

A transcript of the diary kept by Margaret Daniel during the family's voyage from London to Australia on the *Stebonheath*, 1850. New compilation with appendices and annotations by John Silby.

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Acknowledgements

- Margaret Daniel herself. Had she not taken up pen and ink and a small black-covered book to record her thoughts and observations during the voyage we wouldn't have the diary to study. Margaret's handwriting is quite beautiful. It's also easy to read, although the language sounds rather quaint at times to present-day ears. The cover is decorated with a border running from top to bottom near the spine, and diagonal decorations at the two outer corners. Although the book is showing wear in keeping with its 160-year age, it seems likely that Margaret herself transcribed the contents of this book from an older copy. The writing seems too neat and tidy, and the book itself in too good a condition, for it to have been written on board a ship in the conditions Margaret describes. Several times she comments that writing was difficult, and more than once the passengers and cabins were soaked by heavy seas and sprays. In fact, on 27 July Margaret remarks on "the sprays which so wet me, and my book giving it a smeary look."
- The person or persons, whose name(s) I do not know, who spent a lot of time and effort transcribing and typing the text of the diary.
- The custodians of the diary over the years who have passed it down through the generations and kept it and the transcript safe.
- The unknown but talented artist who drew the map and plotted the course

of the *Stebonheath* from London to Adelaide. They included events Margaret mentions, referenced to the pages of the transcript. Please note that because the transcript was typed on quarto sheets, and this version of the diary is in A4 format, the page numbers on the map do not always correspond with the page numbers in this version.

- Stanley Evans (second child of Mary Ann Walford Evans, née Daniel), who compiled a list of the families of the children of James and Margaret which accompanied the transcript. Stanley's older sister, Alice Cocks (née Evans), was the author of the letter which accompanies the diary.
- David Evans (grandson of Walter, a younger brother of Alice and Stanley) and his son Peter, who provided the photographs of the diary and the picture of Margaret. The cover background picture is the actual cover of the diary. David also provided me with a copy of the transcript, and Appendix 1 The Daniel families (more detailed than Stanley's list) draws heavily on work done by David and Peter.
- Graham Cocks (great-grandson of Alice), who read through my work. His comments and questions inspired some changes. I am especially grateful to Graham for sharing his thoughts on the reasons behind the Daniels' move to Australia.
- Graham Coward, who kindly allowed me to use his transcripts of the passenger list and testimonial letters.

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Margaret Daniel's Diary

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Preface

James and Margaret Daniel and their ten children sailed from London to Adelaide aboard the sailing ship *Stebonheath* in 1850, just 14 years after the first white settlers arrived in South Australia. A diary Margaret kept of the journey has been handed down through the generations; at some stage this was transcribed and the text was typed. Thanks to the generosity of Stephanie Mitchell (the present custodian of the diary) and David Evans I was given a copy of the transcript. This version of the diary is the result of my scanning the typed transcript and processing it using optical character recognition software to produce a new editable copy.

The diary makes fascinating reading in its own right, but as I worked on it I came to believe that it might be useful to add to it other documents that help to round out the picture that Margaret gives of the ship, the voyage and the people. To this end I've added an index and several appendices. These include the specifications of the *Stebonheath*, a description of relevant ships and their rigging, a summary of the route of the voyage and an assessment of shipboard life, a passenger list and a crew list. I've also taken the opportunity to expand the family lists which accompanied the transcript, and I've attempted to repair the map, which came to me in two pieces which didn't quite align where they joined and also had photocopier "noise."

All of the footnotes are mine. I've added them where I thought clarification, explanation or additional information was appropriate. Blame me if they are too intrusive.

I've retained the original spelling and punctuation of the transcript, including most apparent errors (I've corrected a very few where it was obvious there was an error). I have seen only the transcript so it's not possible to know whether these are typing or transcription errors, or faithful transcriptions of Margaret's original spelling and punctuation—which may differ from those in modern use. In a couple of cases a word is spelt differently in different locations. Spelling of names I've treated as follows:

- Places: I've retained the transcript's spelling (including in the index). I've checked all place-names for spelling and location; where modern spelling or usage differs from that in the transcript I've explained that in a footnote.
- People: Again, I've retained the transcript's spelling (including in the index). I attempted to check people Margaret mentions against the passenger list

but two problems arose. First, Margaret talks about people not listed. It's possible that some of these were crew members, or there may have been steerage passengers not named in the passenger list (which typically listed only cabin and intermediate passengers). Second, the published passenger list and the lists of signatories to the testimonial letters contain numerous apparent spelling errors. This makes it impossible to verify the correct names of some of the passengers.

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- Ships: I attempted to verify the names of the ships that Margaret mentions, but was successful only for *Lysander* and *Tory*. Two of the names look odd (*Aztac* looks like it should be *Aztec* and *Petral* was possibly *Petrel*), and I've seen *Lady Sale* referred to as *Lady Sail*. In the absence of other evidence I've kept the transcript's spelling of these names.

I've also retained the transcript's method of denoting degrees and minutes in the latitude and longitude readings. The transcript uses ' and " to show degrees and minutes—for example, 14'35" to show 14 degrees and 35 minutes. Modern convention uses ° (degrees), ' (minutes) and " (seconds).

Notes in [] were probably inserted by the person who transcribed the diary (or the person who typed it, if they weren't the same person).

The transcript included in the left margin the page numbers of the handwritten diary. I debated whether to include these, but decided to leave them out, partly because I couldn't find an elegant way to include them, and partly because I didn't think they really added anything to the text.

I think I should explain my reasoning for including footnotes containing Bible references. James ("Mr Daniel" in the diary) was listed on the 1841 census of England and in an 1844 directory of Bath as a draper, and the family's address in Bath was a shop in a terrace of six with residences above. Margaret's reference to "the state of trade" in the opening sentence of the diary seems to confirm that they were storekeepers. Others in the family were drapers: James's father, John, in Abergavenny and other relatives also in Wales. The diary tells us that Josiah and his new wife opened a business soon after their arrival in South Australia, and his obituary notes that he was "for many years engaged in the dry-goods business in Adelaide." James Clarke Daniel became a draper, as did one of his sons. So this may have been the "family trade." However, we know that James was a Baptist minister.¹ I think it's likely that he earned his living as a draper and worked part-time as a pastor. Margaret obviously had a very deep faith in God and an unwavering commitment to Him. She also seems to have been deeply committed to her husband's work of preaching the gospel. The diary shows that she sought God's guidance before making the decision to leave England, and drew heavily on her faith during the voyage—she quotes or alludes to scripture frequently—and I think the diary needs to be read in the context of her faith and commitment. Only in doing that will the reader make sense of some of her writing. Since faith was so important to her I decided it would be unfair to her to not acknowledge her trust in God's Word, the Bible. Thus, where I was able to recognise the scripture I've added the Bible reference in a footnote. Margaret's theology appears to have been orthodox evangelical Christian, but I've added a word of explanation where I thought it was warranted. The quotations are from the Authorised, or King James, version of the Bible. Although Hughes¹ asserts that James Daniel migrated to Australia for health reasons, Margaret makes no mention of this—in fact they seem more concerned about the health of their business. It may be reading too much into the text, but

several statements Margaret makes could be interpreted to mean that she and
1 Rev James Daniel's work in Adelaide and the surrounding area is covered in some detail
in *Our first hundred years:*

the Baptist Church of South Australia by Rev H E Hughes. First published in 1937 by the
South Australia Baptist Union,
Adelaide, and published on CD in 2006 by Archive CD Books Australia Pty Ltd, Modbury,
South Australia.
(www.archivedcdbooks.com.au).

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James were answering a call from God to make the move to Australia (emphasis
mine):

- In the opening sentence, Margaret says, "Mr Daniel proposed to me the propriety of considering whether it were not *our duty* to go to Australia."
- On June 30th she writes, "I trust that we shall soon get to our desired haven, there to know *why we have come forth*, from those near & dear to us, *for Christ's sake*."
- "I hope to know *why we have been called to leave* that so dear to some of us," she writes on July 14th.
- And on Sept 18th, "I trust he who *brought us forth*."

The wording could simply mean that James and Margaret sought to follow God's will in daily life, but there could be a more specific meaning.

And my interest in the diary? My mother's father was Samuel Daniel, a son of James Clarke Daniel and grandson of James and Margaret. I never knew my grandfather (he died six months after I was born), let alone my great-grandfather (he died when my mother was ten years old), so Margaret's words in her diary provide a wonderful, living link to my forebears.

John Silby
Whittlesea, Victoria
February 2011

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The Diary and its Author

Margaret Daniel, the diary's author.

A portion of pages 2 and 3 of the diary, where Margaret describes preparation for the voyage, substitution of the Stebonheath and the break-up of the household prior to their departure from Bath.

NOTE: The transcript was typed on quarto-sized sheets.
The page numbers on the map do not always match the page numbers in this version of the diary.

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This letter accompanies the diary

Jan. 18 1929

Berwyn

My very dear Gwen,

It gives me pleasure to present to you, one of the two books, written by your Great Great Grandmother, Margaret Daniel nee 'Whyke' (Wyke). I feel that you will treasure it, and that it will hold a place amongst your books.

*Hoping you will have many happy returns of your
birthday*

I am your loving Grandma

Alice M. Cocks.

The Diary

Early in September 1849 after some months of great anxiety on account of the state of trade Mr Daniel proposed to me the propriety of considering whether it were not our duty to go to Australia. I received what he said in silence or nearly so, waiting an interview with our dear bishop before I entertained any fixed idea one way or the other. I soon had an opportunity of speaking to him, and he quite fell in with it, and indeed seemed glad, and as though his mind had been relieved of a burden. He gave me reason to hope he would follow us, with all those with him, who love our Lord Jesus Christ, provided he should have encouragement from me so to do.

From this time I daily besought the Lord that he would direct and guide us, and not suffer us to go if it would be to our spiritual hurt. Ere the end of the year we had decided upon going, which decision I am persuaded as it respects myself and believing children was not arrived at on worldly grounds, or for worldly ends; and therefore we with confidence look up to God who knows our circumstances, to supply all our needs according to his riches in glory by Christ Jesus.¹

He will not we are sure leave us destitute of his mercy and his truth,² he will not suffer us long to lack that which he knows we prize above all else, the preaching of his word, and the assembling of ourselves together with his saints in his holy worship and service.

Nothing particular occurred from this time excepting our hands being fully employed with our outfit, which would have been more had not the idea of throwing overboard during the voyage been suggested to us, which we fell in with, and begged from our friends worn out garments, such as they had put away, but we could wear once and then discard. In this we were very successful. Mr Daniel went to London in April to take our passages in the "Delta". He there met Mr Withers & Mr Kidner, who engaged with him to have the middle of the 'tween decks that is the space between the main and aft hatchways partitioned off for the sole use of the three families which we thought would be much to our comfort. We shortly after heard from the Agent that the "Delta" was unfit for the voyage, and the "Stebonheath" was substituted, of which change he was sure we should be glad when we came to know the ship.

Wednesday May 15th we broke up housekeeping, and became scattered. Mr D. & myself, Mary Ann & Elizabeth slept at Mr Clarkes next door; Christiana, Louisa, and Julia went with our dear bishop to his hospitable abode at Upper Swainswick;³ Emma, Emily, and Margaret, to Mr Hutchesons at Macauley

1 Philippians 4:19

2 Genesis 24:27

3 Upper Swainswick is about 5 km north of Bath.

Buildings;4 Josiah to Mr Giles at Widcombe;5 and James remained at Mr Cousin's school.6

Thursday the 16th the sale of our furniture took place, and on Friday the 17th Mr D, myself, Mary Ann & Elizabeth went to stay the remainder of our time with Mr Collins of Twenton.7

Friday May 24th

We all met at the station with the ships Charter [?] and left Bath for London which we reached about 7PM, and were soon lodged in Picadilly. It was grievous to me and my believing children not to see the church in London but owing to them not seeing the subjects as our Bishop does, he advised us not to do so, and I therefore yielded to his judgement, though it was indeed with sorrow of heart we abode all day at our lodgings instead of assembling with those so very dear to us for Christ's sake. I have no doubt of the wisdom of his advice, sparing us as it did the pain of parting.

Monday May 27th

We went on board, and found the "Stebonheath" to be a substantial, roomy, well ventilated ship, registered 1014 tons, but will carry 1500. She was built at Hull in Yorkshire, the largest that has been built there, and extraordinary for fast sailing. She accomplished her first passage before she was quite finished from Hull to London in 18 hours and was then named the "Lady Sale" but was afterwards sold to a gentleman who named her after his native place Stepney, which was frequently called Stebon, and was on heath.

We find that three married couples with two infants, are added to our number in the enclosed cabin which will doubtless be to our discomfort: three of the parties are to come in at Plymouth so we shall not know our deficiency of room till then.

We have to go on shore to our meals till we sail, but we think it better to sleep on board that we may get used to it before the motion begins.

Wednesday May 29th

We loosed our moorings at 1 oclock PM and soon cleared the gates of St. Katharines Docks,8 getting out very well & speedily and were towed by a steamer 4 Possibly Macaulay Buildings, about 1 km south-east of Bath. There is an excellent photo from 2009 at Flickr

<http://www.flickr.com/photos/bathintime/3495293682/in/faves-58111469@N07/>. Bath in Time: <http://bathintime.co.uk/>

has a number of old photos of the complex.

5 Widcombe is about 1 km south-east of Bath.

6 Possibly Thos. Cousins, who ran a boarding school at Portway house, Weston, about 5 km north-west of Bath. See

"Cousins Thos. boarding school, Portway house, Weston" entry in PIGOT'S DIRECTORY of SOMERSET c1844, p017.

http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nmfa/Directories/pigot_directory_of_somerset_c1844/pdosc1844p0

17.html. An illustration at <http://www.bathintime.co.uk/> describes the school as "Portway middle-class school, Bath".

7 Possibly Twerton, about 3 km west of Bath.

8 St Katharine's Docks were one of the commercial docks serving London, on the north side of the river Thames just

downstream of the Tower of London and Tower Bridge. They were part of the Port of London, in the area now known as

the Docklands, and are now a popular housing and leisure complex. See

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/St_Katharine_Docks.

to Gravesend, which we reached about 7 o'clock. Thus has commenced our voyage which we trust will continue, and terminate well.

We passed Greenwich, Woolwich, Erith, and Greenhithe, all picturesque places, to the right, and Purfleet to the left, where are extensive Powder Magazines. The sun has set most cheerily, and we are now anchored off Gravesend, where we are to remain some days. Several of our passengers are gone on shore. The ladies were drawn up, and let down the side of the ship in a chair, made from a barrel, which is an excellent contrivance, for it must be very inconvenient to say the least of it for females to climb up the ladder. An incident occurred during our passage of a stirring kind. A man came on board from a boat who had no business, and who very much exasperated the Pilot. After a severe scuffle and to prevent being taken into custody, he jumped overboard, and swam a considerable distance till assisted by two men in a boat who paddled him with their oars till he reached the shore.

Thursday May 30th

Spent the morning in unpacking, and trying to put things a little in order. Miss Fowler's Aunt Gibson came on board with Mr Neville while we were at dinner.⁹ Wrote in the afternoon, and went on deck in the evening, when a number of sheep and pigs were brought on board, pulled up the side, by a rope. It was interesting to observe the difference, the former submitting without the least resistance, the latter with noise and difficulty were secured. Our surgeon is a son of Mr Oakley who formerly kept the "Full Moon", on the old bridge, Bath.¹⁰

Friday May 31st

Still detained off Gravesend waiting for the Government officers. Very much depressed in spirits, which in a great measure I think is occasioned by my staying below, where the noise of crying infants, and uproarious passengers quite distresses me. Went on deck after tea, where and when our doctor took out a decayed tooth of Jimmy's, which protruded the whole depth of the gum. Josiah, Miss Fowler and Emma, went on shore and posted four letters. They were pleased with Gravesend. Quite amused seeing the ladies hauled up in the tub. Had a little conversation with Mr Kidner, and continued on deck till nearly bed time which comes before we wish. Walking on deck will certainly be necessary to our health.

Saturday June 1st

The Inspector arrived about 3 o'clock PM and condemned some butter which is to be exchanged at Plymouth. After the inspection of the provisions the sailors were all ringed around the aft Hatch and their names called over. This was afterwards the case with the passengers. About 4 PM the Pilot gave orders for
⁹ From the context, it appears that "dinner" is the midday meal and "tea" an evening meal.
¹⁰ The *Full Moon* was a public house at the bottom of Southgate Street, Bath, adjacent to the Old Bridge over the River

Avon. PIGOT'S DIRECTORY of SOMERSET c1844, p43 lists Mary Ann Oakley as the publican. See

http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~nmfa/Directories/pigot_directory_of_somerset_c1844/pdosc1844p0

43.html. Bath in Time: <http://bathintime.co.uk/> has numerous photos of the *Full Moon* and the Old Bridge. Some of these

date from the late 1800s. The bridge was demolished in 1964, and the pub has made way for modern "improvements."

weighing the anchor when the men set to, with all their might, singing while they pulled a song the chorus of which was "It's time for us to go" in which we all joined in mind if we did not in voice. We were off at ½ past 5 PM and went upon the forecastle as soon as we had taken tea. Passed 2 or 3 light-ships and a beacon on the Essex side, and a town called Old Haven another Lee,¹¹ and another Southend which has a pier 1¼ miles long. Several homeward bound ships passed us in Seareach,¹² saw Sheerness, said to be the strongest fortified place in the world, took leave of land on the Essex side, saw the Nore light, and the Island of Sheppy,¹³ and were then obliged to leave the deck owing to its being so cold. Heard the sailors shout sneerily [?] in consequence of the order being given to cast anchor the Pilot thinking it best not to pursue this dangerous passage till day light.

