the storm.—I might dwell at considerable length upon this subject, but I must be brief.

We held our ground at great disadvantage, four days from the time of the appearance of the armed vessel, in hopes she would leave and give our own vessel a chance to return.—Four or five times, Constables appeared in search of us, but our watch discovered them in time to evade their search. Now recollect, two weeks had passed of continual labor, no house or bed to rest in, and nothing, the most of the time, but roasted potatoes; for we had no time to hunt and kill kangaroos; and many times so situated that we could not roast potatoes even for a day at a time. Do you think you can form any idea of our condition? Perhaps you may; but it is out of my power to describe it. The consequence was, after doing all that could be done, on the fifth day, after the approach of the armed vessel, we were commanded to appear forthwith, at a police office, before a magistrate, fifteen miles from that place and answer to the charge of leaving our districts without orders, and attempting to escape from the Island, &c.

I will not give a full description of our trials: We confessed nothing. The charges had to be proved.—But the leaving of our districts, without orders, was evident in the case of those who could not produce a pass to that effect. Some had passes and some had none. On being asked our business on the coast, and so many at that place, we told them, we had come to see our three companions that we had

heard were at work on some land six miles from the sea shore that we had not seen for a long time; and the reason of our stopping so long was for the purpose of hunting kangaroos; and being on the beach was to see if there was any chance for catching fish. But all would not satisfy.—Circumstances were against us. Sentence was passed, which was: that we should be separated four in a district, with strict orders for magistrates, constables, policemen, and all in authority, to keep a strict watch over us, and not allow us on any consideration to leave the district allotted us, and we should be mustered in our respective districts at the police office therein, every saturday night; and if we failed in so doing should be immediately reported as absconders, or bush rangers, and punished accordingly. We were called into an adjoining room, four at a time to make choice of our districts. Those that we were to chose from, were back in the interior, not contiguous to the sea shore. I was one of five last called and of course, was obliged to take the worst one, and farthest away. There was but few settlers there, it being considered the poorest land, and the coldest district on the Island. But it would make but little difference to us, whether the settlers were few or many; for they payed nothing for labor. There were hundreds who had served their time out on the roads, and got what is called indulgence or a ticket, constantly on the tramp, looking for work, and are obliged to work hard early and late for their scanty allowance.

James D. Fero, David House, Orlen Blodget, Leonard Delano, and myself, received our passes for Bothwell district. distant one hundred miles, mostly through the bush swamps, and over mountains— but here we are about 12 o'clock in the day with our kangaroo knapsacks, with blanket and rug upon our backs, a certain time allowed to be there. Recollect we are not at this time in government service, consequently nothing said about rations. We were holding tickets of indulgence; which Sir John terms, the next thing to freedom. Many a laugh we have had over this little inestimable treasure, bestowed upon us after two years and six months, severe servitude, by His Royal Highness, Sir John Franklin, Her Gracious Majesty's representative &c.

Some may be curious enough to enquire what disposition

we made of our wood and potatoes. To such, I would say: The last I knew of them, the potatoes were buried in the sand and the wood left upon the beach. They were excellent potatoes; and as there is a prospect of the roots failing throughout the world, who knows but that pile is destined to be preserved to renew that valuable root at some future period.

I said we had our knapsacks on our backs—but they are now off, and we are about eight miles from the office where we were tried, having found lodgings in an old forsaken shepherd's hut.

I wish you to bear in mind that I am laboring under difficulties far greater than my comrades; not only suffering much from pain in the breast, but by continual fatigue and hardships I had likewise, a pain in my side, which made it very difficult for me to bear up under the many abuses, insults, and hardships that we were subject to. Though my more fortunate comrades in that respect, were very kind in rendering all the assistance in their power, which was but little, as we were situated. The course to our district was for the first sixty miles, through the woods, no road—and at times only a foot path discernable, and for miles together nothing to guide us, but blazed trees; and those so dull that we often wandered out of our way. We not only had high hills and gulfs to cross, but often for miles, water up to our knees; which caused us to have wet feet, constantly for a week or ten days together. Some of us had managed by strict economy and much labor, to have a little money, but the question was not asked us on our starting, and not a word as to how we were to get that distance or our ability to travel it; all there was about it—we were sentenced to be in such a place at such a time. If we failed to accomplish it within the time set, we were liable to punishment. Finally let me say to you, it is so arranged that, whatever the situation of the prisoner may be, it is all punishment, though it may vary in form. Now though we had a little money, it was of little or no use, for on our journey there was no chance of purchasing any thing to eat; the kangaroo being numerous, we managed to ensnare one and sometimes two, in a night; then kindle a fire, (though against orders) roast the flesh on the coals, put some in our knapsacks for the day, and proceed on our journey. Two or

three times we came to shepherds' huts, but they having nothing but their weekly allowances, had nothing of any amount to spare us. Once we obtained a little coarse flour and some salt. We managed to bake our flour by brushing the dirt from a rock, wet the flour with cold water, knead it into dough, make it into a thin cake, make a place in the embers where we had a concealed fire through the night, let it remain there till we thought it was done, then take it out and brush the ashes from it as much as possible. It would not be very light, and rather small for a number of men tired and hungry: yet, as small as it was, it was a great deal better than nothing, and I can assure you: in such times, there is no bad taste to it. This is the way the most of the prisoners bake their bread; or dampers as they are termed when baked. When night comes, the ground is our resting place; but we managed to find the most retired place in order to have a fire.

This is a brief account of our fare during six days travel, before we arrived at the edge of our district. We then traveled on some ten miles farther, being informed by a constable whom we had met, that there was a wealthy gentleman that might possibly employ us at some rate. We succeeded after some difficulty, in reaching the estate. It was a large house, but we could not approach it; on account of, I should judge about fifteen bull dogs, that were chained up around in such a manner that a person could not get by them. We were led to consider it a bad omen for a gentleman to have his house guarded in that manner. He is considered a tiger; having a great number of slaves to work on his estate, who, abused and driven to that degree, that they are often obliged to take to the bush, and for fear of their returning, to rob him, he has a great number of dogs, constables and sometimes soldiers allowed him to keep order, and the poor prisoner, or slave, after being driven to the bush, from returning to rob him. The greater part of the settlers on the Island, have their unjust gains, guarded in this manner. A prisoner that is ever caught, robbing one of these worthies, is sure to have his neck stretched, but they often do it for the purpose of ending his days of suffering. One of the servants coming out on the alarm being given by the army of bull dogs, which in many instances, resembles their master. As we were with-

in fifteen or twenty rods of the house, the servant, or sentry sings out—"stand!" "I will call the master!" Presently, he steps to the door. Seeing that we were not of his stamp, but, by our dress and appearance, prisoners; sings out, in a commanding tone—"don't come any nearer to the house!" "who are you?" "what do you want?" "what business have you here?" &c. Between his loud, commanding voice and the tremendous roaring of the bull dogs, it was some time before we could make him understand what we wanted. At last we made him understand that we wanted work, but as soon as he could understand, he quickly replied, "no! no! I have got more than I want now!" The dogs appeared a little reconciled. We advanced a few paces. As he sings out—"don't come any nearer! keep back! How do I know, but you are bush rangers, come to rob me?" "don't come any nearer, or I will let my dogs loose and they will tear you in pieces in a moment!" They seemed to understand him, for on hearing him talk in this manner, they set up a tremendous roar. We stood our ground, but expecting every moment, that some of them would get loose. They were springing with all vengeance to get to us. But again: the roaring ceased for a moment. We then asked him if we could have some provisions, by paying for them, at the same time, telling him, who we were; that we were ticket-of-leave men, and very tired and hungry. But the gentleman could say nothing, but, "go away! go away! I believe you are bush rangers! be off or I will call my constables, and have you all arrested!" He appeared to be frightened, and in a great rage: saying—"be off! be off!" We started off not being able to make him understand when we said we were hungry. About half a mile from there, we came to a number of huts, where were some twenty or thirty persons at work on this gentleman's land. We went into some of the huts, where was a man preparing something in the shape of dinner, for the persons who were at work. We told him of our success with the master, and of our need of something to eat. He said the master was a tiger; and that there was not a day that some were not flogged, or driven to the bush; but he was a rich man, and could have all the slaves he wanted from the government, free of expense. He



said he was a very influential man, in government affairs. Says he "we are obliged to steal provisions, to keep from starving. We are obliged to work hard, early and late. The rations that he allows us are not near enough; and of poor quality." But says he—"you must have a part of the men's dinner. They can get along till night; then they must try pinching, (a term signifying stealing). All that he had cooked, for a dinner, for twenty men, was a little, poor, boiled mutton, and dampers; such as I described as being baked in ashes; and I can assure you, it was hardly sufficient for five men. As hungry as we were, we were loth to accept a morsel; but the prisoner who is termed a very bad and wicked man urged us to eat. While we were eating, the men came in. They looked poor and ragged. We felt guilty, as we were seated on a bench with a piece of meat and damper in our hands. As they came in, we rose up to give them their seats; the cook at the same time telling them, who we were, and of our being hungry. We began to excuse our interruption, and our robbing them of their dinner; but they all replied at once—"no excuse my lads! eat away! we know what it is to be in want of something to eat! we know what hunger is! eat hearty my lads, if you can find anything to eat!" They would take no excuse, but almost all, urged us to take a part of their morsel. "We must pinch some of the cove to-night, at some rate, if we are too hungry!" Some remarked, they did not care if they were caught at it; for they could not be much worse off on the roads, than they were there.

Reader, can you blame men for stealing, when they are compelled to work hard for this rich man, and allowed nothing for it, not even decent clothes, and not enough to eat, and that not as good as his bull dogs get for assisting the tiger in keeping the slaves under subjection? If you knew as much about it as I do, you would quickly determine which was the gentleman, the slave or his master.—O the abominable craft, will it never be broken up and the slaves go free! I would not have you think that I consider it a great sin to be rich, for I believe there are many that are in possession of wealth that have accumulated it honorably, and are worthy of the appellation of gentlemen and ladies, but I believe there are far too many that have wrong-

ed their neighbor and reduced him to a slave for the sake of gold, far too many that have obtained it dishonorably and use it in acts of oppression. Deliver me from ever again falling into the power of such gentlemen. We kindly thanked these poor men for their hospitality to us, for they would not take a farthing from us ; they told us we would want all we had, and they would let us have more if it was in their power. Which of these classes of men have been the means of robbing poor Ireland, to whom the people of the United States are now so liberally administering relief, whilst rich lordlings are sporting and rolling in luxuries that have been wrested from them in various forms. We ought to rejoice that it is in our power to render them assistance at this critical time. The Canadian patriots in Van Dieman's Land would have rejoiced to have received similar assistance, during their seven years bondage, but their crime was so aggravated and of such magnitude they had no reason to expect favor or mercy from any Christian people !—it was such an enormous, degrading, abominable and outrageous crime, and committed too, as Matty asserts, by such lawless and degraded characters ; Sir John and the editor of the Boston Notion, with many others, taking it for granted, on account of the enormity of our crime, that we must be very bad men indeed ; but why does it happen that not a man of us ever saw the inside of a states prison or county jail, or house of correction of any description whatever, or were ever brought before a magistrate for any crime, how happens it that the very first act or crime is one of such magnitude, as Sir John says, Matty and others willing to confirm the assertion ? Why, it was for daring to take up arms in defence of our rights, against tyrants, as did our fathers of '76. But we were not so successful, and instead of being honored are accounted the worst men in the world. O, my God, what shall we do to atone for such an enormous crime ! Shall the persecution continue even in a republican government, the people of which have suffered so much from the same source, will they now knuckle to the tyrants and acknowledge our punishment just ? I will not believe it. Still, it may not seem quite so honorable to assist our own countrymen, who have been dragged to a for-

eign land, and for the last six or seven years have been forsaken by all except the cruel oppressor, as to expend thousands of dollars on the dead bodies of some of the officers that fell in the first skirmish in Mexico, who have been carried through the country, and after being exhibited and accompanied by a great train at great expense, have finally been interred with martial pomp. It is all right, but are we not able also to bring the poor soldier who has so nobly stepped forth and volunteered to fight for his country, and has also fell covered with wounds, nobly fighting to the last, who perhaps has left a wife and family to mourn his loss, can there not be something done to cheer them up.— O, says one, she is a poor woman, her husband was nothing but a poor soldier, he did not aspire to the office of captain or general, he was contented to be a common man, and therefore must not be honored with ceremonies, or even a decent burial. We would not be subject to applause or honor if we paid the least regard or respect to a poor soldier; England would laugh at us; therefore we must imitate them in every respect as much as possible, if we would wish to be called great and good; honors and titles are fast becoming all that is necessary to constitute the gentleman; pomp is all that is required.

