

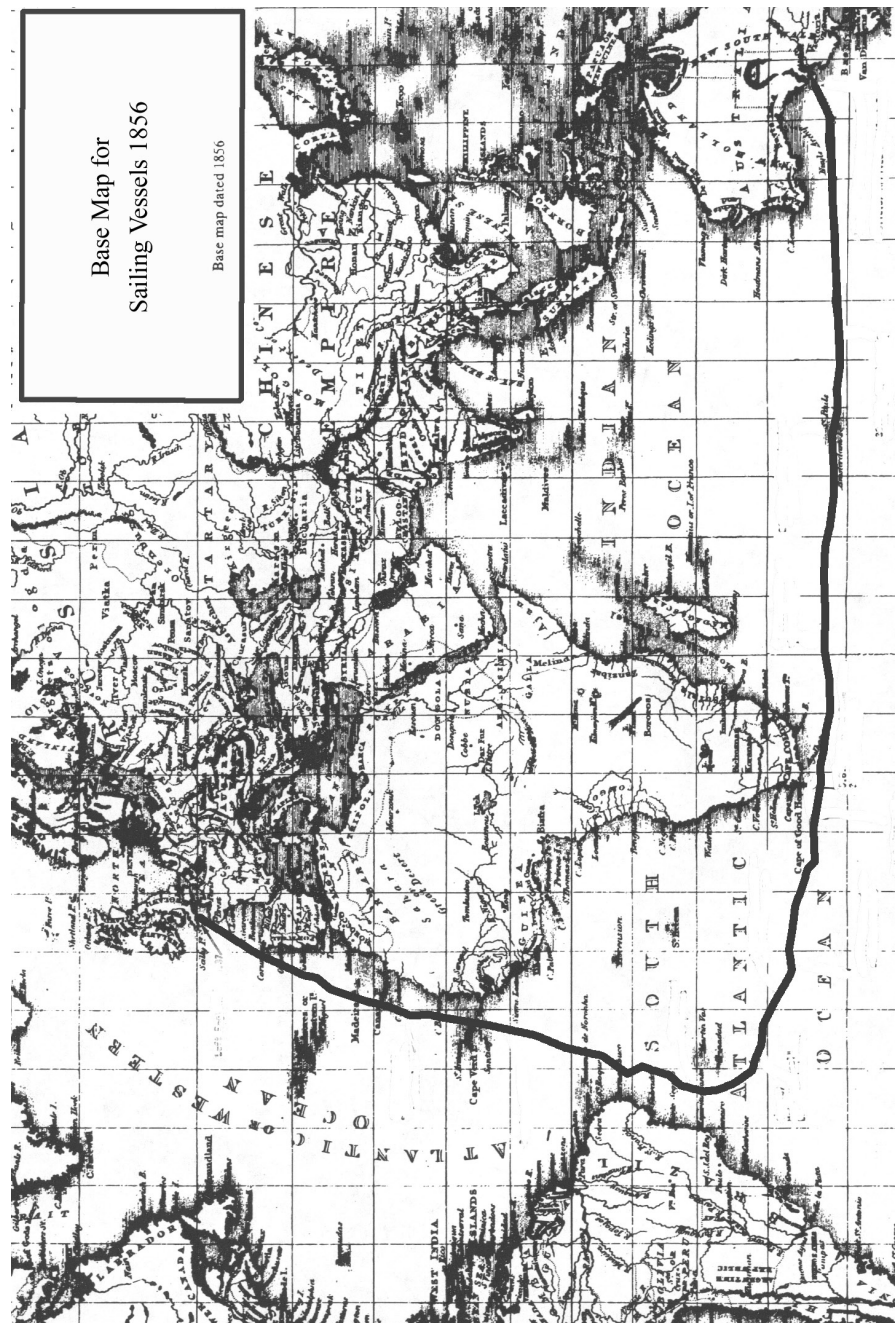
- 37 GRG 28/4/55
- 38 AJCP CO 13/90 1855
- 39 GRG 28/4 1855-1856
- 40 The Adelaide Hospital consisted of a single storey brick building completed in 1843 with two extensions added in 1845. Plans for further extensions were on the drawing board in 1855.
- 41 GRG 78/49 1840-71
- 42 GRG 78/49 1841-1870
- 43 GRG 28/4 1855-1856
- 44 GRG 78/49 1840-1871
- 45 SCR p 29
- 46 SCR paper 137 App p iv-v
- 47 GRG 28/4/55-56
- 48 Parkin, C. pp 42-46
- 49 SAGG October 1856