Lords day June 2nd

Awoke at 2 AM by the weighing of the anchor when the steamer again tugged us till we were off Margate. Went on the forecastle about 10 oclock and was delighted with the magnificence of the scene. We were then in the Downs and the clearness and colour of the water were such as we had not seen before. Passed Margate, Broadstairs, & Ramsgate before we came on deck, but Deal, Landown Castle,¹⁴ and Walmen Castle¹⁵ the seat of the Duke of Wellington were in sight when we came up. A homeward bound ship from Adelaide hailed us off Deal and in sight of the coast of France. The Captain requested to be reported at Adelaide. Her name thought to be the "Aztac". Saw a porpoise and several sea gulls within sight of the Goodwin Light. Had a fine view of Dover, its Castle, its cliffs, and its heights & the whole of the Kent coast with Dunge Ness¹⁶ lighthouse. The Sussex coast not picturesque. After we had passed Beachy Head saw seven small hills in the chalk cliffs called the seven sisters and was informed that there are seven exactly like them on the opposite coast, and that the two coasts all the way have such a resemblance that it is more than probable they were one, and by a convulsion of nature rent assunder. Saw a Mackerel fishing smack with nearly a mile of net from Hastings or Brighton, which she will probably fill, and proceed to the London market tomorrow. Had a most delightful day as to weather and made a most unusual passage hitherto. May the Lord hear the prayers of his people for a continuance of the same. The Captain has never made a good passage along the English channel, and the sailors very few, how then have we been favoured to have passed the most dangerous part in such a way. This ship was 27 days going from the Downs to Plymouth on her last voyage out. Went below before we came in sight of Brighton, after walking briskly several times along the main deck. Most of the family sick.

11 Possibly Leigh

12 Sea Reach is a lower section of the River Thames, around Southend.

13 Isle of Sheppey

14 Sandown Castle, North Deal (now in ruins)

15 Walmer Castle

16 Dungeness Lighthouse

Monday June 3rd

We proceeded about 100 miles during the night, and were within sight of Weymouth, and the Portland lighthouse, when I came on deck, but too far off the coast to discover any object without a glass. Most of the passengers very sick, which I wonder at, the sea being so smooth. Very little wind today so that we proceed slowly and shall not reach Plymouth tonight, unless the wind rises. 5 PM when about 40 miles from Plymouth a Pilot came on board, and at 8 o'clock ordered some sails in, to prevent our getting there before morning. Most beautiful weather, and the sea as smooth as a pond which should call forth thanksgiving to Him, who commands the winds and the waves, and they obey him.¹⁷ The greater part of the family continue sick, but I am quite well, and were it not for noises and confusion should enjoy it.

Tuesday June 4th

Awoke about 4 AM by the noise on deck on our arrival at Plymouth and we were anchored in the beautiful sound¹⁸ at 5 o'clock. Surrounding this are several interesting objects; the seat of Lord Mountdgcumbe¹⁹ is a beautiful place, and was the residence of the lady who was buried in a trance, and disinterred by the sexton who coveted her ring, but could not succeed in taking it off. He therefore began to cut her finger which brought her to life, & which so frightened the covetous man and his companions that they ran away and left their lanthorn²⁰ behind them. She rose from her coffin, took up the lanthorn, and followed them, this was in the dead of night, and upon her arriving at the seat knocked for admittance. The servants enquired who was there? She answered Lady Mountdgcumbe, when they were too much alarmed to open the door, but communicated the case to his Lordship, who went and opened it to his wife in her shroud. She lived afterwards to have three children and was the mother of the present Lord Mountdgcumbe. Within the park which extends several miles, and is open to the public every Monday, is a cave in which a man lived six years. A predecessor of the present proprietor promised a fortune to any man who would remain there seven years; he should have a good supply of the best provisions regularly let down to him and he should return his wants in writing, but he must not see or speak to any one, not cut his nails or his hair, nor shave himself. Several tried it, but could not continue; at length one did succeed for six years, but died in his passage to London. He was advised to stay sometime in a dark room, with occasional communication with others; but he was so anxious to see his friends that he did not take the advice, and the change being so great, and sudden, he died on his way home. An influx of passengers to day and a number of letters and papers have been brought on board. The number in our enclosed cabin is now complete, and we find it difficult to move for want of room, it is also more inconvenient there being five infants in the number. I hope we shall

¹⁷ Matthew 8:26-27

¹⁸ Plymouth Sound

¹⁹ The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe. Mount Edgcumbe House overlooks Plymouth Sound and the River Tamar. It is now

owned by the local councils and is open to the public. See

<http://www.aboutbritain.com/mountedgcumbehouse.htm> and

<http://www.cornwall-calling.co.uk/houses/mount-edgcumbe.htm>.

²⁰ Archaic form of "lantern."

bear and forbear, each endeavouring to make it as agreeable as circumstances will admit; looking forward to brighter days.

Wednesday June 5th

Nothing has occurred worth noting, but I must make mention of every day. Our new passengers very depressed in spirits owing to the change from home to this crowded place. The "Princess Helena" bound for Sydney, weighed her anchor, and unfurled her sails, being quite ready for going out; but the wind changed, and she again anchored.

Several of our passengers came from shore in a state of intoxication and the Mates had a good deal of trouble with two of them (brothers) and another had his brass horn snatched from him by one of the sailors who was listening to Josiah & Mr Hurst playing the flute, and which was hoisted to the top of the foremast in less than two minutes. The wind quite contrary for going out.

Thursday June 6th

We have had a very wet and boistrous night the same weather continuing till dinner time, after which we went on deck and found the wind rough and the waters troubled; and were informed by the sailors that we may think ourselves well off we were here, for were we beyond the Breakwater²¹ every one would be sick. The fishing boats all coming in for shelter. I hope we shall not be detained beyond Saturday which is the day the Captain expects to sail, for it is very unpleasant to remain making no progress. A policeman came on board to see if he could find amongst the passengers a man who had left his lodgings unpaid and robbed the house at Plymouth. They found him on board the Princess Helena.

Friday June 7th

Still weather bound, the wind being quite contrary and rough. Mr Wilton the chief mate in answer to my enquiry if he thought we might be detained some time longer, said, "Summer gales and winter calms seldom last long." Embarked a number of passengers, among whom was a poor Irish woman, whom they had some difficulty to get messed [?],²² though she is clean and pleasant looking. On being asked how many boxes she had, she answered "Sa I have no larning". Some time taken up in obtaining two postage stamps as almost every one had used all they had brought.

A report of an unpleasant nature was circulated through the ship this evening which has caused some apprehension.

The wind and rain renders it almost impossible to write.

²¹ Plymouth Breakwater lies at the mouth of Plymouth Sound. It is 1,560 metres long, and 13 metres wide at the top. It

was built in 1812 to protect the Sound's anchorages. It cost £1.5 million, and about 4 million tons of rock were used in its

construction. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Plymouth_Breakwater and <http://www.plymouthdata.info/Breakwater.htm>.

²² Intermediate and steerage passengers were organised into messes. See Appendix 3.

Saturday June 8th

The Princess Helena started, and was the other side of the breakwater scarcely discernible when I came on deck. Still stormy and so cold, that I wear a woollen shawl and cloak. At noon the weather became more pleasant, the wind subsided, and the water was less troubled, still there appears no sign of our going, which makes us apprehensive that the weather is not the only cause of our detention, and makes us very dispirited.

Josiah, Miss Fowler, Emma & other of the passengers gone to the breakwater, and I passed some time in looking at the sailors making rope mats. Two young men cabin passengers from the Princess Helena came on board to obtain a passage, having been left behind owing to spending the night on shore. The sun set beautifully behind Devonport, with a direct westerly wind. Josiah and his party returned from the breakwater with some stones, and a small live crab. The sea air gives me such an appetite that I am always hungry, and relish my food, uncomfortable, rough & noisy though our meals be. Much apprehension among the passengers from the non appearance of Ford and Reeves.²³

Lords Day June 9th

Mr Reeves came on board this morning, and assured us we would sail tomorrow afternoon or Tuesday morning without fail. This is good news especially as the weather is become fine.²⁴ Had some conversation with the Irish widow, she has been sent for by her two sons who sent her £20 with a very dutiful and affectionate letter, in which they promise to befriend all who may render her any assistance during the voyage, should they need it on their arrival at the colony. The "Lysander" filled it is said with free emigrants,²⁵ anchored in the Sound about 5 PM.

The sea is this evening as smooth as a lake, the sky looks heavy, there is no wind, and it is very sultry. I do not feel so well as I have done, and the time appears two months instead of two weeks since we came on board. "Why art thou cast down O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God for I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance and my God".²⁶ Him I have believed, and in him I trust who has promised that no good thing will be withheld from them that walk uprightly.²⁷

Monday June 10th

Had a seizure last evening almost amounting to a fit; but had a pretty good night, and the weather being quite altered, a beautiful breeze blowing, and the wind exactly for us if we were going out, my spirits somewhat raised.

²³ Possibly representatives of the ship's Agent.

²⁴ Possibly "fine".

²⁵ Indeed she was. The *Lysander* was the ninth ship for 1850 to carry government-assisted emigrants from England to

S.A. There were 242 such passengers on board. See

<http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/australia/lysander1850.htm>

²⁶ Psalm 42:11

²⁷ Psalm 84:11

All the passengers required to answer their names to the inspecting surgeon, he asked to see my tongue, and said to the ships Surgeon "Epileptics frequently have that tongue."

Josiah went over in a boat with a few others to a beautiful little bathing place, the shells from which put me in mind of Langland & Caswell Bays.²⁸ In the afternoon he and Miss Fowler went again to Plymouth, bought gingham. Two Bow St officers²⁹ came on board in search of two young men.

Tuesday June 11th

Disappointed and much cast down from receiving no letters, and also from not sailing which has caused great disquietude throughout the passengers, all of whom seem very dispirited. Began our gingham bonnets for the deck, which we shall find very suitable. Had not a bit of bread or biscuit for dinner, the allowance in that way being hardly sufficient, our appetites being so good.

Two of the passengers tied to the rigging, this being a prerogative of the sailors in port.

One of the young men left behind by the Princess Helena put into the mess next to us, to which no objection was raised though they would not have the poor Irish widow. It is getting dark so must leave the forecastle, hoping for better things tomorrow.

Wednesday June 12th

Josiah's birthday, but we cannot distinguish it here. No letters, everyone fainthearted. Wrote to Bath in the afternoon. A letter got up for public signature, addressed to Ford & Reeves requiring to know the reason for this delay, but not to be sent till after the next post. It is now supposed that we shall be here till after the 19th, which is very disheartening indeed, but all for the best I have no doubt.

All things are ordained or permitted by our God without whose knowledge a sparrow does not fall,³⁰ and I have committed myself and all I have to Him, and know that I shall never be ashamed, but that all things work together for my good.³¹ The weather now cold and wet more like March than June.

Thursday June 13th

Some stir this morning, and a report that we are going off, but I am not sanguine and shall think nothing of it till I see more signs. When the sails are up, ²⁸ Adjacent bays about 8 km south-west of Swansea, Wales, where the Daniels lived before moving to Bath.

²⁹ Originally officers of Bow Street magistrates' court, London, whose duty was to pursue and arrest criminals. This

reference seems odd, because the Bow Street Runners, as they were known, were disbanded after the Metropolitan

Police Act was passed in 1829. See <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/static/Policing.jsp>, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bow_Street_Runners, and <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Bow+Street+Officer>.

³⁰ Matthew 10:29

³¹ Romans 8:28

and the anchor weighed, I shall believe as Jacob did when he saw the waggons.³² One of the cabin passengers lashed to the rigging, and continued there till 5/- ³³ was paid by his friends for his release.³⁴ The little smoker and one of the brothers were afterwards detected, the latter allowed to proceed upon payment or promise of payment of their demand, and the former made fast; but he untied arms and legs, and upon coming down was I suppose made free. No appearance of our sailing, and I am pleased then with, hoping to hear from Bath tomorrow.

Friday June 14th

Again disappointed in obtaining letters, to our great discomfort. Had some conversation with an Irish sailor, and have given him a bible, he expressing a great desire to have one, which if sincere is extraordinary, in this day of almost universal departure from it, when though generally possessed, it is quite disregarded, by those who profess to worship God, having given place to the doctrines and commandments of men by which it is made of none effect. The time has come which Paul predicted to Timothy "when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears; and turn away their ears from the truth, and are turned unto fables."³⁵

It has been a wet windy day, and here we are still.

Saturday June 15th

Awoke about 5 AM with the noise of weighing the anchor, which was quickly effected, and we were soon off. Past the Eddystone lighthouse³⁶ about 9 o'clock, and going at the rate of 9 miles an hour soon lost sight of the shores of England. The sea very rough, and the waves rising high so as to cause the spray frequently to come over the fore-castle. Truly magnificent now is the appearance of the ocean, and nought but it, and sky to be seen.

Almost all the passengers very sick, and Captain lively, making himself very conspicuous in waiting upon them. I held up till after tea, when I became like the rest and went to bed.

Lord's Day June 16th

All ill, and the ship making very little progress. The sea quite smooth, not at all like yesterday, when it put me in mind of the 4th verse of the 93rd Psalm "The
³² A reference to Genesis 45:25-28. When Joseph's brothers returned from Egypt after having discovered that the young brother they thought they had killed was still alive, their father Jacob did not believe their story until he saw the wagons which Joseph had sent.

³³ Five shillings (25 pence in today's currency).

³⁴ This was apparently an accepted way for crew to deal with offences committed by passengers.

³⁵ 2 Timothy 4:2-4

³⁶ Eddystone Lighthouse is located on Eddystone Rocks, about 20 km south-west of Plymouth Sound. The one Margaret saw was the third, completed in 1759. When it was replaced by the present lighthouse, built in 1882, its upper portions were re-erected in Plymouth as a monument. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eddystone_Lighthouse.

Lord on high is mightier than the noise of many waters, yea than the mighty waves of the sea.”³⁷ This God is my God for ever and ever.

Sadly low spirited in looking back upon the first day of the week at home for which my heart pants as the hart pants after the waterbrooks.³⁸ But in every place and circumstances God is nigh to them that fear him,³⁹ accessible even here, is he the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent to all who believe in him.

Saw a very large shoal of Mackerel at the head of the vessel and a few birds which the sailors call Mother Cary’s chickens.⁴⁰

Monday June 17th

All much better, and some nearly well. More wind today but not such as to enable us to make a strait course. We are now off the Bay of Biscay. Heard from one of the sailors that if we go on as today we shall not be there for eight months, but I hope for a speedy voyage that we may soon have a quiet home again. Heard that many porpoises were seen from the forecastle and that the sun set very beautifully though indicating wind. What an idea does it give us of the immensity of the mighty waters to know that we must pursue our course for three months and see nothing else. It is indeed “the great and wide sea”. But mighty as are these waters God “has compassed them with bounds until the day and night come to an end.”⁴¹ “His cloud is not rent under them.”⁴²

Tuesday June 18th

Most of our folks still poorly only two or three at breakfast. Sat on the main deck in the front of the cabin but do not like it as I cannot read or write there. Went on the forecastle after dinner and was much refreshed with the delightful breeze, which I enjoyed till tea time, when I got some eggs for those who continue sick which they relished much. Went again on the forecastle, after tea, and saw a few porpoises, and had my spirits raised by the refreshing breeze and hearing that we were going on much faster. The Lord be praised for his goodness to us hitherto. Three places, often rough, and dangerous, we have smoothly passed. The Downs, the channel from Plymouth, and the bay of Biscay. Bless the Lord O my soul; and all that is within me, bless his holy name. Bless the Lord O

³⁷ Psalm 93:4

³⁸ Psalm 42:1

³⁹ ‘The fear of God involves worshipping the Lord with deep respect and devotion. It is a religious expression and as

such implies obedience, love, and trust.’ Louw, Johannes P. 1993. Fear. In *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*. New

York: Oxford University Press.

⁴⁰ Wilson’s Petrel (*Oceanites oceanus*): a small bird that lives in open oceans, visiting shore only to breed. In the eighteenth

century mariners called the petrel “Mother Carey’s (sic) Chicken,” or “Cary’s chick” and believed its appearance to

be an omen of bad weather. The origins of the name are unclear, but it has been suggested that In seamen’s lore

Mother Cary was the name given to a water spirit, whose “chickens” were the souls of drowned sailors. See

<http://southseas.nla.gov.au/biogs/P000125b.htm>.

⁴¹ Job 26:10

⁴² Job 26:8. The transcript says “sent” rather than “rent.” Since Margaret was quoting scripture I’ve used the biblical spelling.

my soul, and forget not all his benefits; who crowneth thee with lovingkindness.

43

Wednesday June 19th

Louisa still sick and none feel quite well; but we are rejoiced to find that we have got on more than a hundred miles during the night, and are now going at the rate of 10 miles an hour. We have a remarkable breeze for the time of year which is thought likely to last. The waves heave high, and their appearance is truly magnificent.

Hailed a homeward bound vessel, the Goldstream of Sunderland which will report us at Lloyds. A martin was seen hovering about our ship most of the morning, which went off with the Goldstream.

Advanced 210 miles from 12 oclock yesterday till 12 today. This is very encouraging and calls for thanksgiving from all who acknowledge God's universal sovereignty. The winds and waves, as everything else, are obedient to his commands.

44

Thursday June 20th

The breeze went down last night, consequently we made but little progress, and are now quite becalmed, not going more than 1½ miles an hour. We are off Oportos.⁴⁵ A shark was seen at the stern of the ship in the afternoon, but did not come near enough for the mens salute, who were waiting with their harpoons.

The wind began to rise about 5 oclock and we increased our progress. Mr Hurst lost his blankets, they were thrown overboard by the sailors moving ropes.

A sailor called Darkey lost his cap, which was thrown off by another but not purposely, and was taken very good humouredly.

The reflection of the moon upon the waters is very beautiful indeed sparkling like gems; this we have watched from the forecastle with much interest, never have seen any thing like it before.

Friday June 21st

Employed the whole morning in packing three boxes for the hold, which have been hitherto in our berth.

Going about 5 miles an hour. Three ships have passed us one full sail, which they say was a fine sight, there were also some grampuses⁴⁶ seen swimming with our vessel.

43 Psalm 103:1-4

44 A reference to Matthew 8:24-27, when Jesus and his disciples were caught in a storm on the Sea of Galilee. Jesus

"rebuked the winds and the sea; and there was a great calm."

45 Possibly Porto, or Oporto, the second largest city in Portugal and the regional capital of the Porto region. See

http://www.worldportsource.com/ports/PRT_Port_of_Leixoes_1083.php.

46 Grampus (*Grampus griseus*): also called Risso's dolphin, a common offshore inhabitant of tropical and temperate ocean waters, a member of the dolphin family.

