

Rationale for Emigration

The following conversation was doubtless staged but is attributed to John MacGibbon and his wife, Jane,^[1] who attended one of the many meetings promoting colonial settlement.

What is it you're sayin', man! Are you askin' me tae live among savages on the other side of the world? Where was it ye said?"

"New Zealand is where it is, Jane. By all accounts it's a grand country, and there's a place for us in a town called Dunedin. They're building a new Scottish society there, and it's the Free Kirk that is doin' it. And we wouldna be among savages - we'd be wi' God-fearing fowk who believe what we believe. There's more savages in this part of Glasgow."

"But why would we want to leave the place we were born in – where we belong? The place where all our friends and relations live? Would we ever see them again?"

"We canna stay where we are, Jane. You've been sayin' yourself that the Saltmarket will ruin us if it doesna kill us first. And ye know full weel that we canna afford to set up business in a better part of town. It's you that's doin' the household budgeting – you know how things are."

"It's just not right – how can ye ask me to leave all we have here to go chasin' after something that could be worse than we already have?"

"All I'm sayin' Jane, is that we should tak' a look at the notion. Will ye come wi' me to the meetin' tomorrow night?"

"Ye'll be goin' on yer own, guidman!"

Captain William Cargill and Reverend Thomas Burns were among those supporting the Free Church of Scotland and they wanted to create a 'New Edinburgh' where they might worship freely. They chose Otago in New Zealand as the ideal site and in 1847 The *John Wickliffe* and the *Philip Laing* carried 350 Scottish farmers, labourers, doctors, merchants and craftsmen towards a new life on the other side of the world.

The Voyage out to Otago

Accustomed as we are now to almost instant travel it is hard to comprehend the nature of the travel experienced by our ancestors on what was one of the longest colonising voyages in the world. Most came by sail and it was never easy, There were of course many different voyage experiences. Here three are covered - the *Philip Laing*, the *John Wickliffe* and the *Mooltan*.

First there was the preparation. At the end of this section are lists of the goods it was suggested that working or labouring people should pack and other lists for the more refined!

The John Wickliffe

The ship *John Wickliffe* sailed from Gravesend on September 24, 1847. She was under the command of Captain Bartholomew Daly. The agent of the Company, Captain William Cargill, was in charge of the expedition, and with him were Dr Henry Manning, surgeon, and the Rev. T. D. Nicholson, who resigned his charge at Lowick, England, on 7 November in order to undertake duty as the Free Church minister at Nelson. Mr Nicholson travelled merely as a passenger on the *John Wickliffe*, but he undertook religious duties on board. Although he had no official association with the Otago Settlement, Mr Nicholson would be the first minister to hold a religious service in the present city of Dunedin. In addition to the Cargill family, the passengers included the Garricks, Mosleys, Brebners, Finches, Watsons, Blatches, Westlands, and Wilsons, Messrs W. H. Cutten, Julius Jeffreys, Thomas Ferens, J. E. Smith (Factor to the Church Trustees), and others, 97 emigrants in all.

Violent storms raged round the coast of Great Britain a few days after the departure of the *John Wickliffe* and the *Philip Laing*. The heavily laden *John Wickliffe*, which was the storeship of the expedition, felt the full force of the gale in the Channel, and sprang a leak, which compelled her to shelter and refit in Portsmouth. Setting out again from that harbour on 16 December, the *John Wickliffe* made a fast voyage, and anchored off Port Chalmers on March 23, 1848.

The Philip Laing

The *Philip Laing*, with the great majority of the settlers on board, included a number of diary writing passengers. Below is an extract from one Archibald McDonald, dealing with some of the early misery:[1]

December 3

*Still in Lamlash Bay, all the passengers indisposed with colds. This morning children's porridge withheld by Dr Ramsay's orders. The children very weak, not agreeing with tea and hard biscuit for breakfast. Deputation sent to the doctor to try and prevail with him to allow the children porridge; were told that porridge was not good for them. Parents in great uneasiness about their feeble infants and children. Three constables appointed by **Dr Ramsay**, one of whom, acting up to the temper of his master, kept agoing a petty warfare over every trifling incident. Likewise they had to see that the watch in the married men's apartment (none being among the single men) was taken in rotation by heads of families, their duty being to trim and supply the lamps with oil, and to see that no improper conduct was carried on in 'midships.*

¹ https://www.ancestry.com.au/mediaui-viewer/tree/51035711/person/13136888139/media/268c507d-f5b6-4e33-998d-475eec07cb15?destTreeId=120819959&destPersonId=172028115058&_phsrc=VVZ27300&_phstart=default
Ship's Log (2) Posted 13 Nov 2013 by FMBARR1960

December 4

This morning we were all weak from want of meat - men, women and children. Firm resolution to again apply to the doctor for more sustenance. Denied the request. At a loss to know what to do. Women upbraided the men for cowardice in allowing themselves and their children to be starved for want of that food that was laid in the ship for their support. Seamen and some of the emigrants ashore daily for fresh water since coming into the Bay. Passengers sometimes left ashore after carrying water had to pay their passage back to the ship.

December 9

In Irish Channel. Dreadful storm commencing at 4pm and lasting till midnight. Sad reflections - all expecting every minute to be launched into the deep. The hurricane spread the utmost terror and consternation over all - sickness ceased to exist, terror alone found a residence in the heart. But in order to give any just idea of an emigrant's situation in a hurricane, the reader must imagine to himself a space 50 yards by 12 yards, lined on both sides with berths or beds capable, or thought capable, of containing living souls, and this space having a bench running down the centre from top to bottom and under it the chests or boxes belonging to each berth; suspended all around, innumerable cooking and eating utensils, clothes, etc.

By picturing all this and say half the aforementioned number of people in bed, sick and vomiting all around, with the strong in all directions running for empty pails and buckets, you will be led to conceive how fit such a family is for a hurricane. Such was our state, however, when the storm reached us and when it did commence, as I have said, terror occupied the place of sickness, and consigned the faint and weak-hearted to their beds

The remainder were in a sad enough plight, having to contend with water, boxes, chests, and a number of inexpressibles that, after keeping up a running fight, at last obtained a complete mastery, driving foe by foe to seek alternately refuge with the sick and wounded, the pitching and rolling of the ship along with the runaway boxes and dishes being too much for anyone, however dauntless, to contend against unless they wanted themselves to be deprived of life or limb.



Not a word or a sound was heard above the raging hurricane without; not a sound was breathed save the secret whisper or prayer of despair within. Tongues that had never uttered the name of the Almighty save in profanity now, I believe for the first time in sincerity, fervently sought His protection. Nothing seemed to be awaiting us but the jaws of the deep and everyone was with dread and consternation looking every minute for death. This fearful and precarious situation continued until midnight, when the violence of the storm began to abate. Daylight gave a full view of the war that had been going on `midships and then all who were able commenced a search for runaways. A number were recovered but I am sorry to say a number had been captured and taken possession of as lawful prey.

The Rev. Dr Thomas Burns was in charge of the passengers. He was to be the, pioneer minister of Otago and was a nephew of the poet, Robert Burns. He too, kept a diary.[2] The following section is a long extract, using his words throughout to convey what it was like from his perspective.

The ship had endured the perils of the storm which delayed her sister ship.