When I was in that miserable isle, my mind, sleeping or awake, was often wandering across the briny seas to our fair and happy shores; all my delight appeared to be in wondering, meditating, and admiring our good institutions and our prospect of not being behind any of the nations of the earth as to privileges, and not only of setting them an example, but of being able to maintain a character for sobriety, generosity, economy, philanthropy and equality, which would cause the despots of the old world to tremble with fear, and the nations of the earth to acknowledge and bow in reverence to acts that would be so beneficial to all, rich or poor, bond or free. O, shall I be mistaken in such thoughts, wandering as they were from a poor forsaken exile or slave on the confines of a little prison island, sixteen thousand miles from my native land, and little prospect of ever being blest with a sight of it, or of men that have any idea of republican institutions, or of the least feelings for

the unfortunate poor, but in striving for wealth and power have lost all feelings of humanity, if they ever had any? I trust not.

There may be some hints in this work that will not be very acceptable to some, but if you could comprehend or in any manner consider the situation that I have been in, and the cause of their being uttered, methinks you would manifest feelings of pity and sympathy, rather than hatred or ill-will, for I mean it all for good, though the language may not be as mild and agreeable, as it would from a more flattering hand. I am a plain man, and when I speak wish to do it so as to be understood; though not accustomed to use that polish that has become so necessary in order to please the ear of refinement. I do not pretend to be so great a man as General Taylor, but may be like him in some respects, rather rough and ready; perhaps it may be accounted for by my being in such rough hands for the last seven years; if my treatment during that time would not make a man rough, I am at a loss to know what would. But as I was endeavoring to explain our sufferings in Van Dieman's Land, I must return and be serious, for I can assure you, it was a serious piece of business to us. But O the enormity of our crime! Can we ever again expect to be reinstated, or even raise our heads in our beloved native land, or shall we go mourning all our days, with our heads bowed like the bulrush, to our graves, for fear and shame, for ever daring to raise a finger in opposition to the tyrants cruel power. However degrading it may appear to the free born sons of America, or to any other nation, I can assure you I have no shame on my part for the attempt, though not successful. But in the next attempt, let us have faith and power sufficient to dispossess the tyrants of a foot of land this side of the Atlantic.

I have thus far been brief in relation to our sufferings. I have not gone into every particular as they occurred, but have given a mere sample of our treatment, that you may form some faint conception of it, for I am confident that if everything was related as it occurred, scarcely a person in this country would credit it. I assure you there is no exaggeration in what I have told you in my plain way, making

no pretence to scientific or scholastic precision, and with no expectation of escaping the eye of the critic.

To return to our narrative :—we pass on, but find no shelter for the night ; we built a small fire in as concealed a place as possible, pulled some wild grass and green boughs, laid them on the ground, spread our blankets, and all but one lay down ; he was standing in front of our camp, drying his feet by the fire ; all of a sudden there was an approach of three armed constables, the foremost one singing out with a commanding voice, “ Stand, move not an inch, or I will blow your brains out.” Their muskets are cocked, and to a present ; they inquire, who are you, and what is your business here ? On being told who we were, that we were not bush rangers but ticket of leave men, they seemed a little reconciled, for they at first appeared agitated through fear, as was manifest by the trembling of their voice. No doubt they supposed us bush rangers, and that we would at once prepare to defend ourselves as such. But on being told we held tickets, and after we had given them a short history of our troubles and trials, they said they were sorry, but they had strict orders to apprehend every one that attempts to kindle a fire or that camps in the bush with or without fire. If the master of this land should know of your kindling a fire or camping on his premises, he would have you tried and punished. We could not dispute it, after learning that it belonged to the tiger that had refused us a morsel, even by paying for it ; he being such a great and wealthy man, and by our infringeing in the least on his vast domains, we need expect nothing but punishment at his hands. We asked the constables what we were to do ? we could find no place to lodge if we were not allowed shelter by the men that owned all, and not even allowed a resting place upon the cold damp earth ; under such circumstances what are we to do ? It is a hard case, said they, but it is the law, and we poor folks have to abide by it. But, said I, Sir John told us we could have the liberty of the island at one time, and afterwards of one district only, but I suppose he meant that we would be allowed a little spot beneath the surface of a district, if so be we could find a gentleman that was willing, and who had a retired or worthless spot that

was fit for nothing else, and could spare a servant long enough to dig a hole and tumble us in. They will be obliged to do that, for if we are not allowed a spot on the surface when we are alive, certainly, we will not be allowed to lay upon the surface when we are dead.

One of my comrades remarked, it has just occurred to me that we must be in hell : it must be, for we have found devils here in all shapes, big and little ; the big one told us as soon as we landed in his dominions, that we need never expect mercy, but perpetual punishment, at the same time intimating that good conduct should be rewarded ; but I suppose it was for the purpose of enhancing our misery, for certain I am that if men, women and children are sent here for the purpose of reforming and making them better, they must experience different treatment, or the reverse is and will be invariably the case, for as they are now situated, there is no prospect of reform or of their becoming in any degree better.

Nothing will do but the constables must see us removed from that place ; but where can we go ? Said they, there is a hut about two miles from here ; we are going that way and we will see if you can be allowed the privilege of sleeping there through the night ; there is only one man occupying it, and it is a good sized hut. So we had to pull up stakes. I think it was near eleven o'clock. It was quite dark, and raining hard at the time ; we roll up our wet blankets, being hungry, wet and tired, I at the time having a high fever, produced from the pain in my side and breast. On reaching the hut, through the rain and mud, I at once lay down, without asking permission. I was completely exhausted, and do not believe I could have gone a quarter of a mile farther upon any consideration whatever. My appetite for a long time had been poor. It could easily be discovered that if our treatment continued much longer as it had been, I should soon bid adieu to all below. There being a fire-place in the hut, the man on being informed of our situation, got up and kindled a fire and made us some tea ; though it was of poor quality, it seemed to nourish and revive me considerably. After drinking it, and drying my clothes, the man letting me have his own bed, covering

me with clothes till I was almost smothered, and putting some warm stones to my feet, I perspired profusely, and when morning came, my fever had abated. I rose, feeling better than I had for a long time, though quite weak. I knew that rest, both of body and mind was necessary in order for me to survive much longer. We therefore agreed for the privilege of stopping there for that purpose, as well as for those that were able to try to find something to do whereby to sustain life. We made that our home for nearly two weeks. I composed myself as much as possible while the men were travelling about in search of work.— Sometimes they were gone two or three days at a time, but would invariably return with the same account, that the settlers were all supplied with help from government.— Surely, these settlers ought to be good government men, when they have not only land, but all the help they want in tilling it. The truth is, they are a part of government itself, on account of their wealth, being all officers of some description. Finally, the men gave up completely discouraged. They had been to the farther end of the district, and to every settler therein; they had even tried to work for their board, but mind you it is not such board as is to be had in America; even if you are a freeman there and obliged to labor for your living, you must live in the old huts with the prisoners and have the same rations weighed out to you weekly, cook it yourself, and do your own washing and mending; you are not allowed to go into the master's house without requested by the master or mistress, and then you must touch your cap and at the call or to any question asked, say, Yes sir, No sir, yes madam, no madam, &c.— Though your conduct may be ever so good, as long as you are a prisoner or if you have become free, it makes no difference; as long as you are a poor man or woman, you are kept at a distance, and no freedom or conversation allowed except orders for work or punishment. Thus you see there is a certain class, or banditti, or any name that you may please to call them, that has for a long time and most likely will continue to oppress and enslave the poor so long as the people are willing to submit and by so doing acknowledge their superiority and right to lordit over them. O, when

will the people learn to call no man master, and to maintain their rights as freemen, and not allow the man to be completely enslaved for life, who dares to raise a finger or open his mouth in defence of freedom, and in opposition to aristocracy; which admits of the freedom of a few only.

We are now consulting as to the course we are to take and the means to be pursued in order to keep out of trouble, as they call it, after a man has received indulgence or ticket of leave. After trying all in his power to obtain work, being disappointed, he is often driven to the necessity of stealing, as it is called; there being so many on the watch, he is sure to be detected, taken, tried, and sentenced to one or two years addition to his original sentence on the roads; or if, in taking a morsel to keep from starvation, he should in the least use violence or threats to the master or any officer, the gallows is sure to end his sufferings in this life.

This method of management appears to be one of their deep laid plans to keep the poor continually in trouble and bonds, and subject to their commands; though to deceive and blind the eyes of other nations, or of any that may inquire into the treatment of the prisoner, the answer will be—O, they have all the indulgences that could be expected, considering they are such very bad characters; we as a nation, are doing all we can to prevent crime and to alleviate the wants of the needy. This may be believed by many, proceeding as it does from the big rich gentleman. Believe it who may, let me declare to you my opinion, as one knowing their many schemes and modes of oppression, that those who are the cause of so much suffering and punishment are the worst of the two, and more deserving of the same treatment themselves, but as they have all power on earth, they can commit crimes of the deepest dye, and no one dare say, why do ye thus? Any one daring to speak against their rights, is liable to be murdered upon the gallows or at once beheaded, or doomed to drag out a miserable life in dungeons or in servitude to these miscreants. If this should fail of being accomplished according to law, their dignity must be maintained by power, causing the oppressed to fight and subdue the oppressed, and thus maintain their dignity



as a humane, condescending and Christian people. O God, deliver us from tyrants, in whatever shape or form they may appear ; though the nations of the earth, are estimated as becoming wiser and better, yet how blind to the many plots, intrigues and snares that have been and still are devised to oppress and grind the poor to the dust ; they assume many and various forms.

After consulting together some time, we came to the conclusion that their manner of dealing with us was for the purpose of causing us to commit some crime, either by stealing something to eat or of taking the bush, or some other way, in order that we might be detained longer on account of some crime committed in the colony. We determined to disappoint them if possible. Accordingly, we go to the police office, which was about twelve miles distant, and told the magistrate we wished to get our tickets changed for Norfolk district, that we had tried faithfully for work in this district, and could get none at any rate, and if it was not possible to have them changed, we should go to Hobart Town and see the Governor, and inform him of our situation, and that we did not think it was possible that he was aware of our treatment. I should have mentioned before, that Sir John had been recalled and a new Governor by the name of Sir John E. Eardley Wilmot appointed instead. I had previously sent him a memorial of some length, setting forth our grievances. He appeared astonished that Franklin should even take it upon himself to receive us in the colony at all, without a sentence. If he had been Governor at the time, he would not have received us on such grounds; but as it was an act of Sir John's, he could do nothing in the matter, until he wrote home concerning us, and in so doing would recommend our liberation at once from the Island, and that under the circumstances he considered we had no business there.

The magistrate said it was out of his power to grant the request ; but he would write to Mr. Spode, the chief police magistrate in Hobart town, for a permit for us to leave this for Norfolk district. He told us to call again in four days from then, when he thought he would have an answer. We called, but he said he had not received an answer yet ; we

called again the third day; he then said he had received an answer, which was that we could go. He gave us passes accordingly, and we start, trying for work at every settlers estate, until we arrive at Norfolk, distant 36 miles. About the center of the district is considerable of a village. It is situated on the river Derwent, which is navigable for small steamers from there to Hobart Town; there are one or two run it daily. In this place there is a hospital; before we left the roads, and whilst at Sandy Bay Station, I think it was the third week from landing, one of our comrades was taken to this place on account of inflammation in the eyes; after he had left us, we made inquiry respecting him, but could hear nothing from him for a long time; one day I saw a prisoner that was telling of being at this place a long time with sore eyes. I asked him if he knew a man by the name of James P. Williams. He said he knew him well, that he was dead; that he suffered extremely on account of his eyes, and of inhuman treatment by practitioners; he felt sorry for him, for he seemed a nice young man; poor man, he was fairly murdered by inches; his eyes were cut and mangled in a horrible manner. Said he, he lived about eight months from his arrival here, suffering extremely until death.