Another ship passed us in the afternoon, but not near enough to speak her,⁴⁷ nor did she shew her colours.⁴⁸

In the evening the Irish sailor gave me a description of his shipwreck in the Western Isles⁴⁹ last March, and the benevolent treatment he met with by the inhabitants, who are Portugeese. They much wished him to remain with them, but though he was gratefully attached to them yet he seemed impelled to return to England, when he engaged with this ship.

Saturday June 22nd

Had a bad night, but hope for better things in this respect, when the berths are altered. Our progress about the same as yesterday, and the weather still beautiful. We have left Plymouth a week, and if we shall do as much each succeeding one, our voyage will be a short one. Exchanged colours with a ship, but do not know her name or from whence she is. Jimmy's cap fell overboard. The berth taken down from over our head, and the venetian part of our partition taken down, much to our discomfort at present. There is much bad spirit manifested respecting our enclosure, which they term the bird cage, but all this we have to endure. May those who profess God's holy name, do so to his honour and glory; and whatever wrong motives be attributed to us, may we bear it with meekness and self denial, as followers of the lowly Jesus, who when he was reviled, reviled not again.⁵⁰

Lords day June 23rd

Had a better night than we have had on board in consequence of the removal of our berth, which is greatly to our comfort. Our progress much as it has been and the weather delightful.

How good is our God! The desire of my soul is to his name, and to the remembrance of him.⁵¹ The Lord is my strength and shield; my heart trusted in him, and I am helped; therefore my heart greatly rejoiceth; and with my song will I praise him.⁵² We read in company very profitably till the singing on deck, which affected me as usual, and I could not resume reading till I went on the forecastle, when my head, through mercy, became clear again.

The boatswain says he has been to sea 19 years, and never made such a passage hitherto. Doubtless in answer to the prayers of God's people. Lat. 35'62" Lon. 16'10".

⁴⁷ "Speak to her" probably intended.

⁴⁸ Colours: flag/s or ensign/s identifying the ship. Hence, when passing other vessels at sea ships would fly, or exchange, their colours if they wanted to be identified.

⁴⁹ The Azores

⁵⁰ 1 Peter 2:23

⁵¹ Isaiah 26:8

⁵² Psalm 28:7

Monday June 24th

Much disturbed last night in consequence of the resistance of some (whom we have often wished we had left behind) to the watch, which was then for the first time set on foot; and which is considered to be necessary for our safety.

A flying fish seen in the afternoon; and the Island of Madeira by the captain, but we shall not see it, as we shall not be near enough till after sunset. Josiah's berth thrown into ours and Jimmy's bed; the passage has become Josiah's, in which there is no room to spare, as it exactly fits him. I am sorry that he should be so confined, but he wished it, and the enlargement will be a great relief to us. The little smoker walked to the end of the jibboom for a stick of tobacco.

Progressed 135 miles from 12 yesterday to 12 today.

May we not expect

E'en to be there before it be long

And then how pleasant the voyagers song.

Tuesday June 25th

Had a disturbed night from the heat which was very oppressive, and am not well today and much depressed in spirits. We are got into the trade winds, but they are at present but light breezes. Mr Withers and I took tea upon the forecandle, and conversed some time, Jessie being quiet.

The misses Clarke and Miss Dawes now sleep in a berth much farther down, almost at the stern, and they complain much of the heat comparing it to an oven. I have not yet I think felt it hotter than I have many times in England. Nothing worth inserting has occurred to day we must hope for more stirring times. I should like to site the Peak of Teneriffe⁵³ which is Lat 28°17' W Lon 16°, but I fear we shall not. Our progress from 12 yesterday to 12 today 137 miles.

Wednesday June 26th

Had a better night and more refreshed, having slept in Jimmy's crib, which I think I must occupy while the hot weather lasts, it being close to the door which we leave open.

Several flying fish are now continually seen, and a very large Albucor [?] [possibly albacore - G.H.],⁵⁴ from the poop, where several of us went to see it harpooned by the chief mate, who stood in the life boat and threw the harpoon but missed it.

It is sad to see the idleness of many upon whom it is to be feared the voyage will have a bad effect, detaching them so long from every kind of employment. Mr Coomb's dog in danger, and he says that if it dies he will return to England as soon as he can. Emily's back burned with the sun upon the forecandle this

⁵³ Modern name Pico de Teide (The Peak of Teide) on Tenerife, Canary Islands. At 3718 m it is the highest elevation in

Spain. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Teide>. The spelling "Teneriffe" was apparently usual at the time. An 1803 image

at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an7896967> shows that it must have been a spectacular sight from the sea.

⁵⁴ Albacore (*Thunnus alalunga*): a type of tuna found in the open waters of all tropical and temperate oceans. See

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albacore>

morning where she sat making her sun bonnet, the first skin I have seen blistered by the sun.

Thursday June 27th

Went upon the forecastle soon after breakfast, where we saw many flying fish but not near enough to describe them, and also an albucon, which several of the sailors stood prepared to harpoon notwithstanding it was their washing day; but hitherto it has been too wary for them. Our progress from 12 yesterday to 12 today 140 miles, which the sailors consider slack work, now we have caught the northeast trade winds. Several Albucons seen in the afternoon, but they baffled the vigilance of the sailors though they were patient.

It is pleasing to hear them speak of our extraordinary passage hitherto, which those who fear God amongst us know how to account for, and in our hearts acknowledge.

Friday June 28th

Just heard of the narrow escape we had at Plymouth of being sent back to London, and losing our passage money and luggage; which would have been the case had not the owner of the ship been rich and generous, as there was more than £1000 left unpaid, and ships are not allowed to leave the country in debt. Miss C. Clarke very poorly, and Mr Coward. The weather is now hot, which we feel much at night, but on the forecastle yet I have not found it unpleasantly so. Mr Rolls a very intelligent passenger, whom we have not yet known in consequence of his being confined to his cabin from inflammation of the eyes, occasioned by reading at the porthole while the wind was rushing in, has just shown us a few seeds produced from some, taken from the hand of an Egyptian mummy.

Saturday June 29th

One month of our voyage is over, good has been our God to us. We are now in the tropic of Cancer, and a most delightful breeze is taking us onward 9 miles an hour, and I hope it will speedily waft us beyond the equator that we may not be there becalmed. We have now 20 sails set, and sometimes more; the complete suit for this ship when new is worth £1000; the main sail contains 440 yds⁵⁵ of cloth.

Have seen neither sail or fish for some time, nothing but sea and sky O the immensity of these great waters! I am more struck with it every day. In our berths at night the heat is great, and so it is in our day cabin owing to being so crowded. If it were not for these refreshing Trade winds what should we do? But we have them.

55 yards. One linear yard = 0.9 m or one square yard = 0.8 m². It's not clear which measurement Margaret means.

Lords day June 30th

Heard of a flying fish being brought down to one of the berths, but have not seen it. Passed an outward bound ship while at breakfast, which we soon lost sight of, thus proving our superiority in sailing. Read with Mary Ann on the forecastle, where the breeze was delightfully refreshing. We are thankful for the change of the vessel as Mr Marshall⁵⁶ said we should. There is not one leaves London so well ventilated, and in very few if any could we with such a breeze go upon the forecastle.

The sailors keep on expressing their surprize at the weather, and the progress we are making. Highly favoured truly are we in many ways, and I trust we shall soon get to our desired haven, there to know why we have come forth, from those near & dear to us, for Christ's sake, some of whom thought⁵⁷ we hope to see again in this world.

Monday July 1st

Louisa and Emma sick, and they were so all day yesterday. The ship lurched very much, so as to appear at times terrific to us on the forecastle. At one of these lurches I ventured to ask one of the sailors if a ship ever turned over, he said sometimes in a sudden squall. Mr Coward's hat blown overboard and Mariane Lader's yesterday. Several persons have fallen down the hatchway ladders but none are injured through mercy. Miss C Clarke still very poorly, Mr Coward much the same. The sun has been beclouded the last two days which I acknowledge with thankfulness it being now vertical. Several birds seen which indicates land being near. Have just heard that the Captain has seen St Antonio⁵⁸ and that we were only 20 miles from it at 11 oclock, it being N Lat 17'12" W Lon 25'9". The water today when given out was so discoloured that it looked in the panakin⁵⁹ more like ink than water, and smelt like a sewer, but became clear and sweet by passing through the filter. It ferments three times, and then will keep any period. The steward says they have taken water round the world, brought it back to London and drank it there.

We are going today at the rate of 10 miles an hour and during the night about the same. Our progress from 12 yesterday to 12 to day 235 miles, and from Saturday to yesterday 175.

The breeze has slackened this evening, but still we are going on through the good hand of our God upon us.

Tuesday July 2nd

Had a sad disturbance after we had gone to bed in consequence of one of our annoyances insulting the Irish sailor. He was again with a great deal of noise⁵⁶ Possibly the ship's agent mentioned on page 1.

⁵⁷ Possibly "though", which makes more sense in the context.

⁵⁸ Santo Antão (Portuguese for "Saint Anthony"), the westernmost of the islands of Cape Verde. See

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Santo_Antão,_Cape_Verde

⁵⁹ pannikin: a small pan or cup, usually made of tin.

threatened to be put in irons and with much difficulty got to bed. This was between 11 & 12 oclock and just before a sudden squall carried away the boom of one of the studding sails. The wind vanish[ed] during the night, sometimes we went 10 miles an hour, at others not more than 5 which last has been our progress during the day. The atmosphere has been hazy the last few days, which it seems is occasioned by the sand from the great Desert of Zahara⁶⁰ some of which the sail maker says is always the case here. Our Lat is 14'16" Lon 25'4".

Wednesday July 3rd

The night intensely hot, though we have not lost our breeze, and have an excellent windsail down the main hatchway.

Greatly annoyed with what I cannot but be an eyewitness to. Surely this voyage will make me more than ever acquainted with human nature. What has man become? How much do I every day see in myself, and others to humble me before God. Much indeed!

Lost the trade winds, which concerns us much, as the Captain says he never lost them so soon before. Passed two homeward bound ships in the afternoon about 12 miles off.

Progress from 12 yesterday till 12 today 108 miles.

We had a smart shower of rain at noon which cooled us a little, but the heat is really distressing.

Thursday July 4th

A very disturbed night from the heat, and the movement and noise of the ship which led me to suppose we were encountering a storm, instead of which we were becalmed, the motion was from want of wind to keep the ship steady. O may he who "gathered the wind in his fists, and bound the waters in a garment & established the ends of the earth",⁶¹ speedily cause the wind to arise in our favour and waft us through these tropical climates; but if not may I with patience bear his will whatever it may be.

No progress during the morning, but we hope a breeze may arise as the sun declines that we may have some fresh air down the hatchways and be relieved from the distressing closeness between decks. The meeting held this evening on deck instead of below, to my comfort.

Progress from 12 yesterday to 12 today 44 miles.

Friday July 5th

Went on deck at 6am when the sailmaker poured a bucket of water over me, which has greatly refreshed me, but the deck being wet, I slipped and fell upon my shoulder, which I have sprained. It has been painful since the doctor exami-
⁶⁰ The Sahara Desert. The *Stebonheath* was a little south-west of the desert at this point.
⁶¹ Proverbs 30:4

nation of it, but I am glad to know that there is nothing out of place. It has been well rubbed, and I hope will soon be well again.

Very wet all day, some of us sat under the poop, from breakfast till after tea.

Progressing about five miles an hour most of the day, but I have not heard where we are, indeed to day no observations could be taken.

I hope I shall be able to get my novel kind of bath again as I think it will be of great service while we are in the tropics, but I am not stinted in water as I expected; owing to our numbers.

Saturday July 6th

Had a good night considering the pouring rain which really came down in torrents, making it very wet between decks, from the hatchways and leakages from the decks. Sat under the poop notwithstanding the rain, which though uncomfortable is preferable to the closeness below. The pigs teeth broken off, with a large pinchers, because they bite the deck. It is cruel to bring animals on board for food; a great number die, and those killed are little better than in a dying state. Very squally throughout this day; a sudden gust threw down all who were sitting under the poop upon each other, stools, chairs and all tumbling to the leeside; and from the slipperiness of the deck from the rain the people are falling continually.

Lords day July 7th

Becalmed most of the day, and the want of air makes it very oppressive. I did not go on deck till after dinner, and then found it a little cooler than below. Took tea under the poop, and the steward kindly brought out a piece of pickled salmon which was relished by us all particularly by Miss Fowler who has eaten scarcely any thing for some days past. O that we were at our destination but I must be patient.

The sea being heavy each time we have been becalmed has caused the motion to be great, and made it much more trying.

The Captain says even water gruel is no good for a ship becalmed.

Monday July 8th

Still making but little if any progress. We have "bouted ship" 62 four times this morning. They were able to take observations to day which has not been done for some days past. Lat 8' 32" Lon 19' 10".

The closeness of the weather makes us all look and feel poorly. How glad shall we be to get into the south east Trade winds if it should please him who orders all things, that we should do so. The Captain has no means of calculating but he says he wishes for the sake of all that it were so. He this morning admired the progress in Emma's counterpane, saying he was sure she must be angry from some cause or her fingers could not move so fast. He is generally interested in this piece of work when he sees it, and so are most of the passengers.

62 "About ship" or "'bout ship": command to "put the ship about" (change direction).

Tuesday July 9th

We have heard of tropical rains, but have now witnessed them. It seemed last night like pouring from a bucket, and came down the hatchways so as to make it necessary to ladel it with panakins into slop buckets from before our cabin doors. The sailors say it was an awful night, the lightening was very vivid, but no thunder. Our patience now is greatly tried. Lat at 12 oclock 8' 25". We have several avowed infidels on board. May not the increase of avowed infidelity be occasioned by the practical infidelity of those who name the name of Christ. Most of our passengers make a profession of religion, but in what does it consist? Not in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, and that shewn by corresponding works without which faith is dead.⁶³

Wednesday July 10th

Went on deck before 6am and was glad to hear we were going at the rate of 8 miles an hour and had been since midnight. It soon commenced raining such rain as we have seldom seen in England and continued to do so all the morning with thunder and lightening. We ceased to progress when the rain began, which keeps us still low spirited. I think all on board will hail with delight the end of our voyage, this very wet weather is very tiresome.

May he who holds the winds in his fists⁶⁴ soon cause them to blow and waft us over these mighty waters. Mighty indeed the magnitude I think cannot be imagined by persons on land, several of the passengers have said so too.

Thursday July 11th

We have had a good breeze all night, which still continues, and though not in our favour it enlivens the spirits and will be conducive to health, as it will dry up the damp, the sun is also out which is favourable to our drying. There are three vessels in sight and our colours are hoisted, four flags and now signifying Stebonheath. Our Lat 7' 34" Lon 19' 18", so that considering the progress we must have made early yesterday morning, we must have retrograded. Lon taken again at 3 oclock 19'42" shewing that we have gone 24 miles westward in the last 3 hours. We are now sailing directly west. There are now 6 ships in sight, which gives us something of a village appearance. Split the main topsail and all hands required to restore it. If these breezes were taking us in our course we should be in spirits, but we make little progress, constantly tacking about.

Friday July 12th

Oppressive heat during the night, which made me desire another unique bath, but could not obtain it. One of the ships we saw yesterday was spoken with about 9am. The "Ann Best" from Glasgow to Calao,⁶⁵ out 34 days. It is inter-
63 A reference to James 2:20, 26, "...faith without works is dead." That is, the person who professes faith must show it
by his or her actions.

64 Proverbs 30:4 (again)

65 Possibly the Port of Callao, Peru's main commercial seaport, near Lima, the capital. See http://www.worldportsource.com/ports/PER_Port_of_Callao_1477.php

esting to see them communicating with their colours. I have frequently seen Mr Rutter make them, but did not know the use of them till now.

The five other ships are out of sight, I believe neither of them were spoken with. Lat 7'12" Lon 19'10". Went on the forecastle after tea, but it was difficult to stand.

Our crier had additional work to day, owing to things being lost and found.

Obliged to go on deck after supper on account of the excessive heat. The doctor was called to Mr Coward.

Saturday July 13th

When I awoke this morning our berth was wet from heavy rain, which had been coming down from 4 oclock. This made me dejected but upon hearing that we were going nearly our right course my spirits revived. I did not obtain an opportunity to speak to the chief mate till evening when I learned that we are progressing one third, that is for every 30 miles we sail, we make 10 towards our destination. This is trying to our patience but much better than a calm.

Swarms of birds flying about the eastern horizon all day.

Julia read the "Times" after supper, a weekly paper got up by Mr Harrison and Mr Locks, two of our intermediate passengers, the latter professes to have been educated for the medical profession, and makes himself of great notoriety by always calling out "Scaldings"⁶⁶ when he goes through our cabin.

Lords day July 14th

The heat still great below, and going on much the same. Lat. 6' Lon. 17'5".

We watched the sprays round the bulwarks which were at times grand. O for a wind to take us onward this day of all the rest, is the most unlike home, and the difference the most lamented. I long to be at our destination when I hope to know why we have been called to leave that so dear to some of us, the worship of the one true and living God, with the preaching of his own word, concerning his well beloved, dear and only begotten Son, who loved us and gave himself for us.⁶⁷

A quantity of flying fish have been seen from the forecastle, and a shark nearly all day. The former are very plentiful but much smaller than I had supposed.

Monday July 15th

Last night was a trying one for heat and crying infants. The main hold opened at breakfast time, and several large boxes taken up on deck. Our piano found to be 66 Scaldings! A warning, especially among sailors ("Get out of the way!" "Be off!" "Look out!"). In use mid-19th - 20th century.

Partridge, Eric. 1973. *The Routledge dictionary of historical slang*. London: Routledge. p800.

67 A reference to several scripture verses: Matthew 3:17 ("this is my beloved son"), John 3:16 ("his only begotten Son"),

and Galations 2:20 ("I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave himself for me.")

quite dry, but one of the crates of earthenware broken to pieces, so that it was brought up piecemeal, and we were surprised to find very little of it broken. This morning was occupied in repacking it into three barrels given us by the Steward, the heads of which were put in by our crier.

Made a very poor dinner, and frequently feel hungry, not being able to eat sufficiently of the ship's provisions of which there is a liberal supply.

We are got into the South east trade winds, but they do not drive us onward as the north east did. Have not heard our progress to day, but hope it is considerable.