Burns commences his record thus:

The ship Philip Laing, 547 tons burden, weighed anchor from Greenock about 2 p.m. on Saturday, November 27, 1847, with 186 adults, of whom 87 were children under 14 years of age, every two of whom are reckoned as one adult, and 11 infants. The cabin passengers, consisting of myself, my wife and six children, the eldest of whom is 17, the youngest eight months, Mr James Blackie, schoolmaster, Mr R. Donaldson, Mr Condamine Carnegie and his

wife, Dr Ramsay, surgeon of the ship, A.J. Elles, captain of the ship, Kenyon, first mate, Gilbert M'Gill, second mate, James Barron, steward, James Andrew, cabin boy, with a crew of 26 (men and boys).

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The number of souls carried as future inhabitants of Otago is given elsewhere as 248. The members of the family of Mr and Mrs Burns were Arthur John (17), Clementina (15), Jane (13), Annie (8), Frances (6), and Agnes, the present Miss Burns, who was born at Portobello on April 7, 1847, and was about eight months old when the voyage began. With Mrs Burns there was a servant, Mary Ann Carrodus, and a nursemaid, Jane Patullo

On leaving the harbour of Greenock the fair wind soon died away, and at midnight the ship was only three miles below the Clock Lighthouse. At 4 a.m. a fresh southwesterly wind sprang up, and Burns refers to the motion of the ship, the noise on the decks, and the beating up against the wind, all of which, with sea-sickness, "produced on board no slight foretaste of the discomforts of life in a ship."

Sabbath, 28th.—Cast anchor in Lamlash Bay by daybreak. In the course of the day saw vessels that had gone down the Firth before us, passing by us on their way up again—not being able to run into Lamlash Bay, the wind having died away—and were drifting with the tide away back to the Cumbraes. Worship in the steerage last night and this morning, in which the passengers seemed to join with great cordiality. The weather being very disagreeable, and the passengers very much discomposed with sea-sickness, I did not propose to have sermon through the day. In the evening worship I addressed them on the circumstances in which we find ourselves.

Monday, 29th.—On getting up this morning found Goat-fell white with snow, with a wind quite fair for us at north-east—very cold. We could not take advantage of it immediately, however, as the ship required to be trimmed, some of the stores overhauled, and our empty water casks supplied from shore, to which last operation all the young men cabin passengers and seven or eight steerage volunteered their services. I gave Mr Donaldson money to buy as much timber on shore as will enclose the place (galley) where the coppers for dressing the food of: the steerage passengers are situated, it being at present so open that the fires kindle only with great difficulty, and the cooks are exposed to the weather. On their return Mr D. told me he had paid 18s for the wood. Worship at night.

For 10 days the ship lay in safety while terrific storms raged all round. Burns exercised the functions of his office in regard to discipline and receiving deputations on the subjects which invariably arise on board ship. He was confined to his cabin with a feverish chill and sore throat, and Mr Blackie conducted the devotions while the illness lasted. More bad weather was encountered after the Philip Laing left Lamlash Bay, and the people on board had their first experience of being battened down, with "everything loose driving crash, crash, in a way to awaken the liveliest apprehension amongst the steerage passengers."

Sunday, December 12.—Waked at 5 a.m., and from window saw the early dawn of a beautiful day. Two lights apparently about a ship's length from each other. This turned out to be the two (St. Anne's) lighthouses at the entrance to Milford Haven, where we cast anchor about 7 a.m. All

on board enjoyed the quiet and shelter of this magnificent basin. We had prayers after breakfast, and at 12.30 public worship—preached from Matthew xi: 28, "Come unto Me all that labour," etc., to a very full attendance, including the ship's officers and part of the crew. Preached again in the evening from Luke xix: 1 (Zaccheus)—also a very full and attentive audience.

For eight days the ship lay in Milford Haven, the wind continuing adverse. We read in the diary that the captain went to the magistrate ashore for "a warrant to arrest four of his men who refused to work—obviously for the purpose of effecting their escape from the ship. Of their treatment they have no cause of complaint. Finding the magistrate at Milford very old and unwilling to act, he is under the necessity of proceeding to Haverford West, 21 miles off." The passengers were glad of the opportunity of a respite, and they divided their time between visits ashore, airing their bedding and attending to the washing of their clothes. Burns secured a plumber to make repairs on the ship, in the interests of the emigrants, whose welfare always received his most earnest and practical attention.

Burns had brought on board a cow and a bull. The cow gave milk nearly all the time. At Milford, two bushels of barley were obtained for feed, as both cattle had been affected by the rough weather. The water casks were filled, and fresh meat was purchased for the steerage passengers. The refractory seamen received sentence of 21 days' imprisonment, and their places were filled at Milford. Before leaving the Haven, Burns had the joy of receiving letters from his brothers, William and Gilbert.

On Monday, December 20, with a north-east breeze, the *Philip Laing* again put to sea, and the land had almost disappeared by 4 o'clock in the afternoon. A heavy roll was running, and further rough weather was experienced. The ship, being unable to carry sail, was drifting to leeward for some hours. Soon, however, more pleasant conditions prevailed in the latitude of the Scilly Isles, and the routine of the ship became established. Mr Blackie opened a Sunday School at 4.30 p.m. on December 26, and had assistance from Messrs Donaldson, Carnegie, and Bruce. The schoolmaster also held a day school throughout the voyage. Mr Donaldson put forth the first number of his newspaper, which was well received amongst the steerage passengers. A class for sacred music was opened, the different parts being taken up.

Burns gave the following review of the routine on board ship in a letter written after arrival at Port Chalmers, and dated May 2, 1848:

We had divine service twice every week, and three times on Sabbath, and during the greater part of the voyage it was on deck. Not only did all, without exception, including the captain and his officers and men, attend, but I suppose we did not omit a diet of worship above half a dozen times during the four months and a-half from Greenock to Otago. Order was so well observed that a history of one day will be the history of the voyage. Here it is: —

At 6.30 a.m. the proper constable went along the steerage and warned the people to rise. At 7.30 he had every soul on deck, when the roll was called, the cleaning and scraping the floors and sprinkling with chloride of lime commenced, and, if not finished before breakfast, was

finished after, and before worship. At 8.30 the cabin passengers went to breakfast. At 9 the steerage passengers began to have theirs served out to them.

At 10.30 we had morning worship. At 11, or rather, immediately after worship, the school opened, six or eight passengers taking each a class, under the superintendence of the school-master, Mr Blackie. At 2 p.m. the steerage dinner was served out, the cabin dinner at 3. At 4 the afternoon school. At 5.30 the steerage tea; the cabin ditto at 6.30. At 7.30 evening worship. The congregational library was opened once a week, when books were returned and new ones issued. A newspaper in manuscript by a cabin passenger was published once a week, and another by a steerage passenger as often. The captain, the doctor, and the minister, a formidable triumvirate, conducted several criminal jury trials with great formality, and inflicted various punishments. Sometimes the proceedings were reported in presence of the congregation, at the close of divine service, and public rebuke administered. The state of discipline ultimately became very thorough. Out of school hours it was a very joyous scene to hear the obstreperous mirth of the children; and in the fine tropical evenings, the entire body of passengers being on deck, sometimes they practised church music, sometimes Scotch songs were sung.³

The narrative of the voyage is best given by extracts from the diary: —

Wednesday, 29th. —Wind almost fair at north-west, and blowing fresh, so that all night and up till now (11.30 a.m.) we have been going seven and eight knots, and sometimes more. Three vessels are ahead of us, a brig and a schooner, upon which we are gaining fast—the third, a small sloop, came within hail. She proved to be the Killarney, six days from the Downs, for Madeira. She bore away in a westerly direction as if for the Azores instead of Madeira. The bull and cow, in common with the passengers, have suffered from the terrible weather we have passed through. Within these two days the cow has again rallied, and now appears to be quite well.