Mr. Fero and myself went to the hospital, to learn, if possible, his fate; but after inquiry, found no one there that could or was willing to give any account of him; they were not willing that we should know anything of him or the manner of his death. As we were leaving the yard there were four men passing out, at the same time, with a rough box. They had on long white linen frocks. Out of curiosity, we followed them for about three quarters of a mile, when they came to an enclosed low wet field, and as they passed in we discovered a hole; they set the box down, and commenced talking or rather quarrelling about the hole not being long enough to receive the box; after considerable loud and rough talk and measuring, the box was elevated, and at the word 'drop' they sung out, "there you are, my hearties, whoever you are it's more than we know," the water, as the box fell, flying as high as their heads; after a man's jumping on one end to make it a

little level, it was soon covered up merely level with the surface ; as they came out, I asked one of them who it was they had just buried ; " O, ' says he, " it's more than I know, but it's no one in particular, but a part of three or four prisoners." I asked him if he knew one of the Canadian prisoners by the name of Williams, who died there some time ago. " Had he sore eyes," said he. " Yes, I believe he had." " O yes, poor man, he suffered a great deal. I felt sorry for him ; he was treated shamefully ; his flesh, what little was remaining, lies somewhere in that yard, but he could not tell where, as there was no uniformity in burying prisoners ; they are tumbled in just as it happens. I suppose his bones are in the hands of some of the young students ; maybe in England before this time ; it's more than I am allowed to know ; he was a fine young man ; I used to like to hear him talk about America ; America must be a fine country, according to his tell ; I wish I was there ; but here I am, a prisoner, and most likely I shall always remain one." We now came to a turn, and they went one way, we the other, and returned to our hut.

We wandered around in search of work, and at one place there was a gentleman said we could go to work for our board, but after a little inquiry we found him to be of such a character that it would not be safe to be on his premises at all ; there were a great many poor men at work for him at no wages and not half enough to eat ; they were drove like brutes. We tried hard for the privilege of going from there to Hobart Town, but were not allowed ; we wanted to see the Governor, and were told his excellency was expected at Norfolk in about a week. We tried hard for the privilege of speaking to him, but he was in such haste, and had so much business on hand that there was no possible chance of getting near enough to speak to him.

We finally, after remaining there near two months, with what money we had, by living sparingly and occasionally hunting kangaroo, we managed to stop that length of time, without committing any depredation ; though once, constables rushed into our hut in the night, and asked if we were all

there; on being told that we were, they would not believe it until we got up. They would not be satisfied until they had searched the hut; for some things, they said, had just been stolen near by. We thanked them for their compliment, and told them it was not a very gentlemanly way of introducing themselves; and, unless some of the stolen articles were deposited there by themselves, or some others, like them, we thought they would not find any on our premises; and that we were not in the habit of stealing; and if it was in our own country that they performed in that manner, they would fare rather slim; but as it was, we dared not to resist; and they were aware of it.

As there is a trifle coming to the constables, from government, for each prisoner, arrested, tried, and sentenced, they having privileges that prisoners are not allowed, often steal and deposit some of the articles in some prisoner's hut; then come in and search a little, find it, take the poor man or men before a magistrate, who tries, and sentences them to six months or a year on the roads, perhaps to work in chains. There can be no doubt of his guilt, because the good constable actually found the articles in his possession! The constable is rewarded for stealing, and the prisoner punished for not stealing. It is all right because he is an officer of government; and the other, a slave, and subject to him, and all of the higher officers.

After trying hard, we succeeded in getting a pass for Brighton District. One object was, we heard that the magistrate there would be more likely to get us the privilege of going to Hobart Town; and another was, being in the neighborhood of the Green Pond Station; where we had been partly promised employment after the term of probation had expired. There is a small village near the station, which is on the main road from Hobart to Launceston. We had nearly thirty miles to travel principally through the bush, to reach this village, which consisted of two stores, two taverns, two churches, a watch house, a police office, a company of fifty or sixty soldiers, barracks, &c. On our arrival there, as we had a little money, our first object was, to obtain a hut to lodge in, not far from the place; and as provisions at that time, were high, we were obliged to live accor-

ding to our means; and as to means, we may say—they were nothing; and a fair prospect of remaining so. Our next object was, to see the magistrate. But on enquiring, found, that Mr. Erskine, who was at that place when we were on that station, was gone; and another had taken his place; but not anything like as descent a man as Mr. Erskine. We were somewhat disappointed. It was finally settled, that I should go and see the magistrate. I went and told him of our misfortunes, and that if it was in his power, we wished him to grant us the privilege of going to Hobart Town. Said he—“you have not been in this district but a few days, I think you can get something to do—At all events, I cannot allow you to go to town, for it is evident, you are determined to make your escape from the Island! You have made two or three attempts, already, and I have had strict orders not to let you go to town, or near the sea shore on any account whatever!” I returned and reported progress. Two of the men set out in search of work and were gone two days. They returned much dejected, rested a little, and tried again, but no success. After remaining four weeks, and the prospects still dull, I went to a man who had been a constable and keeper of the watch house. We had seen him often while on the roads. He had managed to get considerable land, had just built a steam grist-mill, and seemed to be getting along very well. I asked him if he could employ us at some rate. He said he had all the men he wanted, but that we might come and live in one of his houses, as he had just bought a large farm, with nice buildings and the gentleman having left for England, he did not want the buildings left unoccupied, and we could stop and watch the premises, and he might have something for us to do. We are now not exactly gentlemen, nor owners of a gentleman’s estate, but stopping in a gentleman’s house with no furniture, except our blankets, tin cups, frying pan and an old tin kettle. There was a number of rooms and a small bell for each. We would imagine ourselves, at times, gentlemen. One would step in to one of the rooms and be servant, while another would be master; and as the bell was rung, the servant would appear in all haste, with cap in hand, saying, “what is your wish master?” Bring me a bottle of the

best porter ! quick ! “ Yes, master ! ” Away he would run and bring an empty bottle: for there was hundreds there; some had had brandy in, some wine, some porter, and some champagne, &c. Bottle after bottle was called for, by the master, who would assume all the airs of a lord; till he was so drunk, that the rest of us (his servants) would carry him into his sleeping apartment, lay him on his bed of down, close the door, and all is quiet. Pretty soon one would go around to the front door and ring the bell. A servant would appear. On being asked if the master was in, and being told that the man at the door wished to see him the servant would reply—“ master is very ill ! ” or—“ he has gone riding for his health ! you cannot see him to-day ! call in the morning ! ” He would call in the morning, but was told the master was not up; but if he could wait a few minutes, he would be up. He waits at the door an hour, rings again, servant appears and says—“ master is dressing ! you can soon see him ! In about another hour he rings again;—Servant—“ I will run and tell master and he will be in. in a moment. ” Presently the master appears, having been drunk for the last twenty-four hours, is not in a very pleasant humor—“ well, what do you want ? ” “ I called to see, sir, if you could employ me, sir. I am out of work, and have no means of getting a morsel to eat. Master—“ no I have plenty of help. I don’t want you ! ”—[closing the door].

But I must not stop to describe the gentleman in full; this however, is a small sample of a gentleman of Van Dieman’s Land. Ladies nearly on the same principal, though the better of the two, to the prisoner. We were there some three weeks expecting the master, who lived a little over three quarters of a mile from us, would let us have a job of some kind. “ Why ” says one—“ what right have we to labor ? if we are not real lords, we are very near it ! All that is lacking is, a little more splendid furniture; horses carriages, &c. If we can manage to get them, what will hinder us from being lords ? ” “ Why ” says one—“ we cannot be, unless we have a great many servants, and our cellar replenished with all kinds of liquors, and it must be of the best quality. ” “ Well ! ” says one—“ it will cost nothing. If we were only lucky enough to have these things: good liquors, &c.

and belonged to the band, "nothing could prevent us from being gentlemen, if not lords." But we finally come to the conclusion that we were nothing but prisoners, and that it is great condescension, on the part of the gentleman in allowing us to even stop inside the mansion, to prevent thieves breaking in to steal. But it was lucky for us, for there being nothing but the house to steal, we were not troubled with thieves. So you see after all our castle building, we were nobody—nothing but poor prisoners, or slaves. Good enough for us! We had no business to inculcate liberal principles, or in any manner ever attempt to defend them from the overwhelming power of tyrants and sycophants. O! the enormity of our crime! It cannot, it must not be forgiven! Can it be possible that the stain could ever be wiped out, and we be forgiven, even by Mr. Van Buren? Then add to this, the crime of "black legs, horse thieves, &c." And we never need expect forgiveness! It is no matter whether we are guilty or not, this big man has said so and it must be so. It is getting to be quite dangerous, even to speak in favor of liberty, much more to act. Notwithstanding, you see that I am not inclined to keep silence in the cause, but as far as my bodily infirmities will admit, I am ready to act—even if the whole world should oppose me, as long as I am out of bonds I shall raise my voice, though it be ever so weak, in behalf of those that are in bonds and of their rights on the face of this fair earth, as well as those that think they have no rights except it be granted them by the would be lords of the soil, and of everything else. O how thankful I am that my soul is not in the hands of such men—it would be bartered away before night, for gold for them to sport upon. Though my body may be in the power of this strong clan for daring to raise my voice against them,—yet I fear them not, though I wish not the ill will of any one. The magistrate said he would write to town for us, but after my calling on him three or four times for an answer—was convinced that he had not written, or did not intend to—he being satisfied of my belief of it, says to me, thinking I would write without his knowledge, says he you better write yourself;" I said I had written but had not received an answer; "O says he you did not do it in a respectful manner.—Sit

down"—ordering his clerk to hand me some paper, pen and ink "now," says he, "you write, and I will indict. I had got through with the address which was rather lengthy, as he told me—"now," says he, "you must be very humiliating, say that you are very sorry you had attempted to get away, and that you will not be guilty of such an act again, and hope his honor will forgive you, &c. As he commenced this I rose from my writing posture and looked him square in the face, whilst he repeated it over two or three times. "come," said he, "write away"—I was vexed or what some would call angry, so much so, that I trembled to that degree I could not hold my pen. My reply was: I shall say no such thing, that I had done nothing that I was ashamed of. "O, I see, I see," said he, in a contemptuous manner, "I see it touches your native pride, you Yankee's are noted for such pride," call it what you please sir, I shall not write it neither shall I acknowledge it in any manner.

I see it was his intention to abuse me in that gentleman-like manner. I got up took my cap, was about starting—says he, "you do not intend to finish the letter then."—not after that fashion says I, "well," said he in a provoking sneer "we will alter it a little." No I think it will be of no use to write or to ask any favors. As I was stepping to the door says he, "I think you men will all have your free pardons soon." I hope so said I, but I do not see how we can have a free pardon before receiving a sentence; and so we parted—on nearly as good terms as we ever had been. only I believe we had learnt each other's dispositions a little better.

About this time the master of the premises said he had a large quantity of manure to remove, and that he did not care about sending to town for any more servants, and that if we liked, we could go to work for a shilling a day, but must pay for our own rations, and furnished by him—which you see, in the end amounts to about the same as servants or slaves, only a little different shade; for he knew that the shilling would not purchase of himself, more poor mutton and flour than we should require while performing the labor, nor not so much as was required by the laboring man, and of course being a ticket-of-leave man, which is as you know, next



to freedom; we had to furnish our own clothes, washing and mending; and must work hard from sunrise to sundown.

I would ask how is a man to lay up money towards paying a passage home, if so be he was permitted ever to leave the Island, if you can see how it could be done, you can see a great deal farther than I could when I was there to see. I know for certain if we had not been assisted in some other way we never could have left the island. You will soon learn how we were assisted.