Tuesday July 16th

Going on very fair, and it is a beautiful [blot here] morning. The invalids seem better on the whole.

We frequently see men washing on the main deck and forecastle, and some that at home would not have been seen doing any thing menial. The ship is now continually leaning, so that it is difficult to walk, sit or stand, and therefore must be to write. On the forecastle where I now am, we appear to be in danger of being thrown into the sea, and the sprays come over us like a shower bath, sitting upon what has once been a hatchway on the windward side. We shall soon now leave our native hemisphere and enter upon that abounding with water and containing the land which according to that we now know is to be our future dwelling place. Lat 3'35" Lon 20'20".

Wednesday July 17th

Went on deck before breakfast when the chief mate gave me a little salad (only mustard) which he took at the time from the poop garden.

I have endeavoured to finish my letter to our beloved bishop but the wind and movement of the vessel makes it almost impracticable to write. It was blown away once, and I was fearful it would go overboard and so put it away.

I enjoy leaning over the bulwarks to watch the foam occasioned by the ship passing through the waters, and which dashes up in most beautiful sprays.

The flying fish too are routed by the vessel, and are very numerous. Great preparations being made for crossing the line. Lat 1'14" Lon 24'.

Thursday July 18th

We all got very wet under the poop last evening by the sailors throwing buckets of water over all. This is one of their customs in crossing the line, and they allow none to escape. The Captain has given them the whole day for their diversions with which most of the passengers have been amused, but I did not go up till after dinner and then upon the forecastle watching the spray and flying fish. We have crossed the line and are in South Lat. 1'30".

There was a tar barrel put overboard and set fire to last evening in which Neptune was said to have come on board, and another this evening in which he is said to have taken his departure. This we watched from the poop for half an

hour. There were eight of the ship's company who underwent the process of shaving this morning.⁶⁸

Friday July 19th

The sea very rough and the movement of the vessel greater than we have yet had. Mr Tuff's berth fell last night and he and his wife came down upon the two children, who strange to say were not at all hurt. We cannot go upon the forecastle this morning for the sea washes over it so as to give us some idea of "the mighty waves of the sea"⁶⁹ and it is dangerous even to move, from the lurching of the ship, and its being so much on one side. Ventured up after dinner and found that the sea looked truly majestic. Saw two of those curious little inhabitants of it which the sailors designate Portuguese men of war.⁷⁰ Have not heard our progress.

Saturday July 20th

Interchanged signals with the "Petral" from Calao to London. She will report us before she reaches the latter. Took my tea on the forecastle and saw the Southern Cross for the first time.

Our progress really excellent considering it blows a stiff breeze from the south east.

South Lat. 6'36" Lon 28'14".

The passengers are very discontented with the ship's provisions and we really cannot satisfy ourselves, constantly feeling hungry but cannot eat with any relish. I wish we had brought some flour, good cheese, and well packed fresh eggs; it would have been greatly to our comfort. We were advised to do so, and therefore can only blame ourselves.

Lords day July 21st

Went upon the forecastle soon after breakfast, where the sprays came over me three times. The appearance of the sea very grand, but our pleasure in beholding it greatly lessened from the leaning of the ship, which really to us seems fearful. Thomson the Denmark sailor fixed up one of the capstan bars as a stay for us, that we may not slide down the leeward side, which without it we were in danger of doing, and also kindly brought his oil skin jacket to protect us from the spray; the Lord reward him for his kindness to us.

⁶⁸ Shaving crew members who had never before crossed the equator was often part of the "crossing-the-line" ceremony.

The flaming tar barrel represented King Neptune's fiery chariot. See

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Linecrossing_](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Linecrossing_ceremony)

ceremony, <http://www.history.navy.mil/faqs/faq92-5.htm>, and

<http://www.polkcounty.org/timonier/speaks/book14.html> for descriptions of various ceremonies (the latter including illustrations).

⁶⁹ Psalm 93:4

⁷⁰ Portuguese Man-of-War or Bluebottle (*Physalia physalis*): not a single animal but a colony of different polyps (kinds of highly modified individuals). Bluebottles feed using their long stinging tentacles to ensnare small crustaceans and other members of the surface plankton. It is most common in the tropical and subtropical regions of the Pacific and Indian oceans, but can drift outside of this range on warm currents such as the Atlantic Gulf Stream. See

[http://australianmuseum.net.au/image/Bluebottle-or-Portuguese-Man-of-War-Physalia-](http://australianmuseum.net.au/image/Bluebottle-or-Portuguese-Man-of-War-Physalia-physalis)
physalis and

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portuguese_Man_o'_War.

We could not read this morning and have found it the most wearisome first day of the week we have had, but we are progressing and through the good hand of our God upon us shall soon see the end.

Monday July 22nd

We have had a rough night, and the motion of the ship more than we have had before; it really felt and sounded as though it would go to pieces.

The passengers are most of them seated on the deck without seats being unable to use stools or chairs. This does by no means add to the respectability of their appearance. I have managed to prop myself upon my camp stool, under the poop steps, against a cask of empty bottles which occasionally as the ship lurches gives way. We feel sore from leaning against places to keep ourselves up. The sailors tell us this is nothing to what we shall have, but we hope otherwise. A quantity of water pumped this evening in consequence of the ship being worked hard in the night.

Tuesday July 23rd

The wind is now more favourable, and the ship not so leaning. Went on the forecastle after making three meat pies, where I dined. The pies were much relished which makes us wish more than ever that we had brought out a barrel of flour. The sea is much subsided, and the carpenter has begun to calk the deck of the forecastle. He tells me that I have seen no sea yet, but I say that I see "a great and wide sea",⁷¹ such as I had no adequate idea of till my eyes beheld it. Christiana's parasol blown overboard, and Miss Fowler's crotchet work⁷² and book. We have progressed well our Lat being 14'43" Lon 31'34". O for a quiet stationary home!

Wednesday July 24th

Made rapid progress through the night at the rate of 9½ knots an hour. This occasions joy & thankfulness. Eight weeks to day we left London and I hope by this day week we may be at the Cape or have rounded it, thence to proceed on our strait eastern course, which if the lord will, I think we may accomplish in six weeks.

How good has he been to us hitherto, have we not proved his faithfulness? Yea, verily and so have all who trust in him.

The passengers on the whole better though several are still poorly. The anchor moved back to its place which had been removed for the purpose of calking the deck the weight of which is nearly two tons.

Lat 18' Lon 31'32".

71 Psalm 104:25

72 Form of "crotchet," for the craftwork done with a hooked needle. Early references to the craft in *Godey's Lady's Book*

in 1846 and 1847 refer to crotchet before the spelling was standardised in 1848 (from French *croche*, a hook). See

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crochet>.

Thursday July 25th

Almost a calm today which depressed me after a very uncomfortable night. We have seen two young grampuses close to the ship which compared with any fish we had seen are huge creatures. Jimmy's cap fell overboard.

S Lat 20' W Lon 31'10".

Witnessed the rising of the moon from the forecastle which was very beautiful, but there are now some very heavy clouds before us, from which a change is expected, together with the calm and the appearance of the grampuses.

The sailors expectation verified, as we have "bouted ship" and there is every appearance of their being kept employed during the night. The God of the whole earth is mine, and I am his, what cause have I therefore for fear?⁷³

Friday July 26th

The wind is quite foul, and it has been a squally night, we "bouted ship" again at breakfast time. It is the Captain's day for visiting us, who upon my asking him what we were doing said "nothing but making a great fuss," the wind being right against us, we are making no progress. This I hope will not continue though I prefer it to the calm of yesterday.

S Lat 20°17" Lon 31".

It is too rough to venture on the forecastle, and very cold on the main deck. Just seen a cape hen⁷⁴ which flew high, it is a solitary bird, appearing always alone, the wings are long, sometimes extending six feet,⁷⁵ brown, with a white breast. The weather is cold enough to relish the soup, we should have brought toasted bread for it.

Saturday July 27th

Another noisy night; we "bouted ship" at 12 o'clock with seemingly unusual noises.

O for quiet nights and days and deliverance from these sprays which so wet me, and my book giving it a smeary look.

Called from breakfast to see a homeward bound barque which was coming towards us. The Captain commenced speaking by signal, but she bore down upon us, and came near enough for the trumpet. The "New Forest" of Southampton bound for Liverpool from Buenos Ayres.⁷⁶ We could not discern the persons on board, but they were but few. The Captain asked her to report us all well which⁷³ Possibly a conflation of Isaiah 54:5 ("God of the whole earth"), Song of Solomon 2:16 ("my beloved is mine and I am his") and Jeremiah 30:10 ("Therefore fear thou not...saith the Lord").

⁷⁴ The White-chinned Petrel or Cape Hen (*Procellaria aequinoctialis*): a large (average 55 cm long) seabird which ranges around the southern oceans and breeds in colonies on scattered islands. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Whitechinned_Petrel.

⁷⁵ 1.8 metres.

⁷⁶ Buenos Aires, Argentina.

she promised to do. A Whale just seen which the sailmaker says is worth £500 of this I shall enquire farther. Went upon the forecastle after breakfast just as the new martingale⁷⁷ lost its strop, which is an iron band with a ring attached through which the ropes are conducted. This delayed us nearly 3 hours as we could not go on till it was repaired.

Have seen a white bird which the sailors call a boatswain.⁷⁸

S. Lat 20°32' W Lon 31°35'. This is indeed making little progress. There are frequent broils on board, quarrelling and swearing are constantly heard. One young man who considers himself a gentleman, and I suppose is by birth, says he delights in swearing; he can neither eat nor drink here, and therefore it is his only enjoyment. O! the depth of human depravity, man made in the image of his Creator.⁷⁹ What has he become?

Lords day July 28th

Went on deck before breakfast to see an outward bound ship, which we were passing within ½ a mile of us. We saw her yesterday and should have passed her then but for our detention. She was not spoken with, but her name discovered by the telescope. The "Ariosto of Boston." We soon left her behind.

We are again getting on through the goodness of our God, and shall if all be well be out of the tropics this evening. S Lat 22°56' W Lon 31°31'. Heard sailor Deady betting with two or three of his shipmates that we should not be at Adelaide these 10 weeks, but I hope to be there by this day 6 weeks. How do I miss on this day our "feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined".⁸⁰ But surely we shall not lack this long. O! no no it cannot be. The American vessel still in sight, they do not carry colours answerable to ours & so cannot exchange signals.

Monday July 29th

Heard of two whales being in sight but did not see them. The carpenter who has been on the forecastle calking the deck, has interested me much with some accounts of his whaling in which he was engaged some years. He says the sailmaker's statement is correct, he has been at the taking of some yielding 12 tons of oil at the value of from £70 to £100 per ton. This is the sperm whale, and the head produces spermaceti.⁸¹ He describes their strength as amazing, but they are not aware of it, if they were it would be impossible to take them. Their eye is small and they see only on the side, and when pursued are quickly out of sight. One of his comrades was completely cut in two by a stroke from the tail of one; a shocking sight for the beholders to witness, him who a minute before was engaged. 77 Martingale: a fore-and-aft stay lying directly beneath the bowsprit strengthening it and, if extended from the sprit a

jibboom, against upward force created by the head stays. See

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martingale_\(rigging\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martingale_(rigging)).

78 The Red-billed Tropicbird (*Phaethon aethereus*) also known as the Boatswain Bird: a tropicbird, one of three closely

related seabirds of tropical oceans. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Red-billed_Tropicbird.

79 Genesis 1:27

80 Isaiah 25:6

81 Spermaceti: a wax obtained from the head of the sperm whale. It was used in ointments, cosmetic creams, candles, pomades, textile finishing and lubricants. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spermaceti>.

gaged with them, severed with a single stroke, and his body lying in two different parts of the boat, the spirit having returned to God who gave it.

The sperm whales suckle their young, the male which is designated the bull is about 4 times as large as the female which is called the cow; but this kind are not near so large as the Greenland whales, the largest he has seen not being more than 70 feet. The quantity of oil they yield differs much in different places. The American vessel still keeps in sight which would not be so if the breeze were not light.

S Lat 25'16" Lon 31'31".

We should be glad to get eastwards but the winds will not allow us, if they serve [?] we shall not go more than 13 or 14 degrees south.

The carpenter thinks we shall be a82 Adelaide in six weeks.

Tuesday July 30th

Saw Venus set most beautifully last evening about eight oclock which from the atmosphere assumed a red appearance and looked like a revolving light at the horizon. Thomson told us that he was present once at her rising when a sailor on watch called out "a light ahead" when the Captain replied "Keep her off, keep her off"

When bye and bye she proved to be,

A light we always love to see.

Happy Jack as he is called says we have been going on well through the night and we are now sailing south south east, but the breeze is yet light which is unfavourable to our fast sailing

Though good for our neighbour who is at our side which must be quite pleasing to Jonathans pride.

S Lat 27'13" W Lon by lunar observation 31'28" at 12 oclock 31'20". The Captain last evening calculated upon rounding the cape in 17 days. I had hoped it would have been sooner.

Wednesday July 31st

We have been going on rapidly through the night and in a right course. The Captain, Mates, sailors and passengers all in spirits, and the cape pigeons⁸³ are flying about the vessel numerously. It is a most delightful day as to weather. I have thought it may be

That our southern & eastern course form an ally

On this beautiful day the last of July.

82 Probably "at".

83 Cape Petrel (*Daption capense*), also called Cape Pigeon or Pintado Petrel: a common seabird of the Southern

Ocean. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cape_Petrel.

Mrs Bowler presented us with a new passenger this morning at 8 oclock, and I was glad to hear from Mr Sears that she and her new daughter are doing well. In the afternoon when sitting quietly on the forecastle, an accident occurred which might have proved fatal to many. A block fell from the top of the mast which struck George Tuff on the head, who when taken up every one thought to be dead; it also struck after its force was broken, Mr Kidner, Willie, Christiana, Julia, and me, but did not through the goodness of God, injure either. Surely I must testify to his goodness to my family in this instance, for I had but a minute before left that seat, and immediately upon my doing so Mr Tuff placed his son there for safety. He is very seriously injured but if inflammation can be kept under he may do well, which I hope will be the case, for he is a very amiable, well conducted child.

I did not obtain the statement of our position till the evening but it happened

That my casual thought e'en verified was

Though for it I seek neither fame nor applause.

S Lat 29'44" W Lon 29'44".

We are still going on very rapidly.

Emma is going to take charge of Mrs Wither's baby to night which we expect will be very troublesome, but it must be done.

Thursday August 1st

Arose at 6 oclock (which I have not done of late it being so dark) being anxious respecting George Tuff who I am happy to hear is sensible and going on favourably.

Emma was up all night with the baby who was not so disturbing as might have been expected. I cannot venture on the forecastle to day, the breeze being stiff, and having had such a caution. This is a privation, but we must submit and be thankful we are going at such a rate.

Lat 31'10" W Lon 25'38". It became very unpleasant in the afternoon on deck, in consequence of sailing so fast, and the weather becoming squally. In the evening rain came on, and made it very wet below from the hatchways and the leaks, in the different berths, which is very uncomfortable.

Friday August 2nd

We all feel very uncomfortable from damp, leaning of the vessel, and having very little breakfast, which last the weather having become so cold is a great deal felt.

The cape pigeons are flying about the vessel in greater numbers than ever. It is a beautiful bird with white⁸⁴ body and spotted wings, and flies most gracefully. An Albatrod⁸⁵ also has flown about the ship this morning which is a magnificent 84 "White" probably intended.

85 Probably "albatross."

bird supposed to be about 10 feet⁸⁶ from tip to tip of the wings. George Tuff considerably better.

Lat 32'13" Lon 21'32".

Came down from the deck rather before dinner was ready owing to its being so cold, and immediately had a fit, but know not of any immediate cause. If it should seem good to my heavenly father to remove this disease I should be glad, but his will be done.

Saturday Aug 3rd

Arose this morning depressed and sore, as much I think from the hardness of the bed as from the fit.

It is a very rough, wet morning, not withstanding I ventured on deck hoping to be able to sit under the poop, but was soon obliged to leave for fear of danger, the jib sail being blown away while I was there, with a fearful noise to which the men added their quantum. This is a loss of £30 to the owners.

I could not obtain our position but the wind has changed, and we have bouted ship.

There were two cape pigeons caught yesterday, which are indeed beautiful birds, and will be stuffed.

Arrived at the end of another week, with what different feelings do I anticipate the coming day now, and when my soul used to delight itself in fatness.

Lords day Augst 4th

Had a very wet and rough night, and obliged to stand still for a few hours to repair the injuries done to the ship which are not considerable. The same weather has continued all the day, so dark below that we could not see to read, and the time has indeed hung heavy. Thomson came down in the evening to inform me that it was then blowing a gale, and that the ship was without sail except the main top sail; this was not pleasing intelligence but I had requested him to inform me. The night was truly a fearful one, such another I hope we shall not again witness, but if we should this same almighty hand as has now protected us, can again do so. The main top sail was taken in during the night.

Monday Augst 5th

The day has broken up quite find⁸⁷ after the terrific gale and we can again go on deck, though the ship still rolls from side to side. The falling of earthenware, casks of empty bottles, etc etc. made a fearful noise when the vessel lurched so deeply in the night.

Lat 31'49" Lon 17'31" so that we have lost 24 miles from our southern position, and gained only 4 degrees to our eastern since 12 oclock on Friday.

⁸⁶ 3 metres.

⁸⁷ "fine" probably intended.

George Tuff about again, which we are all glad of, he looks poorly but better than could have been expected, considering his loss of blood and the powerful medicine he has taken.

My spirits greatly depressed and we have no opportunity of improving our time together these very long evenings which I feel very much, but must with patience wait for better & brighter days.

Tuesday Augst 6th

Another rough night, and between 3 & 4 oclock this morning part of the rigging was carried away, in consequence of which the ship went backwards and the poop immediately plunged under water, when if it had been a small vessel she would in all probability have gone down.

It was a fearful time, but the thought that not a sparrow falls to the ground without God,⁸⁸ and that "I know him, and am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day,"⁸⁹ consoled me. The man was thrown from the wheel when the chain came down, but through mercy was not washed over board. The Lord preserve all on board.

Lat 33'38" Lon 16'54" progressing each way though not rapidly.