Friday, 31st.—Beautiful morning, wind fair. Day school going on. Progress, eight knots all night—vessels almost out of sight. Clementina and Frances, who have been complaining a good deal, are rather better. In last 24 hours we have gone 192 miles—Deo gratias!

The eventful year 1848 broke under auspicious skies, and it was probably the most orderly New Year's Day ever experienced by the passengers from Scotland! On Monday, January 3, Burns writes: —

A large ship astern of us. Were it a barque, might speculate as to her being the John Wickliffe. Temperature mild and warm—the sun rising gorgeously at 7—great change from Portobello at this moment. Efforts making to get the regulations more strictly observed by the steerage passengers. Mr Donaldson appointed an additional constable. Distressed to hear of profane language coming from certain of the emigrants. Spoke very seriously about it in the sermon last night.

Land was sighted when the ship passed San Antonia, the largest of the Cape Verde Islands on January 9. On the following day Burns recorded that three or four vessels were in sight. A French barque passed close to the Philip Laing, but made no reply to the display of the ensign.

Saturday, January 15.—It rained in torrents, a great deal of rain water being collected by the passengers. For the cows William Winton filled two casks nearly full. Two sharks appeared at the stern of the ship; a hook and line baited with a piece of pork was put down to them, when after a while page 164the smaller of the two, about two feet in length, was caught and hauled on deck.

Sunday, January 16. —Morning, torrents of rain filled a number of empty casks, two for the cattle. Usual morning worship. A beautiful evening. The whole ship heard the preaching. Immediately after evening service, was called down to pray at the bedside of Mr Brown's child; it died the same morning.

Monday, 17th. —Heavy rain all morning and all day. No morning worship, from the state of the weather and of matters on board. Another child, M'Lean's, died ... buried after prayer on deck over ship's side; strong apprehension on board. Steaming, hot, pestilential weather; went down and prayed at the two parts of the ship where the bereaved parents are instead of the usual worship, as the assembling them together increased the suffocating heat and aggravated the close, heavy smell below, and it was too wet to have the worship on deck. Worship in the cabin.

Tuesday, 18th. —Signalled a brig, the John Scott, White-haven, and from Cardiff, which she left the same day we left Milford Haven, with a cargo of coals for Ceylon. She bore down to us in the evening, and hailed us and offered to give us the requisite supply of coals, which was accepted of in the hope of saving the necessity of going into the Cape.

Wednesday, 19th. —Great bustle on lowering a boat to get a few tons of coal from the John Scott, which prevented worship on deck. Great numbers of bonitos, dolphins, ships' jacks, albacors, boobies. Caught some bonitos. Almost no progress since Friday. Captain Noseworthy, of the John Scott, came on board. Both vessels lying to. Captain Noseworthy had his wife, his wife's sister, and his two young children along with himself.

Thursday, 20th. —Beautiful morning, with a fine steady breeze from south—a foul wind for us, unluckily—small advance. Worship on deck, taking my station on the poop by the rail in front overlooking the waist, where and on both poop and forecastle the audience was placed. All heard distinctly.

The Line was crossed on Monday, January 24, about 10 a.m. Burns had Mr Donaldson appointed assistant superintendent, for securing the better observance of the regulations by the emigrants, and "preparing them for falling into similar habits of propriety and order when they shall, D.V., arrive in Otago." The captain was of opinion that the ship was becoming "jammed" in towards the American coast by the lack of the trade winds and the trend of the currents, which set in the direction of the Caribbean Sea. The health and spirits of all on board, including the animals, showed a considerable revival with the improvement in the weather. Burns opened the

boxes of books which had been supplied by friends in Scotland for the use of the party. The tropical evenings were happily spent in singing "the auld Scotch songs," and the well-known Psalms and paraphrases.

Sunday, 30th.—Still more delightful weather, the sun too powerful in such a pure and cloudless sky to sit under, but the heat out of the sun, and especially in the afternoon, when the deck is shaded by the sails, is tempered by the fresh, dry invigorating breeze. Service three times. Received from Mr Donaldson a list of 42 male adults who have spontaneously formed themselves into an association for improving themselves in the knowledge of the Shorter Catechism. Intimated that, as it appears from the certificates, a number of the emigrants have not been communicants in any Church, and as it would be desirable that the ordinance of the Lord's Supper should be dispensed as soon after our arrival at Otago as circumstances will permit, I would be happy to meet with such as may be desirous of joining for the first time in that ordinance, and that their names be handed in to me through Mr Donaldson.

On February 1 a baby boy was born to Mr and Mrs James Brown. On the following day, the marriage of William Jaffray to Margaret Hunter was celebrated, proclamation of the banns having been made in the parish of Mid-Calder, County of Edinburgh, prior to their departure. Burns intimated his intention to visit the various quarters of the ship. On February 6, a brawl which might have had fatal consequences took place between a lad and one of the men. In the heat of anger the boy seized a knife and struck at the man with it. Fortunately, the blade was turned by the belt. On the following day an inquiry was held by Mr Burns, attended by the captain, the surgeon, the schoolmaster, and a jury of 12 steerage passengers. After careful consideration, the boy and man were sentenced to be publicly rebuked before the congregation after evening worship, the man to assist the cooks by carrying water for one week, and the boy to assist in cleaning the ship for a fortnight and to have his head shaved. One of the eye witnesses described the scene of the rebuke by Mr Burns following upon an insolent remark by the man who had provoked the boy to the effect that the punishment of the lad was "not nearly severe enough."



Figure 5 Te Ara sourced

Each day Burns recorded the ship's position and made observations upon the weather and the speed of the vessel. He visited and conducted classes in the young men's quarters, the single women's, and the married people's portion of the ship in turn, after due announcement from the pulpit. On 13 February he baptised two children, the first to James Brown and Hannah Renfrew, named after the ship and its captain, Philip Elles. This baby died before the completion of the voyage. The second baptism was for Margaret, the baby daughter of Robert Gillies and Margaret Gardiner who had been born in Scotland on June 11. At times the ship did from eight to nine knots an hour, but baffling winds retarded her course considerably. Worship was held twice, and on Sundays thrice, a day in good weather, Burns taking his stand "at the cabin door, the audience sitting, the greater part beneath the bulwarks along the waist of the ship—the cabin passengers, some on the front of the poop, some in the cabin." On February 20 a large shark was caught and hauled on board. On the same afternoon the ship *Zenobia* (master, Mr Owen) was signalled, and the captain agreed to take letters from the *Philip Laing* to the Cape. Burns hurriedly wrote to his brother Gilbert and asked him to report to Mr M'Glashan.