SOURCES

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 GRG 28/4/55-56. *Registered Cases of Destitution*
 GRG 35/48A/1855 *Nominal List of Emigrants on Board the Nashwauk dispatched from Liverpool to Adelaide, South Australia*
 GRG 35/48/1855 *Persons Entitled to Gratuities for Services Performed on Board the Emigrant Ship Nashwauk*
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- 2 GRG 78/49 1840-1871
- 3 Local History Collection Noarlunga Library
- 4 GRG 5/2 / 366 no.127/55
- 5 GRG 5/2/366 no.127/55
- 6 Towler, D J. p 36
- 7 GRG 24/6/55 /1828
- 8 GRG CSO 24/6/55/1063
- 9 GRG 24/6/55/1828
- 10 Local History Collection Noarlunga Library
- 11 GRG 35/43/55
- 12 SAGG 12/6/55 Quarterly Immigration Report, 12 July
- 13 Government Emigration Office, 8 Park St., Westminster. *Regulations for the Selection of Emigrants, and Condition to which Passages are granted to S.A.*, October 1854
- 14 GRG 35/48, 1855 *Nashwauk*
- 15 SCR paper 137 App iii
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- 18 GRG 35/48, 1855
- 19 SAGG 10/3/52 re Passenger Act 1849
- 20 GRG 35/48, 1855
- 21 GRG 35/48, 1855
- 22 GRG 35/43/55
- 23 SAGG 1860 p 258
- 24 GRG 28/1/2/55 entry no.89
- 25 AJCP CO 24/4/55/1015
- 26 GRG 35/43/55
- 27 GRG 28/4/ 55-56
- 28 GRG 35/43/ 55-56
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- 32 GRG 28/4/55-56
- 33 AJCP CO 13/90/55 pp 248-50
- 34 GRG 28/1/2/55 entry 110
- 35 AJCP CO 13/90 1855
- 36 Local History Collection Noarlunga Library

6. John Stewart of Noarlunga provided groceries for the passengers but was still waiting for full payment two months later. His letter written to Dr Duncan 19 July 1855 says;

I forwarded an account to you in May last amounting to £ 38 .7 shillings for groceries supplied to the ship wrecked immigrants of the *Nashwauk*, headed Immigration Department, and on application to the Treasury was informed that only £23.18.8d was standing to my account--- (GRG 35/43/55)

7. The destitute in Adelaide were an ongoing problem. A Destitute Board was established in 1849, meeting fortnightly to assess cases of need. People could be recommended for hospital care, or for the receipt of 'outdoor' rations, consisting of food and firewood delivered to wherever they were residing. With increasing immigration in the 1850s the problem of providing live-in accommodation was urgent. Space was made available in the Barracks on North Terrace next to Government House, and 'indoor relief' became available. Matthew Moorhouse was appointed Comptroller of the Destitute in 1855 and was responsible for distributing both indoor and outdoor relief. With over 250 extra persons arriving in the weeks following the wreck, Moorhouse and his assistant Richard Tapley were frantic, weighing up '5-6000 rations weekly' each bundle containing the daily allowance of 20oz of bread, 8 oz of meat, 2oz of sugar, 1oz soap, and a ¼ oz tea. (GRG 28/1/2/1855 entry no.118)
8. For those girls fortunate enough to gain employment the average wages for female domestic servants were £12 -£20 per annum plus board and lodging. The average wages 'of mechanics and others in South Australia, for the three months ended the 30th September, 1855' can be seen in the Quarterly Return in SAGG October 1855 p.809 Prices being paid for some common commodities were; 1lb bread 5d, mutton 8-10d a pound, potatoes 3d; one pair of blankets 12-23/-, bonnets 2-5/- each and boots 8/-12/6. To post a letter cost 2d for under half an ounce.

PART ONE

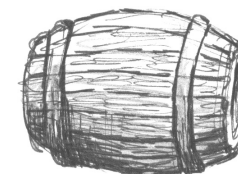
THE WRECK OF THE *NASHWAUK*

MOANA, SA 1855

The *Nashwauk* was declared an historic shipwreck under the Historic Shipwrecks Act of 1981. It is one of the first ten wrecks in South Australia to be proclaimed under this legislation. Few are aware of the story of this wreck although it lies on the coast of suburban Adelaide.

The immigrant ship *Nashwauk* arrived on our coast on 13 May 1855 with over 300 labourers and single Irish servant girls on board. The wrecking of this ship close to Moana is shrouded in mystery. Was it at the hands of smugglers? Was revelry and drunkenness on board a contributing factor? Was the vigilance of the Captain relaxed as, after navigating the Troubridge Shoal, he anticipated the journey's end? Had it been a voyage of debauchery with the single women cavorting among the crew?