Wednesday Augst 7th

A quiet comfortable night, which has done good to all, but it appears squally this morning, and we have to expect more rough weather. The hold opened this morning and many boxes taken up. Ours look in pretty good condition. Saw an albatros again, and hope soon to have one taken.

Lat 33'56" Lon 14'40" getting eastward. The weather has turned out fine, throughout the day, and the wind fair, and it has been cold enough for all our furs. The waves magnificently grand, which we have watched from the poop steps instead of the forecastle, where we have not been since the accident this day week, but intend to try it tomorrow if all be well, when we hope to dry our bedding, which in these squalls and gales has become very wet.

Thursday Augst 8th

Last night the reverse of the night before, in consequence of the incessant motion of the ship which was very great, and which caused me for hours to long for the morning. The wind continues fair, which I acknowledge with thankfulness as it has caused us to make rapid progress through the last 24 hours. Lat 34'21" Lon 9'43".

The sea is rougher than we have had it before, and in the afternoon we encountered some hail storms which we hope will be the means of quieting the sea

before night, but there are numbers of porpoises seen, which we do not like as they were so seen on Monday night. On the whole it has been a fine winters day,

88 Matthew 10:29

89 2 Timothy 1:12

and most of the people seem in spirits but myself but I am greatly depressed, which I hope will not be the case long.

Friday Augst 9th

A most delightful winters morning, the young folks are running and skipping, & many of the middle aged and old are playing "follow the leader" on the main deck, which really presents quite a merry scene.

Lat 34'50" W Lon. 5'53".

The doctor this morning ordered me a pint of porter daily which I think will be good for me.

More walking to day on deck than I have seen at all. Mr Sproule and I walked on the larboard⁹⁰ side for more than an hour, till we became quite warm. Went on deck after tea to see the new moon, saw also Jupiter and Mars, which were very brilliant, and the sky was most thickly bespangled. How great is he who "tellet^h the number of them and calleth them all by their names."⁹¹

Saturday Augst 10th

Kept awake again with the noise of the main top sail sheets, which for want of wind were very disquiet, as was also the ship itself, rolling from side to side most uncomfortably. It is quite a busy day on deck which our young folks call rope fair, as it happens to be Lansdown fair⁹² day, the sailors are taking down the old sails and putting up new, in preparation for rough weather which has to be expected hereabouts. This it is well to be prepared for though we shall be glad to escape it.

Lat 35'30" Lon 2' west.

A vessel just come in sight outward bound, and which the Captain says is bringing the wind up with her, and he does not wish to alarm us but he thinks we are going to have some rough wind and dirty weather.

Lords day Augst 11th

Rolled from side to side very much last night, and before we went to bed one of the studding sails was carried away and the boom fell upon the deck with a fearful noise, the main top gallant sail was also torn away and nothing left, but the yard and ropes. This owing to my spirits being very depressed, and my nervous system very excitable I felt much; but my God has heard my prayers, and given me to see the light of another day in more comfortable circumstances than I anticipated, though the wind has become unfavourable and we are making lit-

⁹⁰ Larboard: an archaic form of "port" – the left side of the ship.

⁹¹ Psalm 147:4

⁹² Lansdown fair, an often rowdy event, took place annually just outside Bath. See <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O125586/oil-painting-lansdown-fair-near-bath/>. In 1833 James Stradling attempted to sell his wife Louisa for five shillings at the fair. He was arrested for causing a disturbance. Interestingly, at the 1841 census Stradling was living in Walcot, where the Daniel family lived. See <http://www.bristolfamilyhistory.co.uk/wife-bathsale---louisa-stradling>.

the progress at present. However it is a fine winter day, and we hope soon to get on again.

Lat 36°14' Lon 2 east.

Departed now from England in longitude as well as latitude.

Monday Augst 12th

Suffered from hunger last night, and more than ever regret coming out without extra provisions.

Hope however to be in Adelaide in another month, as we have been going on very rapidly through the night, and this morning, which if we should continue to do, we may be at the Lon of the cape on Wednesday, from whence it has been done in 21 days.

It is a very dark cloudy day with a considerable wind, so that we have not much sail up, but we are going at about 9 miles an hour.

The sea, sky, and decks look very unpleasant, and there is nothing to be seen to enliven my greatly depressed spirits.

S. Lat 37°20' E Lon 5°19'.

"Let thy mercy O Lord be upon me according as I hope in thee."⁹⁴

Tuesday Augst 13th

A most beautiful day, after a very quiet and refreshing night which has invigorated and enlivened me. It is like a very fine October day in England, so clear that the moon is visible at midday. Lat 38°31' Lon 10°10'.

Truly I have proved all my life long, that the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous, and his ears are open unto their cry,⁹⁵ and I can bear testimony to his faithfulness who has never said unto the seed of Jacob seek me in vain.⁹⁶

Walked on deck in the evening till it began to rain, when I looked over the books I have in our cabin with the intention of lending some to Mr Sproule with whom I have had some interesting conversations he being a man of general information and I hope one fearing God.

Wednesday Augst 14th

We have had another stormy night, and at six this morning a heavy sea broke over us, streaming down our hatchways and into our cabins, while the ship rolled fearfully from side to side, which it did the whole day. In the evening we shipped another sea, when the general utensils came rattling down, and were thrown about in all directions, to the merriment of some, and the discomfort
⁹³ "fine" probably intended.

⁹⁴ Psalm 33:22

⁹⁵ Psalm 34:15

⁹⁶ Isaiah 45:19

and fear of others. The recklessness and the hardihood of the generality [?] of the passengers shew that there is no fear of God before their eyes; but of a few I have hope that in them there is some good thing towards the Lord God of Israel. The hatchways were battened down about 6pm; and is what I have greatly dreaded but do not find it so bad as I expected the weather being cold. Thomson came down to see us in the night & so did Mr Bow and 2nd Mate.

Thursday Augst 15th

Our Lat yesterday was 38'42" Lon 15'5" so our course was eastward, the wind being favourable we are able to run; but every thing wears a gloomy aspect, and we are not disposed to leave our private berths they being lighter than the day cabin, the hatchways being still battened down, on account of occasionally shipping seas knee deep. The sailor whom they call Happy Jack says that when at the wheel he saw the sea over the top of the foremast today, and some of our family saw it last evening from the forecastle over the top of the main top gallant sail which is the highest sail but one. I understand the Captain and Mates have said, that they have seldom seen such a sea. Our chief mate had a narrow escape last night the boatswain caught him by the leg just as he was falling over, having lost his balance on one of 97 tremendous lurches.

Friday Augst 16th

Yesterday Lat 36'10" Lon 19'38". Had a pretty good night but awoke early, and thought the motion of the ship strange. I therefore got up and began to dress myself when there came a tremendous noise similar to the report of a cannon accompanied with such a lurch as we had not had before; when I think most hearts quailed.

The water washed down the hatchways notwithstanding they were battened down, and all unlashed⁹⁸ utensils empty and full, fell with force in all directions; some persons being almost choaked with oatmeal, and others with pepper, which at another time would have been a serious annoyance but were then little thought of. This was about 4 AM. The noise was occasioned by the fall of one of the meat casks which stand on deck and are very heavy; and a similar one was heard the day before, from the striking of a heavy sea against the gallant bulwarks, which is a top affixed to the bulwarks, hollow, for the purpose of holding the soldiers' hammocks.

Our hearts were enlivened by hearing the hatchways opened between 9 & 10 A.M. the gale having given place to a calm, which is usually the case. All hands were soon engaged in scraping and mopping the berths, and carrying up the wet clothes to dry, it being a beautifully fine day after the storm.

Lat 37'30" Lon 22'30". We came on deck after dinner, and found it so calm as to venture on the forecastle where I had not been since George Tuff's accident.

Everything looked much as usual.

97 "the" seems to be missing here.

98 Possibly a typing error – "unlashed" makes more sense.

Great is our God and greatly to be praised,⁹⁹ I am thankful that we had passed over so much of the voyage before we knew from experience what a gale at sea is, as we now dread it.

Many know it in the English Channel which was not our case, for that we sailed over as a lake, and so made a good beginning, which is of more consequence than I had thought before.

Saturday Augst 17th

Kept awake about 1 A.M. with the clanking noise of the ship for want of wind, and went out into the day cabin to read. Returned to bed between 2 & 3 and did not get up till ½ past 7. Five and twenty years this day that event took place which is the origin of the existence of ten individuals,¹⁰⁰ to be saved or lost!¹⁰¹ Of four of them I have hope, O that I had that of all. Three or four & fifty years this day, he drew his first breath from whose lips we first received the word of truth, the gospel of our salvation, those of us who have received it. All have not received it though all have heard it; may it be that in the country to which we are going they may hear and live!

Went on deck after dinner but could hardly stand the vessel sloped so much. A porpoise harpooned & cut up in 5 minutes the passengers taking steaks which the sailors say are equal to beef steaks. Mr Withers has the tail, which looks like Indian rubber, and is in form like the wing of a bird.

Lat 38' Lon 24'35".

Lords day Augst 18th

I could not stay in bed last night on account of the unpleasant rolling for want of wind, I therefore at 1 oclock got up and sat on a chair till after 7, when I lay down till 9. It is a very beautiful day, but scarcely any wind which is depressing to the spirits as we are making but little progress.

Lat 38'15" Lon 27'10".

O! How I long after the ordinances of God's house,¹⁰² can it be that I shall be long deprived of that my soul prizes above all beside? I trust not, but that I shall in that far distant land, (its distance we now know something of) find some whose hearts are prepared to submit to the authority of God's holy truth. This if it should be will cause joy unspeakable¹⁰³ & it is that for which I have besought him ever since our removal was first proposed; and to him who has promised to give whatsoever we ask in faith,¹⁰⁴ I look.

⁹⁹ Psalm 48:1, Psalm 96:4, Psalm 145:3, 1 Chronicles 16:25 (the first is probably the most often quoted of these).

¹⁰⁰ James and Margaret were married on August 17 1825; this day was their 25th anniversary.

¹⁰¹ A reference to salvation through Jesus Christ, and the individual's choice to accept or reject it.

¹⁰² "ordinances of God's house": the traditions and rites (for example, communion, or the Lord's Supper) in which Margaret was used to participating at church.

¹⁰³ A reference to 1 Peter 1:8

¹⁰⁴ Matthew 21:22

Monday Augst 19th

Had a better night though I sat up from ½ past 3 oclock at which time I was glad to hear from Caleb Monsir & Mr Finlanson that we had a fair wind and were going on about 10½ knots an hour, and had been so from 12 oclock. The motion and noise were great and prevented my sleeping, but I am happy to say it is becoming much more steady, and I hope we shall soon have the kind of sailing we had before the rough weather commenced. Mrs Withers brought us a little porpoise to taste, which we thought savoury. The cook says it weighed at least 150 lbs., and was a very small one. There were quite a multitude about the ship when that was harpooned by the chief mate from the forecastle.

Lat 39' Lon 31'44" Good!

Tuesday August 20th

Went upon the forecastle after breakfast to speak to Mr Kidner upon a subject which grieves me much.

Whilst there I heard two of the sailors say they had never rounded the Cape so well before, nor otherwise made so good a passage; no calms to speak of, and only one gale which terminated without accident, or harm: whereas last time in their ship in much such a gale, a man in trying to save the lifeboat was lost with it. How good has my God been to me and Mine!

The sailors are all busy repainting the stay of the mizen mast, and looking over the ship inside and out.

Lat 39'15" Lon 35'.

Wednesday August 21st

Went rapidly all night, but the motion is very unpleasant, and the ship slants exceedingly, which together with its being unusually cold, and occasionally rainy, obliged me to remain below.

I am on deck after dinner, but fear I cannot remain on account of its being so cold. Walked our very short walk repeatedly, which has been shortened by the lifeboat, and spars in the centre being lashed to the bulwarks, the ropes with which it is done forming a barrier.

Mr Sproule has had a narrow escape from the fall of a boom today.

Three Albatroses were caught from the poop on 3 hooks attached to one line, and the poor things got off attached to each other.

Lat 39'12" Lon 40'. Good speed.

Thursday Augst 22nd

Went on deck last night after supper, and enjoyed the sight of the moon, which is nearly full, and the ship with her rigging, full sails, and white decks, which is really a find¹⁰⁵ object but particularly so by moonlight.

Awoke before 2 oclock by her rolling which continued to our discomfort, occasioned by the wind becoming directly aft. It shifts frequently but continues fair, and propels us at a good rate.

The chief Mate is laid by ill yesterday and today, and there are two of the sailors off duty for insubordination. The Lord give unto our officers wisdom to guide, and to them all health to act, that we may have a safe and speedy end to this very unpleasant period of my life, which has certainly been worse than I expected for me, perhaps not for many.

Lat 39'38" Lon 44'.

Friday Augst 23rd

A squally night, accompanied with lightening and rain, which is weather the sailors do not like, and their reserved manner in answering my questions quite unnerved me, so that I did not go to bed till 4 oclock, and arose again at 6. The sails were closely reefed all night, except one or two, and the motion of the vessel occasionally fearful. Many sat up all night.

A number of porpoises close to the ship, and one harpooned, but it fell back while being raised.

Mr. Wilton still laid by, and very poorly, I do not think his life will be a long one; how I do wish he may hear the gospel and live! But alas all seem ignorant thereof and contentedly so; this was not the case with me, I was longing for something I had not attained, God is witness to my joy when it was first clearly and plainly preached to me.

Lat 40'3" Lon 49'.

Saturday Augst 24th

Went to bed early last night after being amused with the young folks imitating "Scaldings" and anticipating their reminiscences of present circumstances.

Slept soundly all night and am quite refreshed thereby.

We are going at a quick and steady rate, and have been since ten oclock last evening.

The Lord be praised for his goodness to us.

This day 10 weeks we left Plymouth and I hope in 3 weeks more to be at Adelaide.

At 12 oclock we went as though by steam, and continued to go very rapidly all day, Lat 40'30" Lon 52'37".

The starboard which is the heaviest being leeward, causes the ship to slant very much, and occasionally we have had very heavy lurches. But the Lord on high is 105 "fine" probably intended.

mightier than the mighty waves of the sea, 106 he rules the raging of it when the waves thereof arise he stilleth them; 107 therefore I will not fear.

Mr Wilton is still laid by.

Lords day Augst 25th

Did not go to bed all night in consequence of a heavy gale which came on about 11 oclock and caused the ship to lurch exceedingly with fearful noises occasioned in some measure by the tossing about of unlashed things, Most persons got up and light 108 their lamps, and many sat up. It has been a cold unpleasant day few if any went on deck. I lay from 7 AM till tea time but did not sleep till just before I got up. The Lord in his mercy grant that two more Lords days may suffice to complete the voyage to Adelaide, when we expect to get rid of some who make a mock of him. O how much has this voyage increased my knowledge of human nature, and what I should have been but for his grace. 109 It is he that has made me to differ, how good is the remembrance of his name. 110

Lat 40'13" Lon 57'34".

Monday Augst 26th

Slept with Louisa last night, and found that cabin much quieter, I had a good night, awaking only once, when shortly after a heavy sea broke over the main yards with a terrific noise; this was shortly before 2 oclock.

The wind is unfavourable today, but we are making a little progress and the ropes are being examined for the purpose of exchanging the rotten ones for new. It is very cold on deck, but occasionally the sun comes out and it looks cheerful. Josiah and the elder girls are busily employed in throwing his cabin into theirs, and altering the position of their beds, by which they will obtain much more room. He has obtained a hammock from one of the sailors which is to be slung in the day cabin, and will be more airy for him, Lat 39'20" Lon 62'17".

Tuesday Augst 27th

A very rolling night for want of wind, but I slept well except from 3 to ½ past 4 this morning. The deck is taken up with mending the sails, and tightening the rigging, which becomes slack from the rolling. It is dangerous to walk as blocks have fallen and persons narrowly escaped. Mr Sproule has again had the side of his head touched, but not hurt by the fall of a heavy block which split by the tightening of the ropes.

106 Psalm 93:4

107 Possibly a reference to Psalm 65:7, "(He) stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves..."

108 Possibly "lit," which better fits the context.

109 Possibly refers to Ephesians 2:8 ("...by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of

God.") or 2 Timothy 1:9 ("(He) hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace.").

110 Isaiah 26:8

We are making scarcely any progress but the ship does not like most other things stand still when it does not go on, but frequently the motion is greater when it is doing little or nothing, this has been the case in the last 24 hours, but we hope the breeze will soon arise to waft us over our yet untraversed way. Lat 39'12" Lon 63'6".

Wednesday Augst 28th

The ship rolls so much that it is difficult to get into a position to write. O! this turning from side to side, how delightful will be a quiet resting place. The wind is now directly aft which causes her to roll, but she is going swiftly for which I am truly thankful. The Lord grant that we may have no more storms or calms, but quietly and speedily proceed to our destination; but his will be done. We are going now about 10 knots an hour which will make up for lost time yesterday. Josiah likes his hammock very much, and the alteration has made it much more comfortable, it being now quite a roomy apartment, little, if any less than our hall at Elm place. It is also an advantage as it causes him to get up early, he cannot lie in the day cabin as he did in his little berth.

Lat 39'28" Lon 67'42".

Thursday Augst 29th

Sailing rapidly, and have been all night, though not pleasantly, from her still rolling. It is cold, the sun being beclouded, except occasionally when it is pleasant winter weather. Mr Bow had yesterday a narrow escape from death. The fore top mast stay sail sheet threw him overboard, when in an instant he had the presence of mind to seize a rope and so saved himself from a watery grave, which must otherwise have been his lot. Thus have both our mates being [been?] in jeopardy.

The breeze is much the same as yesterday. Lat 39'40" Lon 72'39". Mr Sproule has kindly given me his fancy biscuits, which are so soft that they dissolve in the mouth immediately and are therefore just suitable to me, not being able to masticate at all. The hard biscuits I get powdered.

Friday Augst 30th

Sat up all night in consequence of the motion of the ship which was very great; and so it continues all day, occasioned by the height of the sea, which prevents my going on deck, a deprivation I have little known considering the length of the way.