On 10 March, Burns records the birth of a son to Mr and Mrs Niven, the child afterwards being baptised as David Elles Ramsay Niven. The marriage service was read on behalf of Mr and Mrs Carnegie, who had been married by civil law before leaving Scotland. Towards the end of March, the weather turned cold, and a violent storm raged for some days. Windows were smashed by huge waves, and water poured through the starboard cabin. The hatches were all fastened down, and the ship rolled alarmingly. But Burns kept worship going three times on the Sunday, despite the gale. The buffeting proved to be too much for the cow, which had been ailing for some time, and she died when the tempest was at its height. By this time (the first week in April), the ship was south of Tasmania. On 8 April, Burns described the Aurora Australis: —

A very remarkable Aurora appeared last night between 8 and 9 p.m. It covered the entire heavens, with the exception of the north and north-east horizon. It had the usual pale yellow coloured appearance that we are familiar with in the northern hemisphere. But in the west, in a space covering the constellation Orion and for a considerable space around it, it was of a strong, deep, blood-red colour. But by far the most remarkable and beautiful feature was due north. Here the rays were concentrated with great accuracy round a centre as I have often observed the clouds form themselves into a figure described as Noah's Ark in Scotland. The crown of the sky about 9 p.m. presented an uncommonly striking and lovely appearance, suggesting the idea of the Medusae, called jelly fish or blubber fish, when cast on shore with its rays of different hues.

With the approach to New Zealand Burns began estimating the distance as the crow flies from Otago, the land of his dreams. The closing entries regarding the voyage are of interest:—

Thursday, 13th.—Lat. 47, 40, S. Long. 168, 19, E. Distance, 110 miles. Thermometer 55¼. At midnight again the ship was again put about on the seaward track, but made no progress. The day cleared up to be fine and sunny. Thomas Cuddie's wife was delivered of a boy about midnight; both doing well. All in hopes of seeing land.

Friday, 14th.—Saw land last night a little before sunset (a sunset of most remarkable beauty), being the north-east point of Stewart's Island. This morning the wind light and from N.N.W. We were off the mouth of the Clutha.

Saturday, 15th.—This morning made Taiaroa's Head. The pilot, Richard Driver, showing a recommendatory letter from Mr Kettle, came on board about 9 a.m., and took the ship in charge. Deo Laus.

Writing a few days later (April 25), with a full and thankful heart to the Rev. John Sym, of Free Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, Burns thus described the conclusion of the voyage:—

After the lapse of nearly four months, without seeing aught but the heavens above us and the wide waste of waters all round us, the ship, like a thing of life and of more than mortal sagacity, glided with perfect precision, and without hesitation or mistake, into its destined place at the farthest corner of the earth. What a "triumphant display" I could not help saying to myself as we passed up this peaceful haven to Port Chalmers, and found that there could be no doubt that we were in the right place, although not a creature on board had ever been in these seas before. What a triumphant display of the art of navigation!

After reviewing the voyage, paying a tribute to the captain and surgeon, and quoting the statistics of four infant deaths, three births, and three marriages, Burns continued:

My first impressions of Otago surpass my anticipations, which certainly were high enough. The harbour throughout the entire 14 miles to which it extends is one uninterrupted scene of most romantic beauty. Nothing but hills on both sides—steep and bold headlands, and peninsulas of various forms—descending to the water's edge and forming little bays of hard sand; all of them without a single exception densely clothed from the water up to their very summits with evergreen woods presenting an unrivalled scene of the richest sylvan green and alpine beauty.

The *John Wickliffe*, after a fast voyage, had reached Otago Harbour on March 23, and was lying at anchor off Port Chalmers as the *Philip Laing* approached. Deafening cheers arose from both ships as the anchor plunged into the calm waters of the bay. Three incidents in connection with the arrival have been preserved to us. The pilot, Richard Driver, endeavoured to scare the passengers by dwelling on the cruel intentions of his Maori rowers, and he caused much amusement by his quaint stories. Asked as to the relative merits of Wellington and Otago, he replied that he "would rather be hanged in Otago than die a natural death in Wellington!" The steep and wooded heights surrounding the harbour on all sides caused some concern to the new settlers, who failed to see how such land could be cleared and ploughed. Burns, whose practical knowledge of agriculture always proved of value to the farmers, took the men aside and explained to them that the rural lands were in the Taieri, Tokomairiro, and the Clutha plains, and not on the hills which confronted them. Immediately, their anxiety gave place to joy and confidence. The third incident concerned the school master. As the ships drew together on arrival, one of the small boys lost his balance and fell overboard. Without a moment's hesitation Mr Blackie dived into the water and rescued the child, with both being hauled on board the *Philip Laing* amid loud acclamations.

Life on board the *Philip Laing* was disciplined and ordered. The emigrants rose at 6.30 am, roll call was at 7.30 am, then quarters were cleaned. Breakfast followed, then morning worship at 10.30 am. There were 93 children under 14, so they had school at 11 am under the supervision of the schoolmaster, James Blackie. Lunch followed, then, after free-time, school was recalled at 4 pm. Steerage passengers had tea at 5.30 pm, the cabin party at 6.30 pm. Evening worship brought the day to a close. Weekly rations for the steerage passengers were:

5 1/4 lbs hard ship's biscuits; 3 1/2 lbs flour; 1lb beef; 1 1/2 lbs prime mess pork; 1lb preserved meat; 1lb rice; 1lb barley; 1/2 lb raisins; 3 oz suet; 1 pint peas; 1 oz tea; 1 1/2 oz coffee; 3/4 lb sugar; 7 oz butter; 1/2 pint vinegar or pickles; 2 oz salt; 1/2 oz mustard; 21 quarts water; 3 1/2 pounds potatoes.

Steerage passengers had paid 16 guineas for passage, cabin passengers from 35 guineas upwards.[3]

The *Mooltan* - A Child's perspective

John McLay came out on the *Mooltan* in 1850. When he left Scotland he was 8.5 years old. He wrote his reminiscences in 1916:[4]

After a warm and solemn parting from Uncle and his two daughters my cousins we got to our ship the Mooltan lying at the Greenock dock. It was all bustle at the dock and on board this fine new ship. It was the same terrible bustle getting all the passengers things on board and them taken down to their cabins – and all the passengers strangers to us.

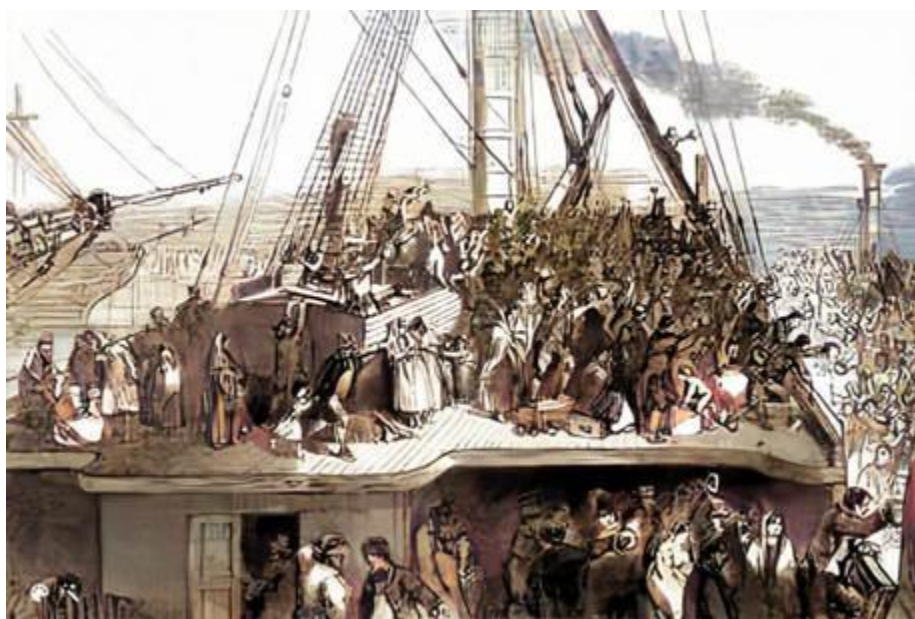


Figure 6 Departure, ,Illustrated London News, 6 July 1850

We got the cow and her crib on board alright and placed it close to the long boat. There was other four beasts on board ship – there were three dogs, and a goat, it belonging to our Doctor of the Ship Mr. Purdie and the goats milk for the use of his family. The goat was housed in the Long Boat and the three dogs under the bilge of the boat. Two of them belonged to Allan Boyd and Brother and the other to George and John Duncan. [There were also poultry, ten pigs and nine sheep on board.]