We went to work at that rate for we could do no better—we were obliged to work with eight or ten old hands (slaves with an overseer) to see that the men worked hard to pay for their poor mutton and coarse flour. The men are allowed an hour each meal during which time they must cook their meat and eat it, but are often called to work before finishing their meal; and obliged to take a piece of meat and damper in their hands and swallow it on their way to work. Their dampers are often put into the embers at night and taken out in the morning, because they have no other time to bake them—wash and dry their old striped shirts as they can, there is no time allowed for such trifling things; their old huts are generally dirty and alive with vermin—their only bedding, one blanket and a rug; some settlers allows a coarse tick which they fill with straw or wild grass. The huts for the slave are temporary, no floor, but generally a kind of fire-place more for the convenience of the settler than the prisoner, because he is permitted to prepare his scanty meal if he can do it within the hour and away to work. The huts are generally situated some sixty or one-hundred rods from the gentleman's castle, around which, are bull-dogs to guard him either with two legs or four, the slave is not permitted to approach the castle without orders, or any other one without the alarm being given by dogs or men as substitute, if a gentleman or lady is seen approaching, they are met by a servant and conducted safely past the army of dogs to the front door: but if a prisoner; he must keep his distance, or be torn in pieces by the dogs, If the master should condescend to step out and ask him his business, well and good, if not he must retire after waiting perhaps two hours—must call again next day; no matter

whether the poor man is starving or not, the master will not stoop so low as to answer the first or second call from a slave though he may be just ready to sink to the earth for the want of a crumb from his table, but after repeated calls, if the rich man should deign to answer him, it is generally to say "no begone, I have business of more importance than to listen to the calls of beggars."—but "please sir, I will work for you to pay for a morsel, I am starving sir."—"O, well the country is full of just such characters, I don't want you, begone; I have plenty of help, and more now than I require, I must send some of them in to government."

I will not attempt to relate every thing that occurred whilst here, as I have passed over many things heretofore that should have been mentioned; but I have already extended the work beyond what I intended at the commencement, yet I find the subject cannot be fully explained without extending the work far beyond what I am at present able to perform, for two or three reasons, one principal reason is my health; another is there may be some that have or may return, that will be better able to do the subject justice than myself. You will notice that since our separation at Bridgewater, I have not attempted to give a description of any of the sufferings of my comrades, except those that I were in connection with from that time; so that each one in giving an account of his treatment, scattered about the island as we were, may give different accounts, and still all be true, even those that were together during our stay there, in writing a history would vary, but amount to about the same thing at last; be assured of this, that in attempting a description of our treatment and sufferings however varied in expression, it cannot be exaggerated. I must be excused for my brevity thus far, for whilst I am penning these few remarks; the pain in my side and breast is so severe, that I can write but two or three lines before I have to get up walk about or lay down a short time, rise and write a few lines and so on; which has been one reason why this or a similar work has not appeared before, even this as brief as it is; would not have appeared to public view so imperfect, if I had not been strongly urged by some of my friends to say something upon the subject, therefore, under the many disadvantages that I

have to labor, please to excuse my imperfections and brevity. The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak through sufferings,

After being there about seven months, by close management we made out to live; but as much as ever. One day meeting the police constable, said he—“there is some of you Canadians, in the morning’s Gazette, for a free pardon.” I went at once to the office, which was distant one half of a mile, asked him if I could be allowed the privilege of seeing the Government Gazette, he handed it to me in which I found the names of twenty-three of our number (myself included) with the intelligence, that by calling at the police office in Hobart Town, we could obtain our pardons. I went at once and informed my companions of my discovery. Now we are glad and at the same time sorry; for there was one of our company who was not included. Orlen Blodget, we should have to leave behind, which grieved us much; for he was a young man and much esteemed by us all. We finally concluded as they had previously liberated four, that it was their intention to not liberate all at a time, thinking it would create too much excitement, should they all land in America at once; therefore thought it best to liberate us in small parties for they have always been afraid of us; for if they had not been cowards, they never would have transported us and we have had the pleasure of saying so more than once. Taking all things into consideration, he as well as ourselves thought we had better leave the island as soon as possible, to give the rest a chance of receiving their pardons, for they were all as well deserving of it as we; our being amongst the first appeared a mere chance. Now as bad as my situation was I would willingly have waited till they were all free, if it would have done any good, but it was thought best by all whom we could hear from, to leave as soon as possible, as the rest would not be liberated until we left. We accordingly set out for town in less than twenty-four hours from the time I left the police office where we received such joyful intelligence. But it seemed like parting with a dear friend; one who had been with us through sore afflictions; and it seemed still harder, if possible, for him, as he would be left alone. We had talked much and reasoned together in perilous times

for years passed, but now behold us shaking the parting hand and ready to leave our tried friend, in that miserable place, not knowing whether we should ever meet again. I believe you can have little if any idea of our feelings, unless it has been your lot to pass through the same or similar trials, that we have been called to pass through. But when we turned to leave him, it seemed to me as though I would have been willing to have had the earth open and swallow us up forever. Neither of us could speak for, I should judge a half of an hour after leaving Mr. Blodget. Be sure I can testify to the fact of its being hard to part with a friend in adversity. The reason may be, because they are not as plenty as in prosperity. O! should we not admire a friend who will not forsake us in trouble? I used to think I had many friends before this sore calamity befell me, but when they were most needed there was but very few who were willing to acknowledge by their acts, that they ever knew me. Others said—"good enough for them! They ought to have known better England may do as she likes with them! They never need expect any favors from us, for it would offend England and that would never do; for she is wealthy and powerful, and of course she has a right to be tyrannical. It is better to give in a little—even let them come on our shore and burn a steamboat now and then—no matter if our subjects are sleeping in it; it is better to have them dragged out and murdered than to offend them by resisting it. It is better to let them hang as many as they please and transport as many as they please. In fact it is better to let them do as they please with our subjects or property rather than say aught against it; for it might make them mad, and then you know we should not fare so well." But after all, I believe the majority of the people of our union are too well acquainted with their meanness, and willingness to enslave, to allow the tyrants any more privileges upon our shores than they have already. Never allow them a footing, or our country is ruined! (Whatever appears extraordinary, if it be successful, is called great; and what is truly great, if unsuccessful, is thought foolish.)

We are now in Hobart Town and at the office receiving our parchments or pardon. As I receive mine, I ask the

clerk if it is customary to give a prisoner a pardon before or after receiving a sentence; says he—"how is it done in America?" Well, says I, I never was a prisoner there, so I could not say for certain, but I always supposed that a man must be sentenced before he can receive a pardon; if not, how is he to know what the pardon is for? O! says he—"I think you know what your pardon is for; if you don't; the government does, and that is enough." I suppose it is, says I; as long as it is out of the prisoner's power to help himself. "Well!" says he—"it appears to be a curious affair, altogether, but so it is, and I suppose you can't help yourselves. I have no time now to talk upon the subject." Just at that time the chief clerk came in. Says I—would you be kind enough to inform me if any more pardons have arrived from England, besides the twenty-seven which were gazetted on monday last? Says he—"you have received yours, have you not?" Says I—I have, but am anxious to know if there are any more for my comrades, who have with me, been illegally confined! I expected to get no satisfaction by what I could discover. "None of your business!" said he. I supposed not! said I. It seems, it never has been any of our business. I suppose, they have thought by detaining us seven years, their rascality would be outlawed; but be assured the time will come when England will pay dearly for her rascality towards us.

I left the office; not that I was actually afraid; but knowing by the manner they had dealt with us, that they could take the pardon from me and prefer any charge against me they pleased; and I not help myself. One of the clerks spoke as I went out. Said he—"I suppose you intend to go to America as soon as possible." I do! said I. "But how are you going to get there?" says he. You wait till an American Whaler comes in, and you will see we can leave this place, even if we are destitute of means. Those who were free, were collected within a week of our arrival, and we determined to stay in Hobart Town until an American vessel of some description should arrive. Accordingly we rented a house and kept bachelors' hall. Some having been more lucky than others had a little money; but few however were fortunate enough to have any. Scarcely any however

had experienced quite as tough times as we, who had been unlucky enough to be sent to that district from Swanport, for attempting to escape. But it was hard at the best. Those who could get a job of any kind, would engage it, and as many as was thought proper would work at it. But it was out of the question to lay up a farthing, or scarcely to get enough to eat whilst we remained there. But we were used to low diet. Of the number who met us there, were some whom we had not seen since our separation at Bridgewater. We here ascertained the exact number of deaths in our party and nearly all came to their death from ill treatment. John Simmons, Lysander Curtis, Thomas Stockton, Alson Owen, J. P. Williams or James Rykard. Andrew Leeper, William Nottage, Foster Martin, Asa Priest, Alexander Mc. Leod, Garret Vancamp, and J. J. Mc. Nulty.

I will now leave the subject of our treatment and sufferings, not because I have told you all, far from it—but it is in order to give you a short description of the Island. I shall be brief, for I consider it not of sufficient consequence to dwell at any length of time upon. I believe the Island was discovered by a Dutch navigator in 1641 and was named Van Dieman's Land, in honor of Anthony Van Dieman, Governor of Dutch East India, it was taken possession of in 1804 by the English as a penal colony.

The natives found there at this time were in a state of nakedness and having no form of government. They are of short stature, large woolly heads, large flat nose resembling the African, high cheek bones, similar to the American Indians, broad face, dark complexion, but not as dark as the African. There is but few remaining of the five or six thousand that at one time was supposed to be on the Island; what the English failed in murdering before Sir George Arthur was sent there as governor, by his orders were hunted like wild beasts and destroyed by hundreds, until they were all killed except about one hundred that was confined on a small island contiguous to Van Dieman's, but before I left I understood they had dwindled away to twenty-five or thirty; very soon there will be none left to tell the sad story of their defenceless race being murdered without mercy, because the English wanted their little island for a prison to

enslave their poor white neighbors. The poor New Zealanders will soon share a similar fate. There was a few families of English made tools of by the clan to go there as missionaries, it turned out just as was expected, they were all killed by the natives which of course gives the clan a chance to retaliate by sending an army to kill them off; then of course, New Zealand will belong to England—this is their manner of gaining possessions.

The island has never been surveyed, but is variously estimated at from twenty-two to twenty-six thousand square miles, its situation is in lat.  $41\frac{1}{2}$  degrees south, lon. 144 deg. 40 north and 148 deg., 20 east; is estimated to be 147 miles in width and 210 in length, lying south of New Holland from which it is separated by Bass Straits. The free population numbers about 30,000; the emancipists 20,000; and convicts under sentence, 26,000 of whom 8,000 are females, making in all about 86,000.

The principal animal is the Kangaroo, there are two or three kinds, the smaller kind are about two or three feet high when standing erect: the largest kind are from five to six feet when they run or rather bound, for they move in an erect posture, using their fore legs only as they stop to feed; they have been known to take up a dog that was in pursuit of them and bound off to the nearest water, and hold him under until drowned. As they have been exhibited in caravans throughout America, I need not be particular in describing them, they are numerous and very harmless, a common dog will run one down in a short time, when they are as easily killed as a deer. Opposum, Badger, Rabbits, and a four legged animal they call devil, (though not near as numerous as the two-legged ones) they are black and about the size of a large cat—there is a species of wolf or wild dog, though not numerous. All the animals are harmless except the two legged ones called gentlemen, they very much resemble the snakes on the island; there is a number of species, but all producing almost instant death by biting; even the smallest kind which resemble our little striped snake, are venomous; the largest that I have seen was of a dark color, four or five feet in length.

One day travelling along the main road I discover-

ed in a field at a short distance three men standing by a cow that lay as I supposed dead; she had been attacked by one of those large snakes and bit in the neck, as she was laying down; it was seen in the morning near where she was laying, the man hastened to the house for a gun, but before he could return, it had bit the cow, but on looking carefully around, discovered it coiled not far off; he approached within about twenty feet and shot it. I saw the snake—I should judge it was six feet in length and looked very much like the black snake of America. The cow was not quite dead, but swollen to that degree she could not see; this was about two hours from the time she was bit. She seemed in great agony just as I left, a man had received orders to load the gun and shoot her. Just before we left Green Ponds for Hobart Town, there was a boy hunting rabbits, he thought he discovered one at some distance, run into a hollow log, he came up and run his arm in for the rabbit as he supposed, but was bit by a snake, he lived nearly two days—the snake was found to be a little striped one about a foot in length.

The feathered tribe are somewhat numerous, but amongst them all, I have never seen any that resemble ours, except the crow; the eagles are somewhat numerous, and above all the birds they are the most hated and hunted by the tyrants in Her Majesty's dominions, especially in Van Dieman's Land; the parrots are very numerous and of six or eight different species, there is a bird called the jackass, it is the best singing bird in the colony, it is of a brown color and about the size of our robin; the magpie is numerous and noisy, but not very melodious, they are black and white, and about the size of a dove (or tame pigeon); there is a brown bird about the size of a pigeon called the wattle bird, which is much esteemed amongst the gents.; likewise the quail which resembles ours but not quite as large; also a few black swan, some ducks, &c.; the cockatoo is the most troublesome bird they have, there is the white and the black; they are about the size of the crow, they go in large flocks from field to field, and make great havoc amongst the grain.