The third mate lost his situation yesterday and the sailor who took the character of Neptune's wife in crossing the line is put in his place. Passed the islands of Amsterdam and St Pauls¹¹¹ about 2 oclock. Went on deck in the afternoon but obliged to leave soon owing to a gale coming on. Left Elizabeth and Margaret up with Mr Sproule, who held them up to the bulwarks to see the waves, but they

¹¹¹ Île Amsterdam and Île Saint-Paul are French possessions at about the same latitude as Melbourne, situated halfway

between Africa and Australia in the southern Indian Ocean. Several ships bound for Australia were wrecked there. See

http://www.discoverfrance.net/Colonies/St-Paul_Amsterdam.shtml.

could not continue long the lurches were so deep, and it was altogether so rough. We know what it is to mount up, and to go down to the depths.

Lat 40' Lon 77'30".

Saturday Augst 31st

A strong gale all night, which caused us to lurch very deeply sometimes, yet I slept well at intervals, when the noise ceased a little. Our two hatchways were battened down all night, the aft opened in the morning and the main at middle day when a heavy sea broke over with a fearful noise, whilst Julia was reading out to us in their cabin. We both instantly exclaimed "There's a mast gone!" when the water rushed in, in such a way as we had not seen before rolling from side to side knee deep, and Elizth being washed up and down in it. Some of us thought the bulwarks were gone, and anticipated the worst, but having through grace believed, knew that it would be well with us even if we should sink. Thomson and some of the male passengers came to our assistance and baled out the water in buckets as it did not run off as it should. It really was a wretched sight, pillows, books, work etc etc being washed from side, and we all kneeling upon boxes and beds. Mrs Loders little cousin was at the galley at the time frying pancakes, and was picked up by one of the sailors when floating near the porthole, the water then and there being waist high. When our cabin was emptied and swabed [swabbed] Mr Sproule kindly brought us his large cloak to use as a carpet, but we could not change our clothing owing to the bags having got wet.

No severe illness, no death, no material accident has occurred as yet.

Lat 39'20" Lon 82'42".

Lords day Sept. 1st

We have now commenced another month and the one in which I trust we shall reach our destination. The last night was quieter, but I did not sleep well owing to the bed being so uncomfortable. It is a fine day and I have walked more on deck than I have ever done in one day. The sailors are quite in spirits as we are going on steadily, and in our right course, all anticipating being anchored by this day fortnight. The Lord grant we may, and if it seem good to him without any more rough weather. He has been pleased that we should know in some measure the perils of the sea, and in them has mercifully preserved us from harm.

Good is the memory of his grace to me all my life long, my tongue shall speak aloud of his praise.¹¹² Blessed, for ever blessed be his holy name.¹¹³

Lat 39' Lon 86'52".

Monday Sept. 2nd

Another rough night, but I slept pretty well, with Louisa and all the hatchways being battened down did not hear the noise. Those who were awake, think the

112 Psalm 35:28

113 Psalm 72:19

motion was equal to any we have had. How pleasurable is the anticipation of being again steady, in a quiet home, with our eyes resting upon verdant and fruitful land. What will be our sensations when we first behold it? I shall have some difficulty to suppress mine I expect.

It is a fine day and I have walked on deck a good deal.

Josiah and Thomson are hanging out the clothes which got wet in our inundation.

Going on well, so as to justify the expectation of being at
by Saturday week if the Lord will.

The sailors are beginning to prepare for shore, by scraping the oars quite clean, and making a sail for the jolly boat.

Lat 39'11" Lon 91'4".

Tuesday Sept. 3rd

Slept again with Louisa, and pretty well except from 1 to 3 o'clock during which time I was very nervous. It was well that I was asleep at four when a heavy sea carried away the windows from the cabins of the Captain and Chief Mate, and nearly filled them with water, which poured down upon those below, of which numbers the Miss Clarkes formed a part.

The ship rolls so much that I cannot sit on deck to read or write, and have therefore walked most of the morning, but have not got warm, nor lost my depression of spirits which to day is very considerable.

The sailmaker and two others employed all day in picking the hair of the Captains mattress which was taken to pieces to be dried. The Captain will sleep tonight with Captain Dally. His wearing apparel & bed clothes, carpets, etc taken on the poop to be dried.

Lat 39'45" Lon 96'6".

Wednesday Sept. 4th

My spirits better and we are going on well, able to be on deck but not to walk, owing to the sailors occupying the room for their work in preparation for shore. Changed our tack this morning about 4 o'clock, so that our side is now windward which we like best.

The old Irish woman came into our cabin this afternoon in a state of great excitement, saying that she was about to be murdered, and begging protection. Mr Sproule thinks that from her close confinement never going on deck, and living chiefly on tea, she has become so highly nervous as to produce delirium. I hope she will not get worse and that when we get in, her son or sons will meet her, and that she may not be overjoyed which is sometimes the case. She has poor thing I doubt not suffered much from her neighbours.

Lat 40'18" Lon 100'14".

Thursday Sept. 5th

A most delightful day, the air is exhilarating and the sky and water blue and clear, with a stiff breeze which blows us rapidly along. Sometimes we lurch considerably, but to that we are now pretty well accustomed, though we do not like it better than at first. If the Lord will, we shall now be very soon at Adelaide (the boatswain says this day week) when we shall be quiet from rolling and lurching at any rate.

It is with difficulty I write at all to day, the wind blows my shawl in my way, and I cannot keep myself upright.

My position is behind the poop steps, at the mates cabin, of which as well as all the rest I hope shortly to take leave.

I never desired to quit any residence so much as the good "Stebonheath."

Lat 40'15" Lon 105'19".

Friday Sept. 6th

A very fine but cold day, after a comfortable night which we did not anticipate, having had a hard shower of rain while at supper, and with it a change of wind to the south west, from which quarter it is always roughest. About ½ past 12 o'clock we discovered a ship, which we bore down upon, and which we soon discovered to be "Oriental" which left Plymouth the day we reached it. I have not heard what passed between the captains only that they were all well and differ from us in Lon only two seconds. The sailors are quite in spirits with having overtaken her, she having started eleven days before us. We soon left her astern, looking as though she would go on her beam ends, 114 as no doubt we did, to those in her. Those who went on the forecastle could not remain, on account of its slanting so much.

Lat 45'5" Lon 110'6".

Saturday Sept. 7th

We left the "Oriental" out of sight last night, so that we in position are oriental and she occidental. 115 The breeze is not so strong, but we are still going on well, and are not likely to have a repetition of last Saturdays inundation.

I was not aware till this morning that Mr Finlanson was injured at that time, and has not been out of his berth since. He was down in the hold assisting with the water, when he was dashed among the barrels and hurt his spine. With that sea the ladder on the larboard side of the forecastle was carried away, and broken in two, so as not to be repaired. This is a loss to us, as it was much the easiest to ascend and descend, and we have not yet done with the forecastle.

114 Beam ends: The beams are the horizontal cross timbers of ships. This nautical phrase is a reference to the danger

of imminent capsizing if the beam ends were touching the water. See

<http://www.phrases.org.uk/meanings/on-your-beamends.html>.

115 A pun: The *Oriental* (meaning "eastern") becomes "occidental" (meaning "western") in relation to the *Stebonheath* –

now eastern, or oriental, since she has overtaken the *Oriental*.

Lat 39'45" Lon 115'.

Lords day Sept. 8th

Going on well to day, the wind has changed to the north west, and we have a good breeze, which if the Lord will, we shall be glad to have continued till we reach Adelaide, all expecting that event sometime this week.

I have been attempting for some days past to write some verses addressed to my fellow passengers, but do not know whether I shall carry it into effect.

The number of cape pigeons seen to day is very great.

I hope we shall be anchored, and have fewer passengers by this day week, which will be an advantage, but we shall not have the disposal of our time and place for some weeks longer.

The Lord in his mercy grant we may find some willing to abide by his word there, that it may not be a strange land to us.

Lat 39'16" Lon 118'.

Monday Sept. 9th

Going on well through the night, but the ship leans so very much this morning that it is quite unpleasant, and to my weak nerves fearful. I feel very excitable this morning which I do not know how to account for, as I have had a good night. It is still cold though the wind blows from the north, and we are also making towards it somewhat.

I cannot sit anywhere to day but close to the mates cabin, which I very much dislike, so I intend to remain below from dinner time, and try to do some work, as I have several things to do. The sea is not rough which is well for us, leaning as the vessel does. The water is always smooth here when the wind is in this quarter.

Lat. 38'35" Lon. 122'45".

Tuesday Sept. 10th

The sailors are employed in cleaning the paint on deck, which makes it unpleasant to be there. It is still cold, and the wind not so favourable. Preparations for port are now being extensively made. I hope we shall not be detained by adverse winds.

The doctor has requested Mr Daniel to write a testimonial for him for public signature.

Eight Albatroses have been caught to day on the poop. They are about the size of a large Goose, with very long wings, measuring upwards of 7 feet 116 from tip to tip. Mr Withers has a whole bird, which he is going to stuff, and when an opportunity offers to send to England. He has a taste for that kind of employment.

116 2.1 metres.

Lat 38'34" Lon 126'45".

Wednesday Sept. 11th

The wind has been adverse through the night, and yet we have made three degrees of longitude. It appears we had the tail of a heavy gale, in the night, which it is probable had the wind been fair, we should have had to encounter. He that sitteth in the heavens, and has gathered the winds in his fists,¹¹⁷ kept us back from running into it. We are now retracing what we have lost of latitude, which is 96 miles, and I hope we may yet be there on Saturday. Yesterday appeared very tedious, being obliged to remain below, the decks being wet, and the weather very unpleasant. It is cold to day when the sun is beclouded, which is pretty much the case all day, looking likely for rain.

Lat 40' Lon 129'45".

Thursday Sept. 12th

The motion of the ship is exceedingly disagreeable even to us old sailors, in consequence of her being closely hauled up to the wind. It was very fine when I first went on deck this morning the sky blue, the sun shining, and the air delightful, but it soon became beclouded, and the wind blew for about ½ an hour to me terrifically, but the Captain came down just after from the poop, and told me that that puff was as harmless as one of Moses and son's puffs. He seems quite in spirits, as do most on board to day.

Our bird cage as it is called was well cleaned the morning, it will soon I hope loose [lose?] some of its inhabitants, as the great number has added very much to our discomfort.

Lat 38'12" Lon 132'33".

Friday Sept. 13th

Had another sad night. It blew very hard, and the fearful noises, though I had heard them all before and I suppose worse, were too much for my weak nerves to repose under, and I could truly say with the man after God's own heart¹¹⁸ "Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, horror hath overwhelmed me."¹¹⁹ This however had reference only to the present, not at all to the future, my faith is unshaken; I know that I have eternal life for God has said it, and I believe him.

The presumptions¹²⁰ and infidel like manner in which most express themselves with regard to getting to Adelaide, is distressing to those who have through grace¹²¹ being [been?] led to fear him who sitteth in the heavens. How forbear-
¹¹⁷ Proverbs 30:4 (and again).

¹¹⁸ King David.

¹¹⁹ Psalm 55:5 (David was the author of this psalm).

¹²⁰ Possibly "presumptuous," which would seem to fit the context better.

¹²¹ A reference to Romans 3:23-24, "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus."

ing¹²² & long^{suffering}¹²³ is he, but the time will come when all who refuse to obey, shall be consumed in his wrath.¹²⁴

Lat 36'19" Lon 135'57".

I must devote another page for this eventful day. The sailors are busily employed in getting up the huge cable from the hold for the anchors; bending them, and getting the anchors over the bows.

About 3 PM the loom of Kangaroo Island was discovered by those accustomed to see land at a distance, and in about another hour our eyes hailed with delight a shore something like the one we had taken leave of, when we said farewell to our native land.

I will not attempt to describe the emotions produced by this sight; those know what it was, who like ourselves have been confined for three months in so small a space, and every successive day on going on deck beholding nought but water, water, water, water, the immensity of which must be seen to be comprehended.

Saturday Sept. 14th

All got up very early this morning expecting to have had Adelaide in sight, but the wind having become adverse we may not be there to day.

Thirteen weeks this morning we left Plymouth, and through the goodness of our God we now see that country where we expect to spend the remainder of our lives, and we now hope shortly to place our feet on Terra firme again.

We have seen a whale, many porpoises, and two wild ducks to day, have "bouted ship" several times, and we are at 3 PM fearful of not anchoring to night.

It is however very calm there is therefore nought to dread. I spoke to Mr Finlanson the first time to day. He told me he had no doubt that he had had three ribs broken, but he is getting better daily. It might have been a much more serious injury.

Lords day Sept. 15th

We anchored near the light ship in St Vincents Gulf between 6 & 7 AM. Shortly before we did so, the mail boat brought three men on board for the mail, which was contained in a box and two canvas bags. Soon after we had anchored the Pilot came on board and we are now quiet for the day.

To morrow morning we expect a steamer to tow us into Port, and I hope we shall be able to get to the pier that we may get acquainted with the interesting country now before us. We see a vast extent of bold undulating scenery, with extended plains, but not near enough to distinguish objects, behind a sandbank of about 8 miles length upon which grows a bushy wood, and gives it at this

122 Forebear: to refrain, hold back; patient.

123 The Old and New Testaments both have several references to God's longsuffering, meaning "long and patient endurance of injury or provocation."

124 A reference to God's judgement of the unrighteous, described in numerous places in both testaments.

distance the appearance of an English hedge. So have come to our first anchorage through the good hand of our God upon us.

Monday Sept. 16th

We expected to get into port before breakfast this morning, the anchor was weighed and the steam boat ready, but there was not water enough at the bar, so that we are again disappointed. The Captain and some of the cabin passengers have been on shore, and have brought back some beautiful specimens of wild flowers, shells etc. A boat came alongside in the afternoon, with bread, which was soon caught up at 6 d125 per loaf, and which we are informed are 2 d126 on shore. It is excellent bread and a treat indeed it is. Numbers have been fishing to day male and female, but our family have caught none. The Captain brought some good beef, salad, & vegetables, which induces us to think that we shall not only meet with plenty of room, but that which is good in it.

Tuesday Sept. 17th

We are still in the same place and the sailors think shall be for some days to come.

There are several gone on shore. The sons of Mrs Geelan the poor old Irish woman sent to say they were waiting for her on the beach, but she could not be induced to go, supposing it was a trick, and when the boat men saw her, they said they would not take her for a sovereign.

It is tiresome to remain here doing nothing, neither at sea or land and having no fresh provisions, but we must wait with patience and hope it will not be long.

Very little fish caught today, we had one at tea which was given us, it was like sole in appearance when cooked, and in taste, being white and firm. It is called the guard fish, it being supposed to guard mackerel. The Captain and many of the cabin passengers went on shore this morning in the cutter and the weather became so rough that they feared being lost.

Wednesday Sept. 18th

We have heard this morning that it is likely we shall get off at 2 PM, which is good news. One of Mrs Geelans sons and his wife came for her this morning and she has at length left this place, which to her has indeed been a place of suffering. I expect many will remain at Adelaide, who intended to go to Port Philip¹²⁷ the reports being so encouraging. I trust he who brought us forth will yet direct our steps, so that we shall not stay short of, or go beyond the place where he would have us pitch our tent,¹²⁸ there to know why we have come forth.

¹²⁵ sixpence (five cents in today's currency).

¹²⁶ tuppence (two pence) (about two cents in today's currency).

¹²⁷ Port Phillip was the original name for the colony of Victoria, as well as the bay on which it was centred.

¹²⁸ A reference to Deuteronomy 1:33, "the Lord your God...went in the way before you, to search you out a place to pitch your tents in..."

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When the Captain returned to day he brought three policemen to take Deady and Reed who remained on board to see whether we should get off; but after again weighing the anchor, and letting down the huge cable for towing the ship, we cannot go.

Thursday Sept. 19th

Heard the sailors again weighing anchor about ½ past 1 PM and the cooks fire cracking, but this was again to no purpose, and they are now lightening the ship to try if we can sail in this afternoon, which we earnestly hope may be the case.

Dined upon Australian beef which was very much relished.

The Captain came on board the steamer in the afternoon, which towed us into port, and we are now lying alongside the "Gypsy Queen" and amongst a quantity of shipping.

After tea a Mr Crump from Kingsland, near Leominster,¹²⁹ my native place, came below decks to enquire if there were any from Herefordshire, or Radnorshire¹³⁰ with us. He knows my cousin Bonham well, having earned many pounds of his money. He is a blacksmith and intended to go to Port Philip, but now seems disposed to stay.

Friday Sept. 20th

Mr Sproule and Mr Daniel gone on shore for the purpose of going to Adelaide, from which we are now distant 7 miles. Mr Sproule returned in the evening and kindly brought us a present of biscuits, and dates, with the intelligence that Mr Daniel would remain some time at the Baptist Minister's, who is the editor of the times. He came on Saturday at dinner time, with Mrs Allen who came to welcome me, and take as many of our young folks as I would spare. Mr Daniel, Miss Fowler, Emma, and Jimmy returned with her, in the afternoon and remained till Monday evening. Emma still continues there, and intends to do so while we remain here, and Josiah and Miss Fowler are going to day (Tuesday) I hope we shall all go on shore soon, but none others have yet gone.

Wednesday Sept. 25th

The "Lysander" which left Plymouth the day we did, took the place of the "Tory" alongside of us this morning. One of her sailors was killed by the falling of a boom, and they had six births, and three deaths, during the passage, which in its length differed little from ours.

The "Tory" left us yesterday, and she takes our mail to Madras,¹³¹ from whence it will go overland to England. I hope it will have a safe and quick passage. A gentleman who has been in the colonies for many years, who came on board this morning & with whom Mr Daniel has spoken, says for pleasantness there is no
¹²⁹ Pronounced 'Lemster.' See <http://www.leominster.co.uk/>.

¹³⁰ One of thirteen historic and former administrative counties of Wales. It was abolished in 1974, with its area being

transferred to the new county of Powys. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radnorshire>.

¹³¹ Now Chennai, capital city of the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. See <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chennai>.

comparison between this and Port Philip, with which he is well acquainted, particularly Geelong.

The "Princess Helena" came into harbour this afternoon, she left Plymouth a week before we did, and had a good voyage, but lost her top mast, and part of her bulwarks¹³² in a sudden squall, they had no gale.

Thursday afternoon Josiah came, expressly sent by Mr Allen, to advise Mr Daniel to go to Gawler Town¹³³ to see something likely to suit him with which he complied, and went in the evening to Mr Allens, and the next day to Gawler Town with Mr Sproule.