We all got on board on the 11th of September 1849 and the men cast off her moorings at the quay and she was then towed out to the anchorage at what is called the Tail of the Bank and next day we sailed from the Clyde in the Good Ship Mooltan for Otago the 12th September 1849. The Pilot towed us as far as Lamblash where the tug cast us off and then three great cheers from ship and Pilot Boat wishing us a good and prosperous voyage. But many tears were on many cheeks at parting as we all knew it was the last link in our parting from Dear Old Scotland and not hope of ever seeing it again.

On the morning of the 13th we were making good progress down the Irish Channel and we could see the coast of Ireland to Windward. and us Pilgrims on our way to the Antipodes to found a home in New Zealand. I am not sure what company the Mooltan belonged to but I think it was Patrick Henderson & Co of Glasgow who after was merged into the Shaw Savill Coy and whose ships are still running among our Principal traders with the old country with this difference – the ships are not alike. [The Greenock Advertiser in September 1849, said the Mooltan was owned by "Captain William Crawford and other townsmen."]

The Mooltan's voyage occupied 104 days from Greenock to Port Chalmers.

Heading south down the Atlantic

After getting through the terrible Bay of Biscay we thought it was very rough but the sailors said it was not often as fine. We had a fine run from there on to the Islands of Madeira. We had a grand view of some of these beautiful islands.

Our Captain kept in touch of land a great part of the voyage. One day we got a fine view and part of next day of the Great Peak of Tenerreffe. It was a grand sight to see this great volcanic cone – The one half seems to have been torn off in some bye gone time and gone into the sea.

And we had a fine view of some of the Canary Islands and off one of these islands we got becalmed for 5 or 6 days and drifted back about seven miles per day. this island was very pretty. It did not seem to be very high above the part of the island the Mooltan lay out from becalmed. I think the island was called Grand Canary.

Becalmed

All the time that we lay becalmed it looked like a beautiful land set in a sea of glass. In the mornings it was covered in a mantle of mist like a white robe. Each morning this beautiful pall of mist would come rolling down off the land and spread over the sea then at evening it would come rolling in over the island. Each day it made a very pretty picture. And the great patches of beautiful seaweed with its pretty air pods and long mottled leaves 20 feet long and pretty seabirds sitting on some of the patches and dead calm all the while. the land that I could see was not very high above the ocean. About sunrise each morning could see a lot of boats – their sails looked so white in the sun. The men on the ship said they were fishing boats.

When becalmed here the men that had the dogs put them into the seas to have a swim. At the same time they lowered two boats and rowed them away from the ship. the dogs followed the boats out and back to the ship and they were lifted on board with a net. Two days or so later a favourable wind got up to drive us along at a good pace and all were very pleased.

Getting up to mischief

When becalmed I caused a great commotion. When they were at their dinner I got on to the bulwarks and climbed up the rigging and through what is called the lubbers hole on to the cross trees and hid behind main mast main yard and rigging for a long time before they found me and two of the sailors had to go up the rigging for me. It was not such an easy job if I had been stubborn but one of the sailors I was very fond of and he was fond of me. His name was David Dunlop and when he got to me he spoke kindly to me and I came down with him without any trouble.

The worst part was to get down through the lubbers hole. All the people on the ship were gathered on deck and my Father was going to give me a thrashing for being so daring and giving all on board such a fright thinking I had fallen overboard.

Our Second Mate Mr. Ferguson and Sailors would not let father touch me – they told Father he should be very proud of me as it was not one boy in 100 could have done what I did. The Mooltan was a full rigged ship sometimes called a square Rigger vessel and the masts and rigging were very lofty. After this on the ship I was quite a hero with the other boys and girls – also the crew and passengers.

Cholera breaks out

There had been terrible tribulation on the ship before through Cholera breaking out in the Stearage. An English family by the name of Harrison they were very nice people. This deadly disease carried off Father Mother and two of their family. It was a terribly sad sight to see these poor things that had been in good health the day before – to see them carried up on deck in death to be soon launched into the sea – the corpse lying on a slide Board ready to slip as soon as prayers had been given by the Doctor. He was a religious man. And all the Passengers and Sailors standing around in fear and reverence for the dead not knowing how soon their call may be.

Soon after this the boatswain and sailmaster went out one night through between decks actin an old man and woman with a basket on their arms selling trinkets to help cheer up the Passengers. After that they both took bad – both strong healthy men – and both died a few hours apart and were both buried in the Ocean two days after they had been between decks.

Everyone became very afraid when this deadly disease got into the fore castle among the Crew not knowing how it was going to end. It did not interfere with any more in the forecastle but it carried off nine more of the Passengers – one of them a fine young woman a Mrs. Kirkland. She died in the next berth to my brothers and self.

All this made a very sad ship – all buried in the same way as the first mentioned except that Mr. and Mrs. Harrisons young girl was put in a coffin late in the afternoon and it was a very sad sight to see the coffin floating away slowly as the ship had very little wind to fill her sails. Those that saw the coffin floating away that evening will never forget the sight. After this all corpses were sewn up in strong canvas, weighted with stone at the feet. It was a sad and grievous sight.

[Note that the dead girl could not have been Clarinda Harrison, who was the last person to die on board, in December. The person McLay refers to would have been Ann McNeil, who died on 20 December, of "stomach and bowels".]

Things all about seemed sad and cloudy on board for a good while and the faces of the dead were missed for a long time. And during all of this trouble so far as I can remember it was fine weather and for a good while after. [Dr Purdie's report said that during the period when most deaths occurred, the weather had been extremely hot, sultry and mostly windless. Once they passed the equator, and strong breezes began, health on board improved considerably]

Near disaster on the rocks at Tristan da Cunha

Then we dropped into colder weather then thick drizzle and very thick fog so that the Captain and Officers could not get a sight of the sun for 5 or 6 days and they thought as far as they could calculate they would soon be in the vicinity of Tristan da Cunha island but not being able to see the sun they were not able to correct the calculations of Latitude and Longitude and through this we were nearly wrecked on this barren island.

Early one morning we found that our good ship was close under high towering rocks and cliffs – dismal black cliffs over 200 feet above the Ocean. that morning will never be forgotten. It was a dismil and forebodeing sight to see these great rocks towering high above the ships masts and a great rolling form

the sea on to this barren island. And all the great sails hanging and dripping with the thick drizzle and the very thick fogs that had been. All boats were lowered as quickly as possible and every man that could pull an oar went into the boats and the second mate Mr. Ferguson and they pulled for all they could at their utmost strength and it was found to be a very hard job to keep her from being taken on to the cliffs with the heavy swell.