The timber is all evergreen, but none that is as thrifty as in America, and altogether of a different kind: the names they bare are wattle, three kinds, black, white and silver;



black, white and yellow gum; a tree called oak, but nothing like ours; cherry, stringy bark, peppermint and honey-suckle comprises all of any amount, nearly all the timber is very heavy, and when thrown in the water sinks directly, it never sheds the leaf, but the bark instead. This with other green herbs, together with a mild healthy climate, presents a beautiful aspect, especially to those that have not been in a country where trees and shrubbery retain their green leaves winter and summer, but after remaining there a short time, you will discover that the soil and climate is nothing near as good to ensure crops as it is in America.

The face of the country is rough, and not one-half of the island can be considered arable land, and irrigation is necessary to induce a good share of this to yield a middling crop. Though it may be considered a mild climate, the nights throughout the year, are chilly, with frequent frosts. It is not uncommon to see large fields of promising wheat headed out and in the milk, totally destroyed by frost in one night. The country is likewise subject to drought and mildew. I have seen the frost so heavy in harvest time, that you would be obliged to wait in the morning until the sun was three hours high, when the frost would disappear, so that you could handle it without suffering with cold fingers; this may seem incredible—but it is often the case. On this account, Indian corn will not grow at all. Oats and barley are the only sure crop, and they often fail—Potatoes likewise, are apt to be destroyed by frost or drought, when the season is favorable, the crops are good, but you are not sure—for when you think the prospect is fair, in twenty-four hours time, you may behold your crops wilting in mid-day, from a previous night's frost; therefore on account of the uncertainty of crops, the gentleman's vast estate is principally converted to sheep grazing; it is common for a settler to have on his estate fifteen or twenty-thousand head of sheep, and perhaps a thousand head of cattle, there are likewise some very good horses, but even for grazing, it cannot be considered good on account of drought.

My opinion is, it is no place for an American to think of living, except he is rich and a tyrant and willing to have all his work done by white slaves; for it is a disgrace for a gentleman

or lady to work or scarcely to speak to the slaves who are doing it all for them; except there is a complaint to the master by the overseer, that the slave does not work hard enough. In that case the master is very angry, talks to him, and for a very trifling offence will abuse him in the most shameful manner, and generally ends by the poor man receiving fifty lashes on the bare back, put to work, driven and abused in every possible manner by the overseer. But it is of no use to complain of the overseer to the master; for his acts are all sanctioned, especially if he causes the work to be done and well done. So if you are rich and inclined to be tyrannical, and join in with the tyrants, you may do well to live there; otherwise you had better stay away. There is another thing which might induce you to go there. All the lower class are obliged to touch their hats to you when they pass you. This is a great satisfaction to a nobleman. So if this would be any inducement to you, you had better go; for you know it has not come to that yet, in this country. Although you may be rich, you are considered nothing but a man. So if you want such great honors paid you, you must go where they are compelled to reverence you on account of your wealth. For my part, I have no inclination to go back there; neither do I think that England has a right to send me, or any other American citizen, tried by a colonial act; to Van Dieman's Land, for seven years, against his will, and there subject him to slavery. Still they may have the right; especially when we consider the enormity of the crime for which we were sent; because, if our government had demanded us, they have no penal colony to send us to; therefore we could not have been punished in a manner sufficient to atone for the enormous crime of which we were supposed to be guilty. (Some at least had no testimony sufficient to condemn them in any court of justice;) but no matter; if you were supposed guilty of such a heinous crime, it was sufficient.

Edward M'Dowell Esq., was attorney general of Van Dieman's Land when we arrived there, but had since given offence to old granny Franklin, who had him dismissed from the office. He was in conversation with one of our party, Mr. L. W. Miller, said he, "I have seen all the papers which accompanied your party from England and Canada; there

was not the scratch of a pen to authorize the governor to receive you upon this island, much less to treat you as convicts; you had a right according to the laws of this island, to land as free men, and to leave the same day, if you chose to do so. Every person who has held you in custody is liable to an action for false imprisonment."

Likewise Mr. Murray, editor of a reform paper in Hobart Town, censured the government very hard for their treatment towards us, he spoke very plain, but none too plain, he said, "it had *ought* to be, and was an everlasting disgrace to the British government, dealing in the unlawful and inhuman manner with us, *that they had, and were dealing*. Some three or four others there, as well as many in England, have ventured to declare, and at the risk of great sacrifice, that the Canadian Patriots were shamefully abused and that we ought not to be treated in the manner we were. I wish we had a president that would not only think, but act in defence of our citizens that have been dragged to a penal colony, unlawfully tried, abandoned to slavery, and treated worse than felons of the worst kind; do you think England would allow her subjects to be treated by any other nation as she has treated subjects of these United States? my opinion is, she would not. But I am aware of the opposition these few remarks will meet with, be it as it may, I am firm in the belief, that considering the circumstances of our being taken prisoners, together with illegal trials; it would have been just and right for our government to have demanded us of the British Government, that we might be tried and punished for breaking our laws, for there was none in Canada, at that time to break, if there was, why was we not tried by them, instead of by a colonial act that did not receive the sanction of home government?

But O the crime, the crime; when we consider it, no punishment that could be inflicted, is too severe, whether inflicted according to law and justice or not, it makes no difference; tyrants, do as you like, your acts are all sanctioned—but by none, however, but those of your own stamp—as long as you have the power, you may continue to practice deeds of the blackest die; but the groans and prayers of the oppressed will be heard; then weep and howl for the calamities that will

be fall you, can you expect mercy will be shown you, when the sceptre shall be wrested from you, and that power which was bestowed for a blessing, that you have to liberally converted into acts of oppression, and that has caused so many thousands to turn from your door, with the refusal of a crust of bread to keep them from starving, and when death through your oppression has overtaken them—have been denied a decent burial, but their dead bodies made merchandise of, as unwilling to give them up, as long as they can in any way be used to furnish the means of riotous living, yet you hold no slaves, tell it not to me, for I know better, there is no act too mean or arbitrary for you to adopt—to enslave the common people as you call them, and to obtain money and means to continue the oppression. I know I shall be blamed by you, for this plainness of speech, but I declare to you and the whole world it is truth, therefore, I fear you not.—I am not the only one that has been persecuted even to death for daring to speak against your acts. If after you have had the power to destroy the bodies of whom you pleased, but (would like also power to destroy the souls) thanks to omnipotence, the soul is not at your disposal, whatever the varied garbs you assume—think not to deceive the Almighty, as you are endeavoring to deceive and oppress your poor neighbors, be sure your sins will find you out; the people are already sensible of many of your deep laid schemes to enslave them; would to God that those that are convinced of them, would not be backward in manifesting it to the world. Then you would not dare to be so bold in deeds of blood! May the time soon come when the people will not be ashamed or afraid to assert their rights; and tyrants quail beneath the power of justice and truth.

Adieu to the land where we have suffered so much unlawful, unjust and uncalled for abuse at the hands of crouching menials to despotism, may they soon learn to treat fellow men with more lenity, or speedily be dispossessed of power that so many millions have been crushed under, (so mote it be.)

To all that had a desire to treat us with any degree of humanity, and would have alleviated our horrible sufferings but have not had it in your power to do so,—likewise those of you that are liberally disposed, may such principles grow

and increase amongst you until you shall be possessed with feelings and shame sufficient to cause you to cry out with bitter invectives against the bare-faced and high handed butchery of the poor unfortunate men and women that are daily suffering an ignominious death as felons in Van Dieman's Land, as well as others of Her Majesty's dominions, and in your endeavors to subvert the evils, and substitute liberal acts instead, may your days be many, blessed and happy, which is the prayer of your much afflicted friend.

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## CHAPTER IX.

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### *Farewell to Van Dieman's Land. — Voyage to America, via. Sandwich Islands.*

It is now the 27th of January, 1845, and John Cronk Hite, Leonard Delano, Luther Darby, Elon Fellows, Nelson Griggs, Jeremiah Griggs, Gideon Goodrich, John Gillman, David House, Daniel D. Hustes, Ira Polly, Oren W. Smith, Samuel Snow, John G. Swanburg, Elizur Stevens, Alvin B. Sweet, Chauncey Sheldon, Joseph Thompson, John Thomas, Bemas Woodbury, John Grant, James D. Fero, Henry V. Bar-num, and myself after waiting, and anxiously looking for an American vessel, for two months from the time of receiving our pardons, found at last the American Whale Ship, Steiglitz, of Sag Harbor; Selah Young, Master, put in, for repairs; and by the intercession of Mr. Hathaway, American Consul, we went on board. When the captain was apprised of our situation, says he— "I must and will take them from this horrible place!" But as he was outward bound, knew of no other way but to take us to the Sandwich Islands; which would leave us farther from home than when we started. At all events, we were willing to leave that place, and run the risk of finding a better one. Adieu to the little iron bound miserable island; governed by iron hearted, miserable, crouching

menials of Queen Victoria. Twenty-five of us are now leaving your shores; but not without shaking the dust from our feet, as a testimony against you, for the inhuman treatment we have received from the petty tyrants who rule there; who have caused so much suffering and shedding of innocent blood. the victim's dying groans ascend to the god of justice, and if you are not speedily visited by some sore calamity, it will not be because you are undeserving, for, the multitude of evils you have been guilty of heaping upon the heads, backs, and hearts of the poor and defenceless. You willed it, you delighted in it, you have done it because you had the power. You have abused the power which has been given you, by committing many heinous, degrading, and abominable acts, that have caused the heart of the widow and the fatherless to bleed, and when they begged, plead, and beseeched of you for a morsel to sustain life, you have denied them and caused the lash to be liberally administered instead. Because they have had the impertinence to ask for aid, after their rights had been cruelly wrested from them, by your grasping, covetous, callous hearts, and your iron-nerved, strong, unflinching, oppressive, overbearing, unyielding arms. You have not put forth a finger to aid them, except it has been greatly to your advantage so to do. Look out ! great calamities are about to fall upon your accursed, cruel heads. You make great pretensions to all that is good, merely to cloak your sins; but be sure, your sins will find you out and in time, you will be made to reap the reward of your evil deeds.

I will not undertake to describe my feelings on leaving a place where we had seen and received so much abuse and suffering, and been looked upon with disdain and contempt, by pretended gentlemen, because we were unjustly and illegally, convicts, and treated as such, in every sense of the word, But, notwithstanding you wear the garb of gentility, I have considered myself polluted by being under your jurisdiction, or even in your presence; for in you, or from you proceedeth no good. I consider the effect similar to one approaching the Bohon Upas; if it is not instant death, it is a lingering one, and any one who continues long under your contaminating influence, and rotten love of monarchy and oppression, must, sooner or later die of a grievous plague. How unlucky

for us, and the cause, in 1837 and 8 that our president was so much of a Queen's man. He should have a salary from her. I expect he has— for services rendered.

The prospect of leaving, gave me much joy; but my companions whom I was leaving, still in the power of vipers, caused me to be sorrowful, and much cast down, for fear many of them would not survive their poisonous stings, which had been so repeatedly thrust through them, causing many of them to resemble skeletons. But my prayer is, that they may be rescued before the last drop of blood shall be extracted, to quench the thirst of demons in human form, and they all, fall martyrs to a righteous cause. Farewell, comrades! May you live to enjoy a long life of freedom and peace, in your native land; among the many patriots, philanthropists, and friends of liberty and equal rights, who have never considered the crime, for which you have suffered so much, in the least, degrading; but have, and I hope, always will esteem it honorable, just, and holy; even to fail in. Farewell! Although my body is now floating upon the boundless ocean, and soon will be far from you, yet the mind will often wander back, with anxious longings for your welfare and release from your horrible sufferings and deprivations. Be thou with them, O! God, to guard, protect, and, if it is thy will, deliver them all out of the hands of the oppressor!