On Saturday evening Mr Tuff who had been to Adelaide, brought a note from Mr Sproule enclosing some daisies, and also informed us that the trip to Gawler Town was ineffective.

Monday Sept. 30th

Josiah took some papers to the office for Bath, Abergavenny & Sudbury.

Wednesday Oct. 9th

I went with Mr Daniel to Mr Allens where I remained till Saturday.

Lords day Oct. 13th

About 10 PM it became squally and towards evening blew a heavy gale, the night being a most terrific one. The barque "Grecian" from London, containing about 20 passengers, struck between the lightship, and the Northarm,¹³⁴ at 5 PM and became a total wreck. All lives saved, except one passenger, a Mr Leslie. Unmarried.

The "William Stephenson" went on her beam ends, the Princess Helena dragged her anchors, and we grounded astern, but floated with the tide. It was certainly a dreadful night, the inhabitants say they have seldom if ever known such a one. We could not sleep though safely anchored, the noise and motion were so great.

Anderson went on shore in the morning, and in returning at night fell between the boat and the ship and broke his leg in such a way as to render it necessary for him to lie on his back for two months, and refrain from work at least for five. Our doctor took him to the hospital. Several of our sailors have ran away, which it seems is generally the case in port.

Mr Daniel has seemed inclined to remain here ever since he visited at Mr Allens, and I and the elder children have said as much against it as we think we should; we therefore now leave it to take its course, and certainly after this appalling night feel less inclined than ever for sea. The Lord direct our way, and may we¹³² Probably bulwarks.

¹³³ Now Gawler. Located about 40 km north of Adelaide, it was planned by Colonel William Light, who planned Adelaide.

Gawler was possibly the first country town in South Australia. See

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gawler,_South_Australia and

<http://www.gawler.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=418>.

¹³⁴ The North Arm of the Port river. Garden Island in North Arm is now the site of a ships' graveyard. See

http://www.environment.sa.gov.au/heritage/ships_graveyards/pt_adelaide.html#garden_is.

soon see his hand, in leading us forth, and settling us where, we shall be able to spend the remainder of our lives in his worship and service, to our own comfort and joy, and the comfort and joy of others.

Lords Day Oct. 20th

Mr Sproule came to inform us that Mr Daniel had taken a house for 12 months, situated about 2½ miles from Adelaide at Prospect Village, near the Windmill¹³⁵ North Adelaide. This we were really glad to hear, we have become so completely tired of the ship, and especially on this day when we cannot even read together. O how I do long again to hear God's word, have I not proved what it is to renew my strength thereby? Has not my mouth been satisfied with good things; so that my youth has been renewed like the eagle's?¹³⁶ It has; and the Lord knows I did not run away from the ordinances of his house, but earnestly besought him if it were not his will, he would not suffer us to go, having no will of my own in it; I therefore with confidence look to him to supply all my needs, according to his riches in glory, by Christ Jesus.¹³⁷

Friday Oct. 25th

Took leave of the good ship "Stebonheath" after residing in her five months all but two days.

We are sorry Mr Daniel has taken the house for 12 months, which he would not have done, but that by the week the rent was 20/-¹³⁸ and for 12 months 14/-¹³⁹ per week. We find it much too small and otherwise inconvenient.

Monday Nov. 18th

Josiah and Miss Fowler were married, and commenced business in Rundle St. Adelaide, in which we are to have a share, our capital being employed therein. Emma went from Mr Allens to Mr David Randall's Walkerville before we left the ship, where she still continues, and seems likely to remain, which is well for us, the house being so small. As it is three sleep in the sitting room, Elizth & Margaret on the sofa with 3 chairs attached, and Jimmy on the table. Still wanting room!

Wednesday Janry 1st, 1851

I was greatly delighted on going down to Rundle Street to have put into my hands a letter from Mr Kidner, enclosing one from our beloved bishop which he had obtained from the Post Office Melbourne.

¹³⁵ Possibly a hotel. There is a Windmill Hotel on Main North Road, Prospect.

¹³⁶ Psalm 103:5

¹³⁷ Philippians 4:19

¹³⁸ 20 shillings (£1) (\$2 in today's currency).

¹³⁹ 14 shillings (\$1.40 in today's currency).

Mr Kidner informed us that Mr Lush was very much disappointed at our not going on, as they had been making preparations for Mr Daniel, in the full expectations of him by the "Stebonheath".

Our dear bishop informed me that the teaching he should forward to his eldest son at Sydney from whom I could immediately obtain it. I therefore wrote to him the next day.

Thursday Janry 2nd

Wrote also to Mr Kidner, and to our dear bishop to whom I sent Mr Kidner's letter.

Mr Daniel seems now sorry he has remained here after what he has heard of Port Philip, but I cannot but think that our stay was ordered by him who sitteth in the heavens, and knows the end from the beginning¹⁴⁰ and will in his own time shew it us.

¹⁴⁰ Isaiah 46:9-10

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APPENDIX 1

The Daniel Families

James Daniel (aged 47 at time of embarkation)

Birth: 20 Nov 1802 Monmouthshire, Wales

Death: 24 Jun 1874 Morphett Vale, South Australia

Burial: 26 Jun 1874 (71) Morphett Vale Scotch Cemetery, plot 109

Margaret Daniel (nee Wyke) (49 or 50)

Birth: 1800 Leominster, Hereford, England

Death: 21 Jul 1885 South Australia

Burial: 21 Jul 1885 (85)1 Morphett Vale Scotch Cemetery, plot 109

Children:

1. Josiah Wyke Daniel (23, celebrated 24th birthday during the voyage)

Birth: 12 Jun 1826 Abergavenny, Wales

Death: 13 Jun 1891 Adelaide, South Australia

Spouse: Mary Jane Fowler

Marriage: 18 Nov 1850 Adelaide, South Australia

Children: George (1851-1890)

Emily (1853-)

Edith (1855-1857)

Arthur (1857-1937)

Cecilia (1859-)

Charles (1861-1898)

Elvina (1863-)

Minerva (1864-)

Florence (1866-)

Mary (1868)

Frank (1869-1889)

2. Christiana Sarah Daniel (22)

Birth: 30 Dec 1827 Abergavenny, Wales

Death: 23 Oct 1915

3. Emma Caldwell Daniel (21)

Birth: 16 Mar 1829 Abergavenny, Wales

Death: 13 Sep 1919 Morphett Vale, South Australia

Burial: 7 Sep 1919 (91)2 Morphett Vale Scotch Cemetery, plot 110

Spouse: Unmarried

4. Louisa Margaret Daniel (20)

Birth: 12 Apr 1830 Swansea, Glamorgan, Wales

Death: 3 Jun 1903 Morphett Vale, South Australia

1 Death and burial dates are the same, which seems unlikely.

2 Burial date is earlier than death date; one or both must be wrong.

Margaret Daniel's Diary

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Burial: 5 Jun 1903 (73) Morphett Vale Scotch Cemetery, plot 109

Spouse: Unmarried

5. Julia Edwards Daniel (18)

Birth: 11 Nov 1831 Swansea, Glamorgan, Wales

Death: 1 Dec 1913 Morphett Vale, South Australia

Burial: 2 Dec 1913 (83) Morphett Vale Scotch Cemetery, plot 110

Spouse: Unmarried

6. Mary Ann Walford Daniel (16 or 17)

Birth: 1833 Swansea, Glamorgan, Wales

Death: 22 Sep 1898 Rose Park, South Australia

Spouse: Bonham Caldwell Evans
Marriage: 14 Jun 1854 Finnis Vale, Second Valley, South Australia
Children: Alice (1855-1943)
Stanley (1856-1941)
William (1859~1938)
Clara (1859-1907)
Emily (1861-1862)
Bonham (1862-1862)
Henry (1865-1890)
Ellen (1866-1866)
Laura (1867-1938)
Walter (1868-1948)
Julia (1876-1877)
Beatrice (1877-1877)
Bonham (1878-1878)
7. Mary Emily (Emily) Daniel (15)
Birth: 27 Apr 1835 Swansea, Glamorgan, Wales
Death: 30 May 1914 Port Augusta, South Australia
Spouse: Thomas Young
Marriage: 24 Aug 1859 Morphett Vale, South Australia
Children: Emily (1860-1863)
Florence (1863-1951)
Edward (1867-1887)
Emmaline (1869-1956)
Lilian (1871-1966)
Sidney (1878-1955)
8. Elizabeth Rutter Daniel (12)
Birth: Mar 1838 Swansea, Glamorgan, Wales
Death: 12 Aug 1904 Thackaringa, NSW
Spouse: Augustus Highmore Forder
Marriage: 1 Sep 1864 Morphett Vale, South Australia
Children: Clarence (1865-1946)
Elizabeth (1866-)
Isabel (1867-1970)
Sydney (1869-1947)
Annie (1871-)
Sarah (1871-)
Charles (1872-1949)
Arthur (1874-1969)
Alice (1876-1884)
Rosalie (1881-1976)
(twins)
9. James Clarke Daniel (9, celebrated 10th birthday during the voyage)
Birth: 21 Aug 1840 Walcot, Bath, Somerset
Death: 14 Aug 1916 Blackwarry, Victoria
Spouse 1: Mary Ann Dobinson (1840-1884)
Marriage: 27 Aug 1863 North Adelaide, South Australia
Children: William (1864-1890)
Charles (1866-1945)
James (1868-1946)
Margaret (1871-1939)
Louisa (1874-1945)

Samuel (1878-1950)
Arthur (1878-1954)
Spouse 2: Ellen Jane Dale (1852-1887)
Marriage: 1886
Children: Lillian (1887 stillborn)
Spouse 3: Marion Buchanan (1857-1951)
Children: Archibald (1889-1970s)
Elsie (1892-)
David (1894-)
Nellie (1898-)
Walter (1901-)
10. Margaret Wyke Ann Daniel (7)
Birth: Mar 1843 Walcot, Bath, Somerset
Death: 1 Feb 1898
Spouse: Thomas John Preston
Marriage: 29 Mar 1861
Children: Edith (1862-)
Herbert (1863-)
Nellie
Grace
Leslie (1869-)
Frank
Lillian
Lionel
(twins)

APPENDIX 2

The Voyage

Route and duration

'Prior to the 1850s it was common for ships sailing to Australia to stop en route for water and provisions, and many passengers were thankful for the break made at Cape Town. But for most of those travelling out by sail during the period of mass migration, the voyage was made non-stop... usually entirely out of sight of land.'¹ This was the case for the 1850 voyage of the *Stebonheath*. Hassam describes the route taken by most sailing vessels, and followed fairly closely by the *Stebonheath*:

Ships from Britain sailed south for the Canary Islands and the Cape Verde Islands off the west coast of Africa, and then sought the northeast trade winds to take them across the Atlantic in the direction of Brazil, passing through the equator and the notorious calms of the doldrums on the way. Once in the latitude of Rio de Janeiro, they swung southeast in search of westerly winds that would carry them in a huge arc, the so-called Great Circle, down towards the icebergs of the Antarctic and then back up to Australia, passing several hundred miles south of the Cape of Good Hope. The clipper ships could make the voyage out in sixty or seventy days, but some of the older ships, lacking their speed, took twice as long, and the average time an emigrant in a sailing ship of the period spent at sea was about one hundred days.²

In taking 93 days Plymouth to Adelaide, the *Stebonheath* was around average, although she was faster than other ships. Margaret notes that they overtook other vessels, and the *Lysander*, which left Plymouth on the same day, arrived in Adelaide ten days after the *Stebonheath*.

There's no doubt Margaret would have uttered a loud 'Amen!' to Hassam's comment that, 'After three months out of sight of land, emigrants were immensely grateful to the continent of Australia just for being there.'³ Her diary entry for Friday September 13 describes the sighting of Kangaroo Island and she writes,

I will not attempt to describe the emotions produced by this sight; those know what it was, who like ourselves have been confined for three months in so small a space, and every successive day on going on deck beholding nought but water, water, water, water, the immensity of which must be seen to be comprehended.

One can almost see the tears of joy and relief streaming down her face.

¹ Hassam, 8

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Onboard life

Most sailing ships of the time carried three classes of passengers: cabin (or cuddy – the first-class saloon), intermediate, and steerage. The differences were defined by the price the passenger could afford to pay for the passage, and to some extent their social standing in Victorian England. The price paid determined the standard of accommodation provided on the ship. Hassam argues that the space an emigrant occupied on a ship was 'not just a physical space marked out by decks and bulkheads, it was a social space that aligned the passenger with a certain...class.'⁴

The cabin passengers were accommodated to the rear of the ship, on the deck above the steerage passengers. They had private accommodation in cabins. 'The first class includes all the poop and stern cabins between decks. Such passengers take their meals with the captain and officers in the cuddy, and are provided with unlimited fresh meat, poultry, beer, wine, &c. The rate of payment varies according to the table furnished and size of the cabin, ranging from £40 to £70 each person; families being charged less.'⁵

Some ships provided an intermediate class of accommodation. This was situated amidships, either in a deck-house or below deck on the same level as the steerage passengers. From Margaret's descriptions this accommodation on the *Stebonheath* was provided between decks. These passengers were 'intermediate' because they had cabins but were organised into messes like the steerage passengers (these messes are probably what Margaret refers to on several occasions). 'Intermediate passages cost from £20 to £30, according to dieting and size of ship. The accommodation for those consists of cabins built up in a temporary manner between decks, about 8 feet by 6 feet, with four or six sleeping berths in each, though four is ample for the space. The dieting of this class is fixed according to a certain scale, consisting of beef, pork, preserved fresh meat, flour, biscuits, raisins, rice, pease, preserved potatoes, tea, coffee, sugar, butter, &c. with three quarts of water daily. Cooking and mess utensils, and sometimes bedding, are included in the above charges.'⁶

Steerage, or third-class, passengers paid the cheapest fares and occupied the lower decks of the ship, those on or immediately above the waterline. Steerage accommodation was usually a communal dormitory, with two tiers of bunks lining the sides of the deck and a dining table running along the centre-line of the ship between them. 'The steerage is the lowest class, and for these only sleeping places are put up on either side of the lower deck; though for married people separate berths are erected. Bedding is sometimes added, and always cooking and mess utensils. The scale of dietary for these differs only from the former in being a little less in quality.'⁷

According to Hassam, there was a social hierarchy on board. Second-class passengers were not permitted in the first-class saloon, intermediate passengers

4 Hassam, 110

5 Capper, 100

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

were excluded from both first- and second-class areas, and steerage passengers were kept out of all cabin-class accommodation—although those of the upper classes were free to ‘visit’ the lower class areas. Only the seamen were more restricted than steerage passengers as they were prohibited from all passenger accommodation. ‘An emigrant travelling in cabin accommodation could spend three months at sea without meeting an emigrant travelling steerage.’⁸

The poop deck was the highest deck at the ship’s stern, with the captain’s cabin beneath it. The ship’s wheel and compass were located on the poop, so it was the focal point of a ship’s command structure—whoever had command of the movement of the ship, whether the captain or the officer of the watch, could be found on the poop deck. On some ships access was restricted to certain passenger classes, with steerage passengers strictly forbidden.

These class distinctions don’t appear to have been so defined on board the *Stebonheath*. Although the Daniels were intermediate passengers, with their accommodation shared by several families who had paid to reserve and partition off the amidships area (rather disparagingly referred to by other passengers as the ‘bird cage’), Margaret talks about cabin passengers as if the two groups socialised regularly, and several times refers to sailors visiting the family’s cabin. She also mentions watching events from the poop, and the officers and sailors seem to have treated the family with much respect.

Margaret also writes about the forecastle. This was the upper deck of the ship located at the bow, forward of the foremast. It may also have included the superstructure that provided the crew’s quarters. This appears to have been open to all passengers.

The Immigrant’s Guide to Australia, extracts from which are available online (see below), gives a detailed and interesting insight into how migrants should prepare for the voyage to Australia, what to expect on board the ship (and what would be expected of them), and what to expect once they had arrived in Australia.

A 21st century perspective

Until I read Margaret’s diary I had little idea how passengers on the old sailing ships fared. Her descriptions of the crowding (there were at least 190 people on board the ship—see Appendices 6 and 7), the noise, the motion of the ship, the soakings from rogue waves, the dangers from falling rigging, the vastness of the ocean, the frustration of being becalmed and the thrill of making good speed, the emotions generated by being out of sight of land for weeks on end—not to mention the extremes of weather—paint a vivid picture of the highs and lows experienced by a first-time maritime traveller. It’s a picture of a voyage that I’m not sure I would have survived.

I can’t help wondering what the Daniels and the other passengers on the *Stebonheath* would think if they were teleported onto the *Independence of the Seas*, at present one of the largest passenger ships in existence. At 339 metres

8 Hassam, 116

she is more than seven times the length of the *Stebonheath* (which was about the length of two and a third cricket pitches), and at 60 metres abeam she is wider than the *Stebonheath* was long. Her advanced design makes her so stable that passengers are hardly aware that she is moving, even in heavy seas. With swimming pools, an ice-skating rink, a miniature golf course, a shopping mall, restaurants, and modern technology she would seem fantastical. Her fifteen decks, more than 4,000-passenger capacity and her 22-knots cruising speed would seem impossible. More than that, imagine what Margaret would have thought had someone told her that not too far in the future ships of the air carrying several hundred people would be flying through that immense sky she observed—or that, even more incredibly, men and women would work in space and even travel to the moon, about which she wrote, “Witnessed the rising of the moon from the forecastle which was very beautiful.”

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Accessed 12 Jan 2011.

APPENDIX 3

Stebonheath Specifications

Description: 3-mast ship rig, class A11

Tonnage: 926 tons (o.m.) [941 tonnes], 1014 tons (o.m.) [1030 tonnes] (1848);

1013/1015 tons [1029/1031 tonnes];

926/1015 tons [941/1031 tonnes].

Built: Hull, 1842-3

Dimensions: Length 151.0 ft [46.0 m], breadth 36.7 ft [11.2 m], depth 23.2 ft [7.0 m].

or length 145.3 ft [44.3 m], breadth 33.0 ft [10.1 m], depth 23.3 ft [7.1 m]

(Parsons, 1988).

Repairs: F.&YM. 45, 48, 59, 65;

ptF.&S.63;

pt 65. Srprs 48, 54, 57, 65, 66;

pt.ND. 54;

ptNTSds 57;

WptF.&S. 65;

D.F.&d 65;

ptKlsn 66.