It was a great blessing that there was not a wind blowing on to the land with the swell or I am afraid there would not have been one saved to tell this today. By terribly hard pulling the men managed to pull the ship towards the end of the Island and God send wind came from off the land and smiles came on every face that eventful day.

All felt that God had helped them most mercifully as the sails filled with the Breath of Heaven. Away went the good ship like a captive bird set free again and all hearts of men and women boys and girls beat warmly to God for the great love and mercy that He had shown to us.

After all this was bustle and hard work getting the Boats on board again – all the great chains and hawsers coiled on the deck and so many ropes to put into place and poor Flecky the cow had yet a chance to spread her offspring in the faraway New Zealand.

I forgot to mention further back that we sighted Trinidad. All these islands were passed on our larboard side except the Canary Island which was on our starboard side. After getting away from Tristan da Cunha we had a fine passage all the way as far as I can remember.

Sighting New Zealand

Then the first land to be seen was the coast of New Zealand and Stewart Island. It all seemed to be clad in forest – Island and Mainland. I am not quite sure that we sailed through Foveaux Straights but I think we did.

We had beautiful weather on the Coast except some very sudden gusts of wind off the land. I now think these gusts must have been from the Northwest. From the first sight of NZ after fourteen thousand miles it was the wonder of all on board to see the Great Forest that extended from the South all along the coast right to our landing at Port Chalmers – then all we could see was what they call Bush in Otago.

Meeting Maori

The first change in the landscape was the Maori Huts and Sandhills inside Taiaroa Head where we first cast anchor for a day. Great lots of Maoris came out in boats and had a great look at the figurehead of the Mooltan. They could not make out what countryman he was. Maori men and women seemed very excited over it. The figurehead was a model of an Indian with a wrap folded round his waist, a lance in one hand and a club in the other – in a fighting attitude. Very fierce looking.

Anchoring at Port Chalmers

Next day we got to Port Chalmers in good time – it was Christmas day – we had the yellow flag flying through having Cholera on board on the way out. None of the Passengers were allowed to land until the Harbour Master and other Authorities granted leave to land and then a lot of the Passengers went ashore and got fresh beef etc for their Christmas dinner.

My father got on well with the cow on board the ship. My mother milked her all the way out and got two buckets of milk a day and any of the passengers or children needing milk through sickness or weakness got a share of the milk. It was a great help to many and this cow was worshipped by all on board and my Mother as well as it was she who served it out to those she thought needed it most. It was a great boon to many young children.

The day after we got to Port Chalmers a great many Passengers went ashore to stretch their legs and get a look at the bush that they had seen so much of at a distance from the time New Zealand appeared above the Ocean.

Flecky the cow poisoned by tutu

So after they had a grand stroll through the bush and surroundings they resumed in great spirits – and they did not forget poor Flecky the cow they brought great branches of evergreen leaves for her to eat and some of the branches must have been Tutu. None knew of this very poisonous shrub and after she had eaten some of the leaves, a short time after – she was taken very ill and as luck would have it, Driver the Pilot came on board and looked at the cow and he saw at once that she had been poisoned from eating Tutu branches.

He told my father the best thing to do was bleed her as soon as possible, give her a big dose of linseed oil and salts so Mr. George Duncan bled the cow and Father gave her the Physic – and the lot of blood that was taken from her together with the Physic acting well, it was surprising how quickly she recovered. If you could have seen her when she was bad – sitting on her rump and frothing at a terrible rate and her eyes fuming in her head – and her whole body in convulsions. It was just terrible to see this beast in such a state – but she recovered and did well after that.

Those who brought the branches were in a great way – all were very pleased to see her get better for all the passengers thought so much of her. Mr. A. Todd the owner of the cow was delighted at her recovery. Nine months after this Captain Millymont offered Todd the best draft mare he had in a ship load for the bull calf she had. He wanted to take it back to Sydney with him as it was a pure Ayrshire. It would have been valuable in Australia – but he did not part with the calf.

After this all the Passengers went up the river to Dunedin by Boat as soon as they could be taken. and wished the good ship Mooltan goodbye.

Leaving the Mooltan

Our family was the last to leave the ship on account of the Cow was there was not a boat big enough to take her to Dunedin. Through this she had to be taken overland through dense Bush from Port Chalmers via what is called Sawyers Bay and from there up a range to what was called the 'saddle'. Then down a long gully to North East Valley. From Port Chalmers there was a rough track through dense bush all the way. Father led the cow all the way which was not easy to do at that time.

As soon as the Passengers left the ship the men set to work and took down all the bunks and cabins tables etc. I well remember taking my last fond look as I did not like to leave the ship. When I looked along between the decks and could not see anything but the row of pillars all the length of the ship nearly. These pillars supported the deck above. It was a wierd and forlorn sight and I have never forgotten it. When I

saw all the timber lying around in great heaps. I thought it was a terrible thing to do. I just thought I could see all the different Families that had occupied the cabins and berths for 104 days and a short time before this distraction I could stand in the front part of the ship that had been occupied by the young men – it had been their home and from the part I have mentioned I could see right away back to the far end of the Steerage part of the Ship. That had been a part that had gone through great tribulations. this sight between decks was the last thing I would ever see on board the poor old Mooltan.

And now comes the last act in connection with this handsome Ship. We get down into the boat that is going to take us up to Dunedin. My Mother, Brother and Two Sisters. Father is away with the cow – now we are out a bit from the Ship and I can see the model of the Mooltan and she looks very nice and stately with her tall masts, yards and the spread out rigging and bowsprit all so trim. Her bold looking figurehead looking over the mighty deep.

And now dear old Mooltan I must fare you well for ever. I hope God will spare you and your gallant crew through many storms. We are fast parting – the fine fair wind is driving us swiftly along over the smooth water of the estuary that extends to Dunedin. We are sailing fast between Goat Island and the mainland and in an hour and a half we will be at the landing beach – Dunedin. Mr James Adams says that his boat belongs to? he calls it the Queen.

Coming ashore at Dunedin

We got up alright and Father was there and carried us ashore and the other two men helped to carry the things we had brought from Scotland. It was very muddy and water up to the knees while carrying things on to dry land. From here a man with horse and dray, I should have said Cart, I think there was only one other horse and cart in Dunedin at this time – New Years day 1850.

Meeting other ships during the voyage

I will now write about some things that happened on the voyage out. The first ship I remember seeing passed us in a very strong and rough sea. The wind was on our larboard side blowing from the direction of the other ship and she was lying at a great angle towards us and she was not far from us. With her lea Bulwarks low down in the sea she was a queer looking craft. The Captain officers and Crew could not make her out. Under the lea of the windward bulwark we could see a woman washing We could only see two men, one was steering the craft and the other was looking at us. Our men took her to be a Slave vessel.

Escape from pirates?

A few days after this a smart looking craft hove in sight a long way off on our lea and our first mate and Captain could see through the Spyglass that they were putting on more sail and steering for us – taking up to us as we were to windward of them.

The Mate kept a sharp lookout on them, and about one-noon they came on a cross tack to lea of our Stem – very close to us with all sail set and her ploughing up the lea as she passed us at a great rate.

The Captain had every man we could muster on deck and all women and children down below under hatches. And we had canons fixed all ready and men all along the bulwarks to make a good show of

bravado. Soon after they passed on this tack she hove her around to windward and she swung around like a bird and back tracked. She passed in a cloud of canvas. It was a pretty sight as she passed us at a terrific rate.