On 14 February 1855 the *Nashwauk* left Liverpool, bound for South Australia, with Captain Archibald McIntyre at the helm. McIntyre took advantage of the winds and reached the colony in eighty nine days. After an uneventful voyage the *Nashwauk* was wrecked on 13 May adjacent to Harriot's Creek (Pedler's Creek) in St Vincent's Gulf. The charts tracing the ship's course revealed that by the evening of 12 May Captain McIntyre and the crew had successfully navigated the dreaded Troubridge Shoal¹.



LEGEND CONCERNING THE *NASHWAUK*

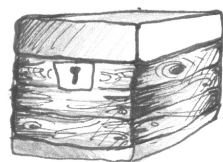
There are many tales of smuggling relating to the *Nashwauk*. Several of these held in the Local History Collection of the Noarlunga Library are related here. The unpublished account written by N F Goss reads:

The locals have shined the memory of the *Nashwauk* in a legend. It is a colourful tale, in which misleading shore lights, drunkenness on the vessel, and misbehaviour of the young women ashore blend delightfully. Andrew Harriott figures as a smuggler, in the attic of whose house hung the misleading light. As to the charge of smuggling it is impossible to say definitely-

Geoffrey Shepherd revived the legend with his article in *The Advertiser*, Saturday December 20 1947:

In the early days of the colony the sparsely settled and rugged coastal stretch of country south of the Onkaparinga River, where Moana is today, had something of a reputation as a smugglers area. ---Dalkeith was reputed to be the smugglers' head quarters. An imposing two storey mansion of many rooms guarded by a solid twelve foot wall, it occupied a commanding view of the coast. It was a stern secretive looking place with the atmosphere of a fortress. It was observed that that lights were seen flashing to certain vessels that put in under the cover of gloom---Horse teams conveyed the contraband to the mansion where it was deposited in spacious vault like cellars. The horse teams had a reputation of being so well trained that at a signal given by their masters in the event of an alarm they would disperse, and at another signal, reassemble. When the occupants of Dalkeith sighted a vessel early one hazy morning sailing close in shore they assumed it was one they had an interest in and signalled it --- The day was 13 May 1855.

Did the crew of the *Nashwauk* mistake a light shining from Dalkeith for a light shining from Semaphore? Was the light shone deliberately from Dalkeith to lure the ship onto the rocks? Three facts have lent credibility to these suspicions. Firstly, Captain McIntyre was accommodated by Mr Harriott at Dalkeith after the wreck. Secondly, he was to die in the Golden Fleece Hotel in Currie St, which was one of the hotels reputedly owned by Mr Harriott. Thirdly, Mr Harriott bought most of the cargo and the fittings from the wreck.



FACT CONCERNING THE *NASHWAUK*

When the ship ran aground at 5am on the morning of 13 May Captain McIntyre appeared on the deck immediately. At first it was believed that the vessel could be refloated at high tide. However, daybreak revealed that the hull was shattered and that water was flowing in. Andrew Harriott from Dalkeith sent one of his workmen, Mr Shakes, on horseback to get help from Noarlunga. He returned with the advice of the post master, Mr Birrell, to unload the ship and retrieve the mail. By now it was 1 pm. In deteriorating weather conditions the terrified passengers struggled for places in the five life boats on the vessel.

NOTES

1. Though Mary Hodgins complained of the neglect of the ship's surgeon her baby was probably delivered by Lucy Hourigan, Hospital Assistant, or one of the other women on board. This was a common practice. As no mid wife was employed on board and more than 50% of babies born at sea did not survive, emigrants were sent circulars warning them to avoid becoming pregnant before a voyage. As many could not read and the date of departure and duration of the voyage was uncertain, this was unrealistic advice.
2. The Immigration Agent interviewed each passenger who arrived in an immigrant ship to ascertain circumstances of the voyage. Several other complaints were registered with Dr Duncan when the passengers on the *Nashwauk* were interviewed. Alexander Toole, Michael Richardson and Catherine McManus also complained of the neglect of the Surgeon Superintendent. Margaret Ryan complained of being put in irons during the voyage. Denis Toole complained because his rations were cut. These complaints were dismissed by the Immigration Agent. (GRG 35/48/55)
3. The Captain would have received £25 and a share in the cargo, the chief mate (William Curphey) received £12.18.0 and John Forrest who issued the stores, the same. GRG 35/48/55 *Passage Money and Mode of Payment*
4. *The Adelaide Times* 15 June 1855 reported:
The Trinity Board having carefully investigated the circumstances connected with the stranding of the ship, *Nashwauk*, on the beach near the Onkaparinga, and having examined the first and second mates, and the man who was on the lookout, are unanimously of the opinion that if the Captain had not neglected to carry out the Ship's course and distance on the chart, at any period during the night previous to the wreck, the accident would not have occurred.
5. A letter survives from Bosworth to the Harbour Master, Captain Douglas, who had promised to pay the boat men. Dated 17 May 1855 it demands the payment of the individuals employed 'for their assistance rendered to the emigrants by the *Nashwauk* on Sunday last.' The dray men had carried women and children from the life boats with the assistance of Norris' boat crew. The boat crew, Frederick Thompson, Peter LeDun, In(Ian) Singleton, and George(?) Langshaw demanded 15/- each for their work. This was more than the usual charge because it was Sunday. There was included here a charge for ferrying the servant girls across the river, which occurred on Monday 14 May. The draymen, Mr Kelton, Mr Stag and Mr Legard wanted 25/- each. (GRG 35/43/55)