Home Port: London (1848-1861);

Liverpool (1861 to 1866-67).

Intention: London - Bombay (1848);

London - Halifax (1848);

London (1860-1861);

Falsmouth2 - South America (1861);

Liverpool Coaster (1866-67).

Registered: S.S. 57 - 5yrs, 63 - 7yrs.

Owner: T Ward (1848);

Wilson & Co., London (1848 to 1866-67).

Master: Cromarty (1848);

T Austen (1848);

John Sargent (1849 to 1855);

Connell (1860-1861);

N Heath (1861);

Sopwith (1866-67).

Surgeon Supt: John Kidd (1851);

James Kilgour (1852 -1853

Source: <http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/fh/passengerlists/1850Stebonheath-ship%20details.gif>

Accessed 10 February 2011.

1 Lloyd's Register rating. Hulls were graded on a lettered scale (A being the top), and fittings (masts, rigging, and other

equipment) were graded by number (1 being the top). Thus A1 was the top classification.

See

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lloyd's_Register.

2 Possibly Falmouth

APPENDIX 4

Ships and Rigging

The *Stebonheath* was a fully rigged ship: the specifications (see Appendix 3) say, “3-mast ship rig”, and Margaret refers to terms that fit that description. She also refers to barques sighted during the voyage. I’ve included a photo of the clipper *Cutty Sark* to illustrate the type of rigging the *Stebonheath* had.

Fully Rigged Ship

Had at least three masts, all square-rigged. Each mast had three parts, the lower mast, topmast and topgallant mast (three yards, or spars, from which sails were hung).

The bowsprit extended forward from the vessel's prow and provided an anchor point for the forestay(s), allowing the foremast to be stepped further forward on the hull.

Fore-and-aft sails known as jibs hung from the stays helped to provide speed and manoeuvrability, and the basic bowsprit was lengthened with a jibboom. Staysails could be set between the masts. Outboard of the square sails might be set studdingsails, and above the royals (uppermost sails) might be set sails with such names as skysail, moonraker, Trust to God, or Angel Whispers.¹

Barque

A barque (or bark) was usually a three-masted vessel, the fore and main masts square rigged and the mizzen or after mast rigged fore and aft. Four-masted
1 Illustration and some text courtesy of The Nova Scotia Museum, Department of Tourism and Culture,

<http://museum.gov.ns.ca/mma/atoz/rigs.html>. See also <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bowsprit>
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barques were relatively common on the oceans. The barque was a popular rig, and more of this type were built than all other square rigs combined.²

The Cutty Sark

While the *Cutty Sark* is much larger than the *Stebonheath* was (beam and depth were almost identical, but she was 85m long against the *Stebonheath's* 46m) the rigging is similar. In this photo the sections of the masts, as well as the complex system of ropes and blocks can be seen clearly. The *Cutty Sark's* rigging has over 16 km of rope. The photo is mine, taken during a visit in 1986.

2 Illustration and text courtesy of The Nova Scotia Museum, Department of Tourism and Culture,

<http://museum.gov.ns.ca/mma/atoz/rigs.html>

APPENDIX 5

Passenger list and testimonials

List of passengers

It is fortunate for family historians that the editor of *The South Australian Register* sent a reporter, tasked with obtaining a list of passengers, to the docks whenever a ship arrived. The *Stebonheath* was not overlooked. This list was published in the Register on Monday, September 16, 1850. Spelling errors have not been corrected.

SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

ARRIVED.

Sunday, September 15 - The ship ***Stebonheath***, 1030 tons, Sargent, master, from London 1st June, and Plymouth 16th June.

Passengers - For Adelaide and Port Phillip: Dr. Oakley, Mr and Mrs Sears and Family, Mr and Mrs Bowler and family and infant born on board, and Maria Shareliffe (servant), Mr and Mrs Abbott, Mr R. Snow, Mr John Dalley, Mrs Ruddle, three Misses Ruddle, Mr G. Ruddle, Mr C. Cripps, Mr John Curr, and Miss Fox, in the cabin; Judith Geelan, John Harvey, Thomas and George Berriman, Thomas Bedford, William Lewin, Charles Lacey wife and son, George and Emma Adams, John Davey, Clement Warren, Keragon Barnwell, Edward Harrison, W. O. Maro, George Blake, Richard Boxer and four sons, Robert Barber, Eliza and Charlotte Clark, Henry Coward wife and child, James Crook wife and child, Robert Coombs, James Clark, William Collins, Sophia Dannes, James Daniels wife and Ten Children, Mary Fowler, George Fincham, Henry Falconer, Eric Finlayson, Louisa and Fanny Fonyere, Henry Goodland, William Hurn and wife, Charlotte Gill, Henry Hurst, James Hoolton, William Harris wife and Five Children, John Harper, Francis Hawley, Sophia Hewans, Harriet Hardingham and Four Children, George Ireland, Charles Lick, Josiah Kidner wife and three Children, William Kearsland wife and two children, Thomas Linton, B. Lanceter, Arthur Morris wife and Seven Children, John Martin and wife, John Mortimer wife and child, James Menitt wife and two children, James Orchard, John Rolls, George Reynolds, William Stevens, William Sutton and two daughters, Robert Sprowl, John Sawyer, Jane Sullivan, Alexander Taylor, Jane Tuff wife and two children, John Walters, George Fraser, E. Withers wife and two children, Luke White and wife, W. Wood, Geo. Whittington, and Elizabeth Douglass, in the intermediate.

Testimonials to Captain John Sargent

Both letters were published in *The South Australian Register* on Saturday, September 21, 1850. Spelling errors have not been corrected.

1. The Cabin passengers:

To Captain Sargent, Ship "*Stebonheath*"

We, the undersigned, Cuddy Passengers per ***Stebonheath***, feel much pleasure in expressing our sincere thanks to Captain John Sargent for his unremittingly kind and courteous attention during our voyage.

That we have reached our destination without accident or sickness is, in our opinion, of itself sufficient evidence of the vigilance and care paid by him and his officers to the management of the vessel; at the same time, we cannot do justice to our feelings without this general acknowledgment of our opinions previous to separating.

Adelaide, 16 Sept., 1850

Jno. Sears

Elizabeth Sears

Emily Sears

Thos. W. Sears
H. E. Sears
James Bowler
Helen Bowler, for self and six
children
John Dalley
Richard Snow
Clarke Abbott
Matilda Abbott
Catherine L. Fox
George Ruddle
Elizabeth Ruddle
Charles Cripps
Matilda Ruddle
Emily Ruddle
Mary Ann Ruddle
John Curr

2. The intermediate passengers:

To Captain Zargent,

Ship **Stebonheath**, Port Adelaide,
16th September, 1850.

Sir - Having completed our voyage from London to Adelaide, and being desirous, before separation, of acknowledging your uniform kindness, attention, and urbanity during the passage, we beg thus jointly to tender you our best thanks, which feeling we would, through you, convey also to your officers.

Expressing our unlimited confidence in your skill as a commander, and our admiration of the rectitude, combined with gentleness, by which you governed as a disciplinarian; and with our sincerest wishes for your future welfare and happiness,

We are, Sir

Your obliged servants,

Chaeles Locke

Clement Warren

Henry Goodland

P. Barnwell

R. H. Barber

Geo. S. Ward

R. Coombes

Wm. Lewis

W. P. James Meritt

James Clarke

T.M. Perriman

G.W. Perriman

W. Wood

James Tuff

Henry Laughton Hurst

George R. Fincham

James Crook

William Hurn

J. Falconer

Alfred Taylor

John Gardner Rolls
George Ireland
John Martin
George Whittington
John Davey
William Harris
Henry Coward
Francis Hawley
James Daniels and family
J.W. Daniel
Thomas Hinton
Edward Lewis
William Lewis
John S. Mortimer
Edward Imlason
Arthur Morris And Family
John Triorder Walters
George Reynolds
James Orchard
William Collins
Thomas Hackney
Luke White
William Stevens
W. O. Mara
Robert Sproute
Joseph Kidner
E. Withers
Richard Boser
Henry Hacton
John Harper
William Sutton
W. Keartland
Thomas Bedford
G. F. Sawyer
Alfred E. Hawsen
G. Adams

References

Coward, Graham. 2004. "Stebonheath." in *Cowards, Kings and Crooks: A Family History*.
<http://www.cowardfamilyhistoryaustralia.info/steb.htm>. Accessed 29 January 2011.

APPENDIX 6

Who was aboard the Stebonheath?

This table is an attempt to reconcile the three sources of names available to me—the passenger list, the lists of signatories to the testimonial letters, and the diary. There are discrepancies between the passenger list and the testimonial lists, and Margaret mentions in the diary people who don't appear on any of the lists. Moreover, it's not clear whether there were steerage passengers on the ship (these typically were not mentioned in passenger lists).

Nevertheless, a tally of those listed here—counting Lader/Loder as the same name (a total of two people), Harrison/Hawson as two names, and Finlayson/Imlason as two names (see footnotes 4, 5 and 6) gives a passenger total of 174.

Who was aboard the Stebonheath?

CABIN PASSENGERS INTERMEDIATE PASSENGERS

SURNAME

(if known) Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

PEOPLE NAMED

BY MARGARET

(some of these

don't appear on

the passenger list

but I've assumed

that they are

passengers)

The passenger list was published in *The South Australian Register* on Monday, September 16, 1850

The testimonial letters were published in *The South Australian Register* on Saturday, September 21, 1850

Clarke Abbott

ABBOTT Mr and Mrs Abbott

Matilda Abbott

ADAMS George and

Emma Adams G. Adams

ANDERSON Anderson 1

BARBER Robert Barber R. H. Barber

BARNWELL Keragon Barnwell P. Barnwell

BEDFORD Thomas Bedford Thomas Bedford

T. M. Perriman *

BERRIMAN Thomas and

George Berriman * G. W. Perriman *

BLAKE George Blake

BOSER (see

BOXER)

James Bowler

BOWLER

Mr and Mrs Bowler

and family and infant
born on board Helen Bowler, for
self and six children
Mrs Bowler and
new daughter
BOXER Richard Boxer and
four sons * Richard Boser *
CLARK Eliza and
Charlotte Clark
Miss C. Clarke
the Misses Clarke
CLARKE James Clark James Clarke *
1 Margaret gives no indication as to who this is, and the context doesn't give any clues. It's
possible he's a sailor and not a passenger.

Who was aboard the *Stebonheath*?

CABIN PASSENGERS INTERMEDIATE PASSENGERS

SURNAME

(if known) Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

PEOPLE NAMED

BY MARGARET

(some of these

don't appear on

the passenger list

but I've assumed

that they are

passengers)

COLLINS William Collins William Collins

COOMBS Robert Coombs * R. Coombes * Mr Coombs

COWARD Henry Coward

wife and child Henry Coward Mr Coward

CROOK James Crook wife

and child James Crook

CRIPPS Mr C. Cripps Charles Cripps

CURR Mr John Curr John Curr

DALLEY Mr John Dalley John Dalley Captain Dally *

James Daniel 2 and

DANIEL family

James Daniel 2

wife and Ten

Children J. W. Daniel 3

All

DANNES Sophia Dannes

DAVEY John Davey John Davey

DAWES Miss Dawes

DOUGLASS Elizabeth
Douglass
FALCONER Henry Falconer J. Falconer
FINCHAM George Fincham George R. Fincham
FINLAYSON Eric Finlayson * Mr Finlanson *
FONYERE Louisa and Fanny
Fonyere
FOWLER Mary Fowler Miss Fowler
FOX Miss Fox Catherine L. Fox
FRASER George Fraser
GEELAN Judith Geelan
Mrs Geelan (*also*
referred to as Irish
widow and Irish
woman)
GIBSON Miss Fowler's Aunt
Gibson
GILL Charlotte Gill
GOODLAND Henry Goodland Henry Goodland
HACKNEY Thomas Hackney
HACTON Henry Hacton
2 Spelling corrected
3 Josiah Wyke Daniel signed separately

Who was aboard the *Stebonheath*?

CABIN PASSENGERS INTERMEDIATE PASSENGERS
SURNAME

(if known) Name on
passenger list

Signature on
testimonial letter

Name on
passenger list

Signature on
testimonial letter

PEOPLE NAMED
BY MARGARET

(some of these
don't appear on
the passenger list
but I've assumed
that they are
passengers)

HARDINGHAM

Harriet
Hardingham and
Four Children

HARPER John Harper John Harper

HARRIS William Harris wife
and Five Children William Harris

HARRISON Edward Harrison Mr Harrison

HARVEY John Harvey

HAWLEY Francis Hawley Francis Hawley

HAWSEN Alfred E. Hawsen 4

HEWANS Sophia Hewans

HINTON (see

LINTON)

HOOLTON James Hoolton

HURN William Hurn and

wife William Hurn

HURST Henry Hurst Henry Laughton

Hurst Mr Hurst

IMLASON Edward Imlason 5

IRELAND George Ireland George Ireland

KEARSLAND

William Kearsland

wife and two

children *

W. Keartland *

KIDNER

Josiah Kidner wife

and three Children

*

Joseph Kidner * Mr Kidner

LACEY Charles Lacey

wife and son

LADER Mariane Lader 6

LANCETER B. Lanceter

LEWIN William Lewin * Wm. Lewis *

Edward Lewis

LEWIS

William Lewis

LICK Charles Lick * Chaeles Locke * Mr Locks *

LINTON Thomas Linton * Thomas Hinton *

4 Edward Harrison did not sign the testimonial and Alfred E. Hawsen is not on the passenger list. Could they be the same person?

5 Eric Finlayson did not sign the testimonial and Edward Imlason is not on the passenger list. Could they be the same person?

6 See footnote 6 on next page.

Who was aboard the *Stebonheath*?

CABIN PASSENGERS INTERMEDIATE PASSENGERS

SURNAME

(if known) Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

PEOPLE NAMED

BY MARGARET

(some of these

don't appear on
the passenger list
but I've assumed
that they are
passengers)
Little smoker the little smoker
LODER
Mrs Loder (and
her "little
cousin") 6
MARO W. O. Maro * W. O. Mara *
MARTIN John Martin and
wife John Martin
MENITT James Menitt wife
and two children * W. P. James Meritt *
MONSIR Caleb Monsir
MORRIS
Arthur Morris wife
and Seven
Children
Arthur Morris And
Family
MORTIMER John Mortimer
wife and child John S. Mortimer
NEVILLE Mr Neville
OAKLEY Dr. Oakley the doctor / the
surgeon
ORCHARD James Orchard James Orchard
REYNOLDS George Reynolds George Reynolds
ROLLS John Rolls John Gardner Rolls Mr Rolls
George Ruddle
Elizabeth Ruddle
Matilda Ruddle
Emily Ruddle
RUDDLE
Mrs Ruddle
three Misses Ruddle
Mr G. Ruddle
Mary Ann Ruddle
SAWYER John Sawyer * G. F. Sawyer *
Jno. Sears
Elizabeth Sears
Emily Sears
Thos. W. Sears
SEARS Mr and Mrs Sears
and Family
H. E. Sears
Mr Sears
SHARELIFFE
Maria Shareliffe
(Bowler family
servant)

SNOW Mr R. Snow Richard Snow

6 Lader and Loder: possibly the same name. If so, Mariane could be Mrs Lader/Loder's daughter or her "little cousin."

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Who was aboard the *Stebonheath*?

CABIN PASSENGERS INTERMEDIATE PASSENGERS
SURNAME

(if known) Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

Name on

passenger list

Signature on

testimonial letter

PEOPLE NAMED

BY MARGARET

(some of these

don't appear on

the passenger list

but I've assumed

that they are

passengers)

SPROULE Robert Sprowl * Robert Sproute * Mr Sproule *

STEVENS William Stevens William Stevens

SULLIVAN Jane Sullivan

SUTTON William Sutton and

two daughters William Sutton

TAYLOR Alexander Taylor * Alfred Taylor *

George Tuff

TUFF Jane Tuff wife and

two children James Tuff

Mr Tuff

WALTERS John Walters John Triorder

Walters

WARD Geo. S. Ward

WARREN Clement Warren Clement Warren

WHITE Luke White and

wife Luke White

WHITTINGTON Geo. Whittington George Whittington

Willie Willie 7

Jessie

WITHERS E. Withers wife Mr Withers

and two children E. Withers

Mrs Withers

WOOD W. Wood W. Wood

* The names differ slightly between the columns. I've assumed they are the same people.

7 Margaret gives no indication as to who this is, and the context doesn't give any clues. It's possible he's a sailor and not a passenger.

APPENDIX 7

Ship's Officers and Crew

This table lists members of the crew of the *Stebonheath* whom Margaret mentions, either by name or by function. Where possible I've matched names and functions.

Counting Mr Bow and the Second Mate as two and Mr Rutter and the Sailmaker as two gives a total of seventeen crew mentioned in the diary (assuming that all of the "unknowns" Margaret names were passengers—see Appendix 6). I assume there were more ordinary seamen not named.

Note: the ship's surgeon Dr Oakley is counted as a cabin passenger.

FUNCTION NAME

Officers

Captain John Sargent

Chief Mate Mr Wilton

Second Mate

Third Mate Mr Bow 1

Boatswain

Carpenter

Cook

Sailmaker

Steward

? Mr Rutter 2

Sailors

Darkey

Deady

Happy Jack

Irish sailor

Reed 3

Sailor "who took the character of Neptune's wife"

Ordinary seamen

Thomson, "the Denmark sailor"

1 On August 14 Margaret speaks of "Mr Bow **and** 2nd Mate" but on August 29 when describing Mr Bow's fall

overboard, she says, "Thus have **both** our mates been in jeopardy" (chief mate Mr Wilton nearly fell overboard "last

night," Margaret writes on August 15). By "both" she apparently means the chief mate and one of the other mates—

but which one? On August 30 Margaret says the third mate "lost his situation yesterday and the sailor who took the character of Neptune's wife in crossing the line is put in his place." Mr Bow may have been third mate.

2 Margaret mentions seeing Mr Rutter making the ship's colours, so possibly he was the sailmaker.

3 Deady and Reed were taken into custody when the ship reached Adelaide. Assuming that they were the two sailors

"off duty for insubordination" on August 22, I have included Reed as a sailor.