As they passed our men sang out to them – "Does your Mother know you are out – you better go home and get some Pap," and they sung out a lot of insults to us.

But all on our ship were more than pleased to see them sail away. The women and children between decks hurried up to see the craft as she sailed away. Our Captain said that this craft was splendidly handled. He said it was a Pirate vessel and when they saw so many men on board they were afraid to tackle us. I do know that all on the Mooltan were glad to see the Pirate Ship sail away on her nefarious work – the wolfs of the Sea.

[None of the other accounts of the Mooltan voyage mentioned this event. Francis Pillans was so thorough that he would certainly have mentioned if such an incident had taken place. However it could have happened before the beginning of the surviving portion of Francis Pillans' diary. The ship was part way down the coast of Africa before Pillans' diary started. Note that a very similar incident occurred during the Mariner's voyage to Port Chalmers, six months earlier.]

Whales

This vessel was the last ship except one we saw a long way off but soon after this away to leeward one evening about an hour before the sun set we saw a large school of whales coming towards us at great speed. When they got near us they veered off from the stem of our Ship. It was a grand sight to see them so close. Our attention was just drawn to them when someone saw them spouting to leeward of us. Someone sang out "Whales" and there was a rush to see them. As they came racing on. To see the forms of the great monsters you felt struck with awe and wonder at this Great Leviathan of the Mighty Deep.

As they passed away it was a sight to see them spouting far away and in all directions high above the Ocean and with the rays of the setting sun shining through the gallons of water they spouted high into the air. It was a wonderful and inspiring sight never to be forgotten. The spouts from so many whales spread like great white fans – then fell in white streamers to the sea most beautiful to behold.

Porpoises and dolphins

About this time for several days we saw great shoals of porpoises gamboling about and they seemed to take great delight playing with each other. they are wonderful swimmers. They dart too and fro at great speed and leap high, turn on their backs and show their pretty white shining bellies. And at times they would race with the ship almost rubbing against the side. they are very playful.

I did see twice the wonderful Dolphin in all their beautiful colours of the rainbow. They flash through the waves like lightning.

Albatrosses and other seabirds

The albatross is a most wonderful very large bird to see up in the sky. His great wings spread 14 to 16 feet wide. We caught one and had it on deck and its wings measured fourteen feet from tip to tip. But the poor

thing had lost all the power in its great wings and he could not raise himself off the deck. After we all had a good look at the Albatross, two men carried him up on to the poop and let him go. He soon spread his great wings and off he went. Where too none could tell.

It is thought that the Albatross sleeps on the wing as they are often found thousands of miles away from land. Not often do they rest on the sea and when they do they have to put their head to the wind then spread out their wings and run along the surface of the ocean until the wind under their wings gives them power to rise above the water.

Then there is another remarkable bird the stormy Petrel. I have often watched them up in a storm and heard their wierd screech. They are pretty light formed bird with very powerful wings. They are pale slate colour with pink legs and feet.

My fancy was the very pretty little Cape Pigeon. It is a pretty, innocent looking little thing with beautiful eyes and pink legs and feet. There are many kinds of Petrel. I have seen some much like the ones I saw on the Mooltan.

Crossing the Line

The next thing was what they called the "line". At this place there was great work with the sailors when the Devil got on board – he is sometimes called Neptune.

The night after crossing the "line" it was terrible. Anyone that passed the Long Boat got drenched with sea water. There were men up on the longboat on both sides and others ready to catch any man and shave him with a hoop with Stockholm tar and Grease for lather and other mad things they did.

The same night some of the sailors painted the poor Goat red. It died later because of this.

Our second Mate was the life of our Ship. All the Boys and Girls thought a great lot of him and he was much liked by all on board. His name was Ferguson. He worked terribly hard in getting the ship away from being wrecked on Tristan da Cunha. He was laid up a few days after that.

A few days before we crossed the line he would be on deck with this telescope looking away ahead of the ship very earnestly. Us Boys & Girls would ask him what he was looking for. He told us he was looking for the 'lines and that we were getting very close to it. He had not seen it yet but he was sure he would see it to morrow.

Tomorrow came and a beautiful day it was – and there was the 'line' right enough so Mr. Ferguson invited us to have a look through the Telescope. We could all see the "line" and other men and women were asked to have a look through the Glass and they too could see the "line" splendidly and such a fine telescope it must be to be able to see the line so far away. He said we would cross the line that night. And we did as you will see by what I have written further back.

The Sailors and Passengers had Great fun with us Simpletons. The older people got a lot of chaffing about seeing the line. "Oh" they would say "and you saw the line did you? Well you can say you have seen what no other man has ever seen."

Well Mr. Ferguson managed the deception by fastening a fine silk thread across one of the lenses inside his telescope and the "line" looked perfect.

Amusing the children

Mr. Ferguson gave us Boys a large ringbolt to pull out at the Main Hatchway because he said it was in the way and he would like it out. He would come and have a careful look at the bolt to see how far we had shifted it and he gave us great praise. He said we had shifted it a good bit and we would have it out before we got to N. Zealand. I was the leading boy in this job and it never came out while I was Boss. So much for the ringbolt.

Mr. Ferguson also made play for the Girls. He made lines on the deck with chalk and two sets of girls could play at the same time. Their game was played with a piece of round wood and he gave them raisins too and Place which is a great Balm at times with young or old.

Animals on board

We had a lot of fine Pigs on board and they used to kill one now and then for the Cabin Passengers and a few days before we landed they Killed what pigs were left.

Peril on the Sea

These three ships all made it safely to New Zealand, but some did not. Many voyages were dangerous. NZ's worst maritime disaster was on 18 November 1874 with the *Cospatrick* burning and then sinking, with the loss of 467 people.[5]

Figure 8 *Cospatrick* on fire 250 miles SW of the Cape

The following extract from David Hastings, *Over the Mountain of the Sea*, shows another



example.

Thus, the voyages were both long and very tough, particularly for those in steerage! The experience must have impacted strongly on each individual immigrant somewhat in ways we cannot easily discern.[6]

[1] https://www.ancestry.com.au/mediaui-viewer/tree/51035711/person/13136888139/media/268c507d-f5b6-4e33-998d-475eec07cb15?destTreeld=120819959&destPersonId=172028115058&_phsrc=VVZ27300&_phstart=default Ship's Log (2) Posted 13 Nov 2013 by FMBARR1960

[2] The diary in which Burns recorded the daily events of the voyage and the happenings which occurred for some years after arrival in Otago escaped the destruction of the bulk of his papers after his death, and is now in the Otago Early Settlers' Library

[3] Quoted from the "Founding of Dunedin website

[4] <http://www.ngaiopress.com/mclay.htm>

[5] PUBL-0047-1875-09, Alexander Turnbull Library.