We are now leaving the last glimpse of Vandiemans Land; our ship a good one—every sail set—favored with a fair breeze—headed to the eastward—going at the rate of ten knots an hour. Now the land, where the sun, at 12 o'clock, is in the north instead of south, disappears. We have only the trackless ocean presented to our view. As we glide majestically along, over the deep, rolling billows, and as I sit, viewing the vast swarms of flying fish, the porpoises rolling and tumbling; as it were, at short intervals appearing upon the surface and as often immersed several feet beneath, as if trying their speed with our ship, and generally they came off victorious leaving us in the rear. The albatross, much resembling the goose, in size and color, sailed gracefully around our ship as if pleased with her appearance, and indicating much pleasure, seemingly, in courting ours. As I sat, musing upon the scenery which so sudden a change had presented, it might have

been an hour that my mind was released from the horrors of the land where I had suffered so much both of body and mind. As quick as lightning, my mind returned to the horrible place we had just left, wondering if my companions, there, would ever be so lucky as, like us, to be on an American vessel, bound from that Sodom, that sink of iniquity. As I was meditating upon this and upon the improbability or impossibility of myself or any other mortal ever being able to describe one half the abominable acts of the rulers as well as the horrible sufferings inflicted and borne by thousands, until at last, obliged to sink under their weight, with their backs, literally, a mass of congealed blood, from the stripes caused by the whips of their task masters. But because they are such abominable sinners, they are refused a resting place, by their mild, condescending, humane masters, for their torn and mangled bodies while living; and when dead, the traffic is still carried on with the bodies; and as long as they can, in any manner, reap a shilling from the poor, dead or alive, to replenish their purse, they have no scruples in so doing. O! how long will the Spanish inquisition continue; modeled over amongst civilized nations, under the garb of church and state and great and mighty sounding titles. As I am meditating upon these horrible things, my heart fairly sickens and my debilitated frame from sufferings under this great, good; lawful, church-and-state modeled inquisition, finds its way from the upper deck to a berth below. I lay ruminating upon the horrors of the past and hopes of the future, till at last, being almost overcome with cogitations and the forebodings of sea-sickness, together with the pain in my side and breast seemingly increasing by the sudden change, I fell asleep; after coming to the conclusion that the one half can never be told.

As I rested very well the first night, I rose in the morning feeling some better than when I retired, though very sick at the stomach, and no appetite; I had been up but a few moments when I began to vomit, but not as freely as I wished. I will not attempt a description of the horrible death-like feelings of sea sickness—I will only say, if it operates on others, as it did on me, you have very little choice either to live or die, and I was much reduced by sea-



sickness, pain in the side and breast, having very little relish for anything on shipboard during nearly three months. I will not attempt a relation of all as it occurred daily, as the most or all of my readers have read or heard of the perils of a sea voyage, and for other reasons which I consider sufficient. I shall be very brief.—The captain cruised a short time for whale on the coast of New Zealand: after we had been out about six weeks, took what is termed a right whale, which was to us something of a curiosity; the head of the right whale contains the common whalebone for our markets; the head of the sperm whale is valuable on account of the ivory teeth. As the whale is discovered by the men at mast head, (there is one or two kept constantly there through the day,) with a loud long singing tone, “whale O,” the captain or mate responds by saying, “where a-way,” “right a head sir,” “how far,” one mile or one mile and a half, as may be. When it is ascertained what kind it is, and if thought best by the captain and mate, the orders are given to lower away two boats—they are quickly manned by six men each; and pull away for the huge monster,—as they pull along side, the man in the bow throws his harpoon, and as the whale starts off, the rope that lays coiled in the bottom of the boat, one end being fast to the handle of the harpoon, is taken out very quick fifty or sixty fathom, and if the whale continues on the surface, the rope is made fast and towed by his whaleship, perhaps a mile or two when he stops to rest and spout; they pull again along side as quick as possible, and with the lance, strike him two or three times before he can get out of the way; this process is pursued until the cry is, “she spouts blood,” they then lay on their oars, or in other words, cease hostilities, until the whale bleeds to death; it was about six hours from the time the boats were lowered, until the whale was dead, the boats make fast and tow their prize to the ship, if it is a calm, but if the wind is favorable, the ship sails up to them—the whale is made fast by the ship’s side; they then swing a plank over the side, a man stands upon it, having a rope so fixed that he can rest the weight of his body in a leaning posture, and with a sharp spade about seven inches in width fast to a poll about twelve or fourteen feet in length; with that he cuts strips of blubber, from one; to two, and three hundred pounds,

a man is there to hitch the hook of the tackle that is fastened to the main-mast, just above the main-yardarm; ten or twelve men at the windlass near the bow, as the word is given by the man that is fastening the hook, "heave O," all hands at the windlass commence heaving and singing a sailor's phrase suitable for the occasion until the great strip of blubber is torn from the carcass and drawn upon deck, and so on, until the blubber is all peeled off, then the carcass is cut loose, and left a prey to sharks and albatros, which are numerous during the cutting up of the blubber, which generally takes a half-a-day. I have seen as many as twenty sharks around within ten or fifteen feet during the cutting in, some small, some large ones, they vary in length, from one to forty feet, but it is seldom you see one over twenty feet and not often over ten; sometimes they are obliged to shoot at them to keep them from attacking the whale whilst to work at it.

As soon as the first piece is dropt on deck, it is cut up in chunks from twenty to fifty pounds, when it is ready for trying. There is four kettles or cauldrons set in an arch between the fore and main masts, built of brick. They at first kindle the fire with wood and then scraps are used until it is all tried out, they try day and night until all is done, it takes two days to try a large whale. When the oil is dipped into casks, from a good one, they will have sixty-five or seventy barrels, but this one which I called a large one, yielded only thirty barrels; it was counted hardly worth taking. When the mouth of this one was open, a man could stand upright. I enquired of the old whaler if they supposed that to be the kind that swallowed Jonah, the answer I received from the old tars, was what I might have expected; "O," says they, "we have catched or seen all kinds of fish that swim in the ocean, some with large mouths, some small, but never saw any that had a throat large enough to receive that, showing his large bony fist, "that," says he, must go with other fish stories. "O," says an old tar, "Jonah might have been one of the Liliputians that *Guliver* describes," "well" says he, "that may be, but there is so many strange things and stories told by great and learned men, and then contradicted by others, that it is of no use to believe anything but what you see, and then we are liable to be deceived," "yes," says

another, "no longer ago than yesterday, I was at mast head, supposed I saw one at some distance, sung out whale O, come to it was only a porpoise—just so with Jonah and the big fish when you find out the truth, will be altogether different from what was expected, but you know there are a great many speculators, all trades must live. But their was a number of them got into the debate upon that, which led to other subjects, which some would call foolish to pen in a book yet. many of the remarks, although from old tars, if they could be spoken by those that were used to polish, would have been considered noble, brilliant and edifying, but as I was speaking of whales, I shall leave them to settle the dispute.

About a week from the time of taking the first one, a sperm whale was taken—there was three boats that had been in pursuit for some time, at last the captain not satisfied, thinking he could have harpooned him long before that, ordered the fourth boat lowered, soon they left the ship and about a mile off on the starboard bow, they came along side; the captain darted and fastened to the whale, but being rather too near, the boat was struck by the tail, and all hands thrown out and the boat soon filled with water. We could see them from the ship, and expected some were killed, but luckily for them, the whale struck the boat on the side, which stove a hole, causing it to fill very quick, but they managed to keep near and some to hold to the boat until one could come to their assistance; two boats were employed in picking up the men, and towing the shattered boat to the ship, whilst the fourth one continued in pursuit of the whale. After they had secured the boat and crew, they returned to assist in killing the whale, the mate's boat was likewise stove, but none hurt, notwithstanding there was but two boats left, they stuck to the old chap until the cry was, "she spouts blood." As there was no wind that day, the ship could not go to them, and after being out from morning until eight in the evening, working with all their might and nothing to eat, succeeded in reaching the ship with their prize lashed along side; they being so tired, did not commence cutting it in until the next morning. This one was larger than the first, but did not yield as much oil into ten barrels—this one was twenty-six feet in length, the first one twenty-two.

The blubber or fat when peeled off, is about six or eight inches thick, the surface or skin an inch, of a dark color, much resembling India rubber.

I might dwell at considerable length upon the subject of whaling, but consider it rather out of place in this work, and shall merely remark in conclusion, that I consider it not only dangerous but very disagreeable work, still there are those that like it. Our ship was considered capable of carrying two thousand barrels of oil, and was bound to the north-west, something like twenty-five thousand miles from Boston. It was expected it would take them three years to obtain a load. The crew of a whaler amounts to thirty—there being so many engaged in the business, it is not as profitable now as formerly.

Soon after taking the last whale, on account of rough weather and scarceness of whales, the captain gave up cruising and bore away to the Sandwich Islands, where he intended to leave us, take in a supply of fresh provisions and water and then proceed to the fishing ground, as it is called. We were three months in going. We passed two or three small islands on our way. We stopped at one of the Society Islands called Rematara. We lay off and on during the day. The captain and mate went ashore with two small boats and purchased some fruit of the natives; such as oranges, bananas, pine-apples, &c. The natives seemed very friendly. The king persuaded them to dine with him. The dinner was plain and simple. The king's daughter presided, with a cluster of long, beautiful feathers, brushing the flies away from the table whilst they were eating. Our men described her and others of her sex, as being naturally polite, affable and apparently, much pleased on being visited by Americans. The men are called canackers, the women, wyhenias and the children, pickininies. Some two or three of the canackers came out to the ship although they could not talk English. They manifested their joy by shaking the hand of all and with a smile, saying—"Oury miti! oury miti!" signifying—white man very good. The sailors gave them such clothing as they could spare, which pleased them much. It made no difference whether the garment fitted or not; if they could get them on, so as, in any way to resemble

us, they would feel quite rejoiced, and almost constantly saying — “oury miti! oury miti!” until they left for their fruitful little island. The natives on this as well as all the South sea Islands, are of a dark complexion, with long, strait hair and features much the same as the Europeans. Although they are called heathen, I am sorry to say — their simple and harmless race is dwindling away and will ere long become extinct and their islands inhabited by christians (so called). The next island we discovered, was Otaheite or Tahiti. The Society Islands are situated between latitude 16 and 18 deg. S.; longitude 143 and 153 deg. west. They were discovered by Capt. Cook in 1769. The inhabitants of this island; at that time, were estimated by Captain Cook at 250,000 souls; but is now said to not exceed 10,000. Our captain went ashore here for the purpose of ascertaining of the American consul if it would be prudent to leave us at that place; but as it was not in the season for whalers to return home and the French having taken possession of the principal port, it being under martial law, they having dethroned Queen Pomare, the prospect was, there would be an engagement and there was no knowing how it would end. He thought it best for us to go to Honalula. This sore calamity would not have befallen the simple South Sea Islanders, had it not been the determination of some designing men to persuade, if not to compel them to receive the gospel, which term, I believe signifies, good news and glad tidings of great joy; which to them, however, is a cause of grief and much sorrow; and their determination to spread the gospel of sorrow and grief, bids fair to cause an extermination of the heathen (so called) by christians (so called) and then, which denomination will claim possession of the islands? They had better be more united; then all the christian denominations can share in this lawful and righteous plunder.

I must stop for fear I shall say something that will not accord with popular opinion; but when I know some of the facts in relation to this subject, why should I withhold them? It is not through fear of man or any number of men, but it is on account of health: the same that has prevented me from more fully explaining many things which you see I have been obliged to pass over. O! that there was not so

much pretention, but more real, genuine, disinterested benevolence or religion in the world! But, as this is a world of wonders—I wonder if the South will be willing to share the spoils of Mexico, with the North! if not; I would take the Canadas, just to spite them. You know they were opposed to that in the last war, because it would give to the North the balance of power.

But stop! what am I talking about? What business have I to say anything about government affairs; now that I have incurred the displeasure of so many great, noble, wealthy men, by opposing tyranny? According to my treatment of some of these worthies, I have no right to even think of those matters; much less to speak. If there be a few random remarks throughout these pages, that might not exactly suit some, just remember I have been absent seven years and so situated that, on returning, I would not be in a situation to please every body. Some very great and good men have not the faculty to please every body, therefore I hope to be forgiven by considerate persons.

All sail is set, and we fast leaving Otaheite and its neighboring cluster, for there are two or three in sight, as we are nearing as well as leaving Otaheite, we passed near Owyhe, all of these islands appear to be volcanic, on this one is a burning mountain, and it was here that captain Cook was killed.

We are now anchored three quarters of a mile from the principal town of one of the Sandwich Islands, called Honalula, and as the captain had gone on shore to ascertain of the king if we would be permitted to stop there. until an opportunity offered of our getting a ship homeward bound, I will return and make a few remarks upon our passage; we were three months on our passage, which was near thirteen thousand miles, but in cruising for whale, it was supposed we had sailed nearly fifteen thousand, and of course had experienced some rough weather, twice we came very near being lost, as I thought, and I believe I was not the only one that thought it. Our captain was a very careful and able seaman—but at one time a squall came so suddenly upon us, all sail being set, that it came very near capsizing the ship, but by all hands working as for life, by cutting some sail

loose and taking in the rest, at last succeeded in righting the ship, which was nearly on her beam ends. I think it was on this day, as the ship was laboring hard through the day it seemed doubtful whether she would live through it, (as the term is) as the tremendous swells were at intervals breaking over us, apparently threatening to bury us alive, often the water upon deck was up to our knees, and by the time it would run off at the holes for that purpose in each side of the ship, another swell would break over us, causing all hands to be dripping wet, for days together, as the ship was rolling and pitching at an awful rate, the caboose that was secured as was supposed in the center of the main deck, used for keeping pigs, fowls, sauce, &c., gave way and went with speed across the bulwarks; three sailors had just left the spot, the fourth one was making fast a rope, he was caught and crushed so bad, that he survived but twenty-four hours, during which time he was in great pain. The funeral ceremonies were performed the following day by captain Young, and his body consigned to the mighty deep, and we trust his spirit to God who gave it. At another time we experienced a storm with, rain, wind, thunder and lightning—some sail carried away, it increased to that degree that every rag of sail had to be close reefed, and finally obliged to run before the wind or (as it is called) scudding under bare polls; on this account you see it is necessary to have plenty of sea-room, other ways the ship is driven on shore. I think I never saw it rain half as hard on land as on the ocean.

Captain Young is now on board, with intelligence that the king Kamchameha 3d, on hearing that we were Americans, and of our inhuman treatment from the English—of our present situation and of our desire to stop until an opportunity offered to return to America—said he had no objections to our stopping and he was surprised that the Americans allowed their subjects to be taken so far from home and made slaves of by the English, it seemed hard for him to understand.

As some of us would stop in Jefferson County and others farther west, there was two joint notes given payable one year from date, thirty dollars each, for our passage to that place. We are now, April 27th 1845, on shore, except seven that shipped with captain Young for the voyage.

When the American residents there, were informed that we were the Canadian patriots, that had been sent to Van Dieman's Land in 1837-8, and that had suffered so much and long for being engaged in the cause of liberty, we were welcomed to the shore and in some measure our wants supplied. These islands are situated in the north Pacific Ocean between lat. 18 and 23 north, lon. 154 and 190 west, the population of the whole group was estimated by captain King in 1778 at 400,000, but captain Ellis' estimate in 1837 puts it at 150,000. All these Islands appear to be diminishing wonderfully in population, since the discovery and settlement by Europeans—there may be various reasons, but I shall refer you to the past history of America as a sample, it is very evident that as settlements and civilization increased by Europeans, that the natives and all wild animals seemed to dwindle away and gradually disappear, as their forests are converted to fruitful fields, yielding all kinds of delicacies for the white man; but to these children of the forest, civilization proves a rank poison, and they dwindle, wilt and die like the grass before the sythe; thus I have seen it in America, Van Dieman's Land, Sandwich and Society Islands, and I don't know but New Zealand and a great many other places might be included; but I am not a popular man, and might not coincide in every respect with popular opinion respecting the occupying and treatment of the quiet and inoffensive natives of these different places, (I mean inoffensive when they are let alone).

Oahu, of which Honalula is the capital and principal town and port of entry, contains 525 square miles, and 20,000 inhabitants. Honalula contains about 8,000 native, and 300 foreigners, some French, English and Chinese, but the principal part are Americans. The situation of these Islands render them important to vessels navigating the northern Pacific, partly for repairs, provisions, and partly in commercial respects. The prosecution of the whale fishery on the coast of Japan, have materially enhanced the importance of these islands; the United States government have a commissioner and consul residing here, there is a large quantity of American naval stores here, they are necessary to supply our men of war, whilst cruising in the Pacific. Several war vessels put in during our four months stay here.



The foreigners have very good houses; there are likewise two or three very good churches; during my stay there, the Rev. Mr. Smith preached every sabbath to the natives, likewise the Rev. Mr. Damon; and the Rev. Mr. Armstrong. The natives are rather above the middle stature, well formed, of a mild and gentle disposition, inquisitive, and intelligent; kind to strangers and to each other; they wear no clothing to speak of, excepting some of the nobility and servants to the white people that reside in town. Their food is very simple, likewise cooking utensels and household furniture, they live principally in mud huts thatched with grass, their food consists mostly of fruit, such as pine apples, bananas, oranges, sugar cane, taro and pehe or fish, which they generally eat raw; I have seen them take a fish from the hook and eat alive just as it comes from the water. I spoke to one that was eating one in this way, said it was no good raw, no miti, all I could understand from him was, "pehe miti," but I learnt they relished all their food in an uncooked state.

John Grant and myself took a tour across the island, were gone a week. There are no roads; but foot-paths, and very hilly—no timber of any size, but in places, small underbrush, very thick, resembling our witchhazel. The largest that we saw was the cocoa tree; the average size is one foot in diameter and fifty or sixty high—no limbs except at the top; where the nuts hang in clusters of thirty or forty. We saw some cattle, horses, hogs and fowls. There are some sheep, but no wild animals on this island; nor birds, to speak of, except sea birds. We came to a creek—there was no bridge across it—we were preparing to ford it as a large, stout canacker came up and made signs for one to get on his back, as he was carried across, he returned and carried me across, the water was near three feet deep, and about forty yards across, they would persuade us at every hut to, "cou, cou," (eat). The taro seems to be the only and principal dish that is cooked, it is a nutritious root, about the size of our French turnip, and cultivated in a similar manner, it does not do well on dry land, but requires moisture to thrive. They roast them by heating stones, and then lay perhaps a bushel or two on the stone, and cover all with turf, leaves and earth to keep the heat in, until sufficiently roasted, they are then taken out peeled, layed on a rock procured for the

purpose, beaten with a stone pestle until worked into a lump resembling a mass of dough; it is put into a calabash (these calabashes resemble a gourd shell, are round with a hole cut in the top, and will hold from one to three pecks,) water is added, it stands until it ferments, then stirred until it becomes thick and ropy, it is now called poy—the calabash is set in the centre of the hut upon the ground or flag carpet, the family draws around it and dip in the two fore fingers twist two or three times around until a bunch nearly the size of the fist adheres to them—throw the head back mouth open, and you soon loose sight of it. I at first used my knife, took a little to taste, expecting that little would cause a disagreeable sensation at the stomach, but our fare for the last six or seven years had inured us to attempt a trial of almost anything in the eating line, but as the natives had a hearty laugh over me for using a penknife to eat poy with, I at once dispensed with it, and used the two fore fingers; quite a wad of it adhered to my fingers by merely twisting them once around, I thought it impossible for me to get it in my mouth, but noticing it was not more than half the size they were swallowing, (and not at a slow rate,) I threw my head back, made two or three attempts, but just as it was going into my mouth, my stomach would say no, in spite of all my efforts: they saw how I was puzzled; and all set up a laugh, and urging me by saying “miti, miti, cou, cou, oury, (that is good, eat it whiteman) at last I succeeded in swallowing it, and soon found it like many other things, good when I could get nothing else. Mr. Grant likewise, had the laugh on me, for as I was trying to swallow it, he was taking it down at no small rate, urging me by saying, (between mouthfulls,) “cou-cou, Marsh, miti, miti,” which caused them to renew their laughter. We came to a place where they had some fowls, we gave them to understand we wanted one cooked, they built a small fire with sticks and grass and singed the feathers off and was about to roast it without any farther cleaning; but we showed them how to dress and cook it, so it relished very well. They cook a pig or hog by singing the hair off, then lay it upon hot stones, (without taking the inwards out, for that is considered the best) cover it with leaves and grass, and then four or five

inches of dirt; I have eat of it cooked in that way and must say it is sweeter and better than it is, cooked in any other way, (and I believe I have eat it cooked in as many different ways as the most of people). The dog is a favorite dish and cooked in the same way,—but you perhaps, will be more astonished, when you hear that they are layed upon the fire alive, for they consider it wrong to take life by spilling blood. They have their superstitions, but on the whole, they seem harmless and simple. I was told by a person that said he had known them before the white people had come to live amongst them—that they enjoyed themselves much better than they have since.

But I must drop the subject at once, for reasons before mentioned: The climate is mild the year round, and the most of the time warmer than in America, which induces the natives to be in the water a good share of the time, especially the children, (or pickaninies) as soon as they can walk, they make for the sea shore, and there remain through the day, subsisting on muscles, and other shell fish. It is astonishing to see them dive, and the length of time they remain under water, and the dexterity and pranks performed by children two, three and four years of age—those that have lived a long time there, say it is a very uncommon thing to hear of one drowning; the wyhenas (or women,) with their children, are to be seen in squads along the beach, perhaps thirty or forty rods from the shore, diving for clams, muscles, crabs, &c., they have a gourd shell that sets upon the water, they having a string attached to it and around the neck, so that it cannot float away whilst they are under water collecting their treasures; when the shell is full they make their way to their wigwam or hut, seemingly as much rejoiced and contented in eating them raw, and nothing else for a meal, as the Queen of England dining upon all the luxuries her menials can procure for her, from all parts of the world. I will say nothing here of the ways and means the most of her delicacies are procured, for as near as I can learn, she is a lady, and it might hurt her feelings, especially if she was made sensible of the treatment of thousands of her own sex, by those that have been creeping, crawling and fawning around her, for an office, to enable them to whip,

starve, steal and murder according to law. I say if she was sensible of one half the deception and tyranny practised by these harpies, I am sure her delicate stomach would loath the delicacies unjustly procured for her by these characters, not because they love her, but it is because by keeping in her graces, they can the more easily, not only rob the people of their money and property, but enslave them for daring to resist in any manner. I believe the Lady Queen would abhor such men and such acts, if she was aware of the fact, but all means are resorted to, to keep her in the dark respecting such things. Reader do you suppose that anything that would have a tendency to reveal the acts of some of these tyrants that cling so close around the chest that contains the peoples money, would be countenanced do you think it could possibly come to her knowledge? no! no! not it! the guard is too strong! Sentinels are numerous day and night. They lay in wait day and night; to detect anything that might have a tendency to reveal their bloody acts.

But stop! am I not again wandering from my subject? What business have I to say anything about it? Because I am a republican and not only consider it my duty but the duty of every one who has the least spark of republicanism and patriotism of '76 remaining, to endeavor to repulse the enemy whenever they are found upon our shores, threatening to overthrow and enslave us again. If the lessons of our forefathers, with Washington at their head, are about to be disregarded and forgotten, renew the dose; if there is any of the same kind of medicine left, (and men to deal it out) which will teach the oppressive clan, that it is not healthy for them to live, or even step on the premises which has cost so much precious blood, in wresting it from tyrants. Let every good man speak! Be not afraid! Reformers of Canada, speak! Every man, woman and child, that has the good of the people at heart, not only speak, but act; and the work is done! But the beauty of the thing is, to act in unison; and then there will be no danger of a few being murdered, others transported and persecuted beyond measure, whilst others are laying behind the bush and dare not show their heads. Why? is it because you are convinced your cause is bad? "No!" Well, what is it? It is because

you are afraid your enemies are too strong, and this is what makes them strong! Speak out, and act, and show them your determination to no longer submit to be slaves, and your children after you! In my opinion, it is a poor excuse, to say, all who were engaged in the rebellion were bad men. I shall always remember one great man and others who have said it by their actions, who, at the time, were in favor, but now, ought to be ashamed of deserting us. I believe they are, many of them, and manifest it by not speaking to us when we meet them; or if they do speak, it is not to ask us how we got home, or of our broken constitution &c. but it is merely to say—"Oh! I knew the patriots would do it!" &c. There are a plenty of such persons, and they pass for good, great, and brave men. I know many, but the question is, and should be, in this case; Is opposing tyranny, a good cause, or is it not? If you say no; why then I stand condemned. If you say yes; why then I do not feel condemned; and the more and the louder you say yes, the better I shall feel; for it is the lack of this feeling that makes me sorrowful. I feel no condemnation or sorrow for what I have done in the cause but I do feel sorry, that the friends of liberty are so backward, lukewarm, and so loth to say,—“Yes it is a good cause, and it is chiefly our backwardness in declaring it, that has been the sole cause of your suffering so much unjust punishment from the hands of tyrants—we must with the rest of your persecutors, cry guilty, guilty; we have not done our duty.” For my part I will forgive you, if you will agree to do better next time, though it is a hard case to look over.