[6] Another excellent diary covers the *Robert Henderson* which bought several of our ancestors to NZ:

<http://www.yesteryears.co.nz/shipping/diaries/thomasreid.html>

Appendix: Recommended gear for emigrants

Emigrants leaving the United Kingdom, bound for New Zealand, were advised in the *Handbook For Intending Emigrants To The Southern Settlements of New Zealand*, to take the following:

The following outfit for a labouring man and his wife, is the least which, under any circumstances, should be procured. It of course does not include those articles of clothing which may already be in their possession:

	NO. 1.
	FOR THE HUSBAND
18 coloured Shirts	1 pair Blankets
2 Guernsey Shirts	2 Quilts
6 pairs Worsted Stockings	6 rough Towels
12 pairs Cotton Socks	2 Table Cloths
1 pair strong Fustian Trousers	1 pair strong Shoes
3 pair strong Canvass do.	1 pair light do.
1 Fustian Jacket and Waistcoat	6 lbs. Yellow Soap
1 Pea Jacket	4 lbs. Marine do.
Cloth Coat, Waistcoat, and Trousers	Metal Wash-hand Basin
Cloth Cap	Comb, Brush, Knife and Fork, &c.
Flock Mattress, Bolster, and Pillow	sea Chest
6 pairs Cotton Sheets.....	
	NO. 11.
	FOR THE WIFE
12 Calico Chemises	1 pair Boots
4 Petticoats	3 Cotton Dresses
2 Flannel Petticoats	2 Bonnets
4 Flannel Waistcoats	6 Towels
18 pairs Cotton Stockings	Tapes, Needles, Cotton, &c.
2 pairs Shoes	Clothes Bag

Opportunities will occur on the voyage of catching rain water as it runs from the sails, the emigrant's wife should always take advantage of this, as it will add materially to her own comfort and that of her husband, to wash as much as possible of a limited outfit.

.....The following list is on a more extended scale, and whenever the means of the labouring emigrant will command it, no article, at any rate of his wife's outfit, should be omitted:

NO. 111.	NO. IV.
HUSBAND.	WIFE.
18 coloured Shirts	18 Calico Chemises
6 white do.	6 Petticoats
12 pairs Worsted Stockings	3 Flannel do.
12 Cotton Socks	4 Flannel Waistcoats
1 pair strong Fustian Trousers	24 pairs Cotton Stockings
6 pairs strong Canvass do.	4 pairs Shoes
2 fustian Jackets and Waistcoats	2 pairs Boots
Pea Coat and Trousers	4 Cotton Dresses
South-wester	2 Bonnets
Cloth Cap	1 Cloak
2 pairs strong Shoes	12 yards Flannel
2 pairs light do.	20 yards strong Calico
Suit of Cloth Clothes	Variety of Haberdashery
Bedding, &c., as before	Other things as before

We will now give two very full outfits, the one for a gentleman and the other for a lady.

72 Calico shirts, with Dress Fronts
 18 fine Flannel Waistcoats
 6 moderately warm Flannel
 Waistcoats
 60 pairs of Fine Cotton Socks
 12 pairs of Worsted or Angola
 Socks
 24 pairs of Calico Drawers
 2 pairs of Flannel do.
 60 Towels
 36 Pocket Handkerchiefs
 24 fine Cambric Pocket Handker-
 chiefs
 4 black Silk Cravats
 4 coloured Silk Cravats
 12 coloured Muslin Cravats
 12 pair of fine white Cotton or
 Thread Gloves
 12 pair of dress Kid Gloves
 4 pair of coloured Kid Gloves
 4 pair of Braces, white cotton
 18 thin Cotton Night Caps
 12 yards fine Welsh flannel
 1 Clothes-bag
 2 Pair of Bathing Drawers
 1 light Cotton Dressing Gown
 1 warm Flannel Dressing Gown,
 made large or loose
 12 pair of Sheets, made rather large
 12 Pillow Cases
 3 Blankets
 2 Counterpanes
 1 Straw Hat
 1 Cloth Cap
 1 Good Beaver Hat
 1 India Cloth or Camlet Jacket
 1 India Cloth or Camlet Trousers
 2 brown Holland Blouses
 12 pair of Cotton Trousers
 6 pair of fine Linen Trousers
 18 thin white Jackets
 18 white Waistcoats

48 Calico or Cambric Chemises
 36 Calico Night Dresses
 36 Night Caps
 24 Cambric Slips
 24 Calico Middle Petticoats
 3 Flannel Petticoats
 1 Horse-hair Petticoat
 24 Fine Flannel Waistcoats
 24 pair of Cambric Trousers
 48 Pocket Handkerchiefs
 48 Huckaback Hand Towels

NO. VI
 OUTFIT FOR A GENTLEMAN
 1 Suit of Evening Dress Clothes
 1 Suit for Morning Wear
 1 Pilot-Cloth Coat
 1 pair of Pilot-Cloth Trousers
 1 South-wester, or foul weather
 Cap
 2 or 3 strong Bullock Trunks
 1 Dressing Case
 6 Tooth Brushes
 2 Nail Brushes
 2 Hair Brushes
 2 Combs
 4 Boxes Tooth Powder
 4 lbs. Windsor Soap
 2 lbs. Marine Soap
 1 Sponge and Bag
 Oil or Pomade for the Hair
 Perfumery
 1 Work-Bag containing Tapes,
 Buttons, Needles, Cottons, &c.
 1 piece of Shoe Ribbon
 Brushes, Blacking, and Boot-jack,
 in case
 1 Leather Writing Case, with an
 assortment of Stationery, and a
 good knife
 2 pairs of dress Boots
 2 pairs of strong Walking Boots
 2 pairs of dress Shoes
 2 pairs of strong Walking Shoes,
 all made of full size
 1 Couch with Drawers
 1 Wash-hand Stand to form a
 Table, Metal Basin
 1 Chair
 1 Looking Glass, with Slide and
 Fittings to form a Toilet Glass
 1 Cabin Lamp and 12 lbs of
 Candles
 1 Foot Bath
 1 Water Can
 Floor Cloth, Matting or Carpet, for
 Cabin

NO. VII.
 OUTFIT FOR A LADY.
 1 Work-Box
 12 pairs of white Kid Gloves
 19 pairs of coloured Gloves
 Long white Kid Gloves
 24 pairs of Thread or Silk Gloves
 12 pairs of Thread or Lace Gloves
 12 pairs of Lace Mittens
 Long Lace Mittens
 1 Clothes Bag
 12 Dusters
 8 pairs of Calico Sheets

12 Bathing Towels
24 pairs of fine Cotton Stockings
24 Pairs of Thread Stockings
12 pairs of white Silk Hose
2 pairs of black Silk Hose
1 coloured or white Flannel Dress-
ing – Gown, warm
2 coloured Dressing Gowns
8 white Muslin do.
4 coloured Morning Dresses
8 Muslin Dresses
4 Dinner Dresses
2 Silk Dresses, and 1 Satin Dress is
also desirable
2 Muslin-de-laine or Chalie Dresses
3 pairs of Stays
1 Cloak
8 pairs of Shoes
2 Bonnets
Shawl
Fancy Handkerchiefs
Fancy Aprons
Capes, Collars, &c.
Ribbons, Gauzes, &c.
Haberdashery, Needles, &c.

8 Pillow Cases
3 Blankets
2 Counterpanes
20 or 30 yards of fine Flannel
6 Tooth Brushes
3 Nail Brushes
4 Hair Brushes
Combs
6 boxes of Tooth Powder
4 lbs. of brown Windsor Soap
4 lbs. of Violet Powder
1 good Sponge
Pomades or Oil for the Hair
Eau de Cologne
Dressing Case
Writing Case, Paper, &c.
Books
1 Ship Couch, with Drawers
1 Wash-hand Stand
1 Light Cane Chair
1 Looking-glass
1 Cabin Lamp, and 6 lbs. of
Candles
1 Foot Bath and Tin Can
1 Brush, Dust-pan, &c.
China and Glass

(Earp, 1849, quoted in Drummond, 1967, pp.27-31)