The most of the foreigners there, are traders and mechanics; the climate being so warm, there is not much manual labor done by them, but all the drudgery or labor is done principally by the natives. There was a person that had been a long time amongst them—as we were conversing about the natives, he told me of a giant Queen, her name I have forgotten; who ruled at the time the white people began to visit their island—they was supposed to be angels of the good spirit, sent to do them good, and by her, and the most of her subjects were worshipped and respected; if there was any of her subjects that did not pay the respect to the

white man, (or oury) that she wished or requested of them, he said it was not uncommon for her in that case, to take a kanacker, wyhena, or pickaniny, and kill them by breaking their backs across her knees. I remarked that I thought the ourys in return for such civilities and such sacrifices and honors on their part, should consider themselves in duty bound to treat them with the greatest respect and civility possible, in order to fully convince them that the approach and appearance of the white man, oury, angels or good spirits, was not to enslave them or make them miserable, but to do them good. I hope they will not be mistaken, "to be sure," said he, "they have abolished their idols and have many of them embraced the religion and belief of the missionaries; and in a measure, the arts, sciences, manners and customs of the ouries; yet on the whole, said he, "there appears to be something wrong, I know it is generally believed that it has proved a great blessing to the natives, "yet, said he, (shaking his head) "as civilization increases, they seem generally more unhappy, and out of their elements, and certainly they are fast diminishing in numbers—and it appears according to the past, the time is not far distant when there will be no more kanackers, wyhenas and pickaninies, except the ouries assume the names." He seemed a very sensible man, but many that have not seen for themselves, would not credit all that he said upon the subject; and perhaps not any—so I shall drop the subject, and I suppose it would have been better for me to have said nothing about it, but you are welcome to these few hints.

Whilst we were there, knowing that it would be hard for all to get a passage on one ship, two of our party went to the Columbia River, two to California, three shipped on board the Samuel Robertson, that had been out three years and a half, and had not got a load. After being gone from Honolulu three months, trying to make a load, returned, took in provisions, water, &c., and prepared for a homeward course and if possible to make out her load on the way. The captain said he would take six more and the three that had shipped, was nine to work our passage, accordingly on the first of October, 1845, after stopping on the island four months, we went on board the whale ship, Samuel Robertson,

Captain Warner, bound for New Bedford, Massachusetts. We are now on our way, and soon cross the equator, into the south Pacific, touching at some of the Society Islands on our way, and after cruising some six weeks for whale—seeing a number, but not taking one, the captain becoming sensible that it was on account of his bad treatment to the crew, that there was none taken, abandoned the idea or hopes of making out a full cargo of oil, and laid his course for Cape Horn. It was in January and mid-summer, when we doubled the cape; it was considered the best time in the year, but in this high southern latitude, there is plenty of cold wind rain and snow the year round. Here for ten or twelve days we experience cold and rough weather. All seamen dread doubling Cape Horn, vessels are often lost in this boisterous place; thunder, lightning, rain, wind, snow and hail, at all seasons of the year, are to be encountered here. It requires strict watch day and night, (though there is but little night), yet the sun is hardly ever seen, but constantly cloudy, gloomy and disagreeable; three or four times during the ten or twelve days in these latitudes, all hands were called to assist those that were on duty; in the taking in of sail and in securing, or trying to secure fragments of sail, yard-arms, &c., that had been blown overboard, but still hanging by some of the many ropes attached to them, and some altogether broke loose and gone. As it would require volumes to portray fully the calms and storms, disasters, and perils of the ocean, or of a sea-faring life, it cannot be expected to be fully explained here.

After doubling Cape Horn, the only place we called at, was Pernambuco, on the Brazilian Coast. The captain and boats crew went ashore and purchased some fruit, fresh meat &c. Nothing of importance occurred from there to New Bedford, more than usual. We met a number of ships; some whalers, outward bound, some merchant-men &c. some in hailing distance, and some not. Passed one or two small islands—one wreck—experienced some two or three heavy storms of rain and wind, but no worse than we had encountered. On the 9th. of March 1846, "Land O!" was shouted from the mast head. On the 13th, in the morning the anchor was cast, and at 10 o'clock the same day, after sev-

en years and four and a half months absence, had the pleasure of stepping upon our native soil in the flourishing town of New Bedford and received the greetings of its warm hearted and philanthropic inhabitants. Reader, do you think we were glad? After passing through much more than is herein described, and having been round the world as it is called, and on an estimate by some two or three of us before leaving the ship, as near as we could judge, we had sailed upon the four oceans: Atlantic, Indian, North and South Pacifics, in cruising for whales, by being driven by storms, something like seventy-seven thousand miles; four months and a half from Quebec to Van Dieman's Land, sixteen thousand; three months from there to Honolulu, Sandwich Islands thirteen thousand, and six months from there to New Bedford, eighteen thousand miles, makes thirteen and one half months on the water; but in cruising &c. brings it, as near as we could estimate, at seventy-seven thousand miles; having crossed the equator four times; and seen the sun, moon and stars at 12 o' clock in the day, directly over our heads; and have seen some warm weather there also. Well, says one—"you have seen so much, it has well paid you for the time you have lost." But stop! did you ever know what it is to be a prisoner under the British and treated in the manner we have been, for the last six or seven years, and with a broken constitution &c. If you know anything of this, me thinks you could not easily be compensated; if you could, please tell me how.

On landing, you must know, our clothes were not of the best quality nor of the cleanest kind, after being on board a whaler six months; but as soon as we gave the people a short account of who we were, and where we had been and what we had been there for, Mr. Thomas Ashley waited on us to No 37 Swallow-Street; where he kept a boarding house, and told us we were welcome to stop there until there was some arrangements made to forward us to our desired homes. We soon found a friend who had been engaged in the struggle for the liberty of the Canadas, in 1837 and 8, by the name of Col. Benjamin Almy, who had fortunately, escaped; likewise, Mr. Timothy Ingraham, who was on our western frontier at the time. By their influence with Elder Moses



Howe, Capt. Charles Salsbury and others, a meeting was called and the feeling that was manifested by the ladies as well as the gentlemen, on our return to our native land, and the prospect of soon arriving at our homes, to rejoice the hearts of our friends who had so long mourned our absence, and horrible sufferings, in a righteous cause, I say the sympathy and feelings manifested by the people of New Bedford, cannot easily be described. Our having been so long in a mild climate, and landing in the month of March, it being cold and stormy, we all took severe colds. so that on the day after landing, there was scarcely one of us who could speak above a whisper. That together with our want of comfortable clothing and the means to purchase any, and landing amongst strangers, caused us at first, to feel rather uneasy; but those feelings soon vanished, on being convinced by acts, that we were not among christians merely by profession, but those who did as they would wish to be done by. Certainly, we needed help; and it was no sooner known than received—and to all appearances, from a source that had no desire to have it published at corners of the streets and on the house tops; and on that account, it was gladly received; and may such friends be many and prosperous in our land.

We remained here three days, and by the influence of our friends before mentioned, with the rail road proprietor, a free passage was granted, and we were soon on our way from New Bedford to Utica. Here, we called at the city coffee house; kept by Mr. J. Beston, a gentleman. Here many flocked around to see us, and appeared quite friendly. Here I saw Esq. Thomas; of Farmington; who was acquainted with my brother Charles; said he was as well as usual, and keeping a public house at Avon Springs. He likewise, informed me of the death of a sister who had been married but a short time.

Here we separated, Leonard Delano, David House, Orrin W. Smith, Luther Darby, John Grant, Nathan Whiting and Joseph Thompson, took the stage for Watertown, Jefferson County; James D. Fero and myself, continued on in the cars to Canandaigua, where I found my brother and his wife from Avon, on a visit to their friends, accordingly I left the car, and proceeded with them to Avon, Mr. Fero

continued on his way to Buffalo, thence to Michigan, where he expected to find his friends.

I remained at Avon a short time, being informed that a petition had been circulated and freely signed by many friends in that vicinity in my behalf, likewise the exertions used and sympathy manifested, as well for myself as my comrades in bonds, caused me to believe, (however dark and gloomy our prospects had been for years past) that we were not altogether forgotten, that there were those and not a few, who have sympathized, and been willing to do all in their power, to free us from the hands of tyrants and the enemies of universal freedom, to all such as have done all in their power, as well as those that wished us well, but could do nothing more; may I venture in this\* to render you my hearty and sincere thanks,\* and at the same time, venture to say, you have the thanks and good wishes of all my comrades, who with myself were engaged in a cause, which, whether prosperous or not, is a credit to any people or nation, and be assured, through all our sufferings, have never, and I hope never will acknowledge it any other than an honorable, just, and holy act, even to fail in.

From Avon I proceeded to Buffalo, where I found my father, mother, and youngest sister. As most or all of my readers have either heard, seen or experienced the meeting of a long absent relative, I need not attempt an explanation. Although time had visibly and materially changed their appearance, yet I found them enjoying as good health as could be expected. The old gentleman says—"did you receive a letter of such a date?" I said I did! (laughing heartily). Says he—"I thought they would let you have that one!"

Kind reader, my task is nearly finished. If you have taken any pleasure in perusing these few lines, comprising, as they do, an account of so much inhuman treatment and suffering, I am glad; but be assured, although true, the penning of them, has been anything but an agreeable task to me. Since my return, I have been to Canada and am happy to inform my comrades as well as all who would like to know, that we were not mistaken in the belief that a majority of

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\* Mr. J. Hosmer of Avon, in particular.

the respectable inhabitants, especially on and in the vicinity of Yonge-Street, were, in 1837 and 8, not only willing, but anxious that their country should be freed from despots that are palmed upon it as rulers and law makers, from the, shall I say mother country, that cannot know the wants of the people, but have had, and do have a very singular way of exacting tribute for services rendered; every act having a tendency, sooner or later, to sap the foundation of their naturally, highly favored colonies. It has been against the acts and daring barefaced demands of such characters, that the people have asked, repeatedly asked, humbly petitioned, and prayed that their grievances might be redressed, and the repeated refusal and denial to grant their just requests, was the principal cause for resorting to arms; though the reformers did not seek after this last and desperate resort, but were driven to it by this formidable band of robbers who have so greedily glutted themselves on the blood and horrible sufferings of those who boldly stepped forth in defence of our liberty and equal rights, but did not succeed.

I think I have given hints sufficient, in this work to convince any reasonable person that it was not the fault of those who suffered; and that it was not because Canada did not want or stand in need of freedom or that the cause was bad. I am of the opinion of many whom I have conversed with, in Canada: that it could not be a bad cause, when it has been the means of bringing about so much good to the people of Canada; and although many have not lived to see it, and others have suffered much in bringing it about, the good results will be distilled in the minds of the rising generation;\* and it is to be hoped that the work of reform will still go on without a resort to arms; but if it should again be necessary, may the past prove a good lesson; and in the attempt for freedom, may there be a general rush to the standard, that it may be

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\* Especially if they are all as fortunate in selecting teachers, as the New Market District school; and as untiring in their efforts to instill liberal principles into the minds of the rising generation, as Mr. N. M. H. whom I had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with a short time. I must say—the kind, open-hearted, liberal principles taught by him and as liberally and evidently seen in his pupils, cannot but be admired by all who may have the pleasure of visiting them. I am confident that if such principles are universally diffused, the time is not far distant when Canada will be free. May God send many such teachers; and may the children be swift to learn and their parents live to see the happy results.

defended and maintained, without disgrace or causing the loss of so many lives, while struggling, as it were, single handed; and causing the old proverb to be again verified.—“United, we stand; divided, we fall.” If you are determined it shall be “united we stand!” if I cannot be with you in person, be assured you have my best wishes.

Likewise, for the friendly feelings and favors received from the warm hearted friends, on and about Yonge-Street, those of my comrades whom I have seen and conversed with; unite with me in saying—may the love of freedom which seems to be burning in the hearts of so many, though pent up, yet break forth in a bright and overwhelming flame that will cause their enemies to flee before it as with the speed of lightning, until there shall not be one left to delight in the miseries of the oppressed; and learn that the birthright of man, is liberty.

FINIS.