Passenger Breakdown (females)

Female Passengers 69 age 14 -21
98 age 21-45 total 167

162 from Ireland
2 from Scotland
3 from England
111 domestic servants
39 farm servants
4 cooks
8 dairy maids
2 laundresses

Some of the women and children were carried on the backs of sailors through the waves to the shore. A passenger, Edward Stibbles, was a child at the time. His account based on his father's memories is held in the Local History Collection of the Noarlunga Library:

I was a child two years old on that ship. May I give my father's description of the wreck? The sailors carried the girls on their backs to the shore from the boats---. Some of the passengers were frightened and cried to the Virgin Mary to save them.

Among those struggling ashore was Mary Hodgins, clutching her new baby, and the widow Mary Allen with three children, one an infant. Mary Kilderry was heavily pregnant with her first child to be born in two days time. Margaret Curtis too was near confinement. The Begg children, Agnes, Elizabeth and William were all under 12. Their father was feverish and would spend over two months in the Adelaide Hospital from 25 May². And there were the two Fox infants, John, 1 year, and Mary, aged 2, with their parents, and young Catherine Brown, 8, with her parents. The Dinsdales, Kellys, and Doolettes all had young families, as did George Stibbles and Robert and Isabella Anderson. The servant girl Bridget Feighny was ill and would require extra nursing on arrival at Noarlunga. Catherine Stanley, aged 23, reached the shore but was to die of exposure a week later. Besides that of the Captain this was the only death associated with the wreck.

After assembling on the beach the passengers walked or were taken by dray to Noarlunga. Mr Richard Bosworth of Prior's Court had organised three draymen to convey the women and children to the Horseshoe Inn. Here the fire places were blazing and straw had been gathered for bedding. The residents of Noarlunga had killed and roasted eight sheep, brewed bucketsful of hot tea and baked many loaves of bread to feed the distressed victims.



Ruins of the Horseshoe Inn (Old Noarlunga). *Photo courtesy P. Charles.*

Captain McIntyre and the crew remained on the beach in stormy conditions until the evening when the Captain went to his lodging with Mr Harriott at Dalkeith.

Some press reports sensationalized events at Noarlunga that evening. For example *The S A Register* Tuesday 15 May 1855 reported:

The conduct of the emigrants has led to much remark. Many of the girls behaved in a most discreditable manner showing plainly that they were either unfit to have been sent as emigrants or that they had been sadly corrupted on the voyage.

The Adelaide Times reported adversely about the crew:

We regret to say that reports have reached us descriptive of most disorderly and indecent conduct on the part of the crew of the vessel.

These accounts are contradicted in *The Adelaide Times* 17 May:

We are informed by an eye witness that considering the confusion naturally taking place on such an occasion the greatest order and decorum were observed by all parties and--the discreditable behaviour attributed by the Register to many of the girls could only have existed in the imagination of this informant.

In his article on this matter in 1933 N F Gosse concludes that probably nothing occurred that could not 'be explained by the confusion natural to the occasion and the overwrought condition of the women'.³



MONDAY 14 MAY

The day after the wreck Mr Hollins, landlord of the Horseshoe Inn, sent a messenger on horseback to Adelaide with news of the catastrophe. The official response was to instruct Captain Egerton Warburton, Police Commissioner, to proceed on horseback to Noarlunga with a party of four mounted troopers. They were to protect property from the wreck and help to maintain order. Captain Douglas, Harbour Master, was dispatched on the Government schooner *Yatala* and Captain Roberts arrived on the mail steamer the *Thomas Melbourne*. Both boats were anchored near the wreck.⁴

On the Monday morning most of the passengers were assembled at the Noarlunga Market Square to be told of plans to convey them to Adelaide. An attempt was to be made to board the *Thomas Melbourne*. So they returned to the beach on foot.

Toole Denis 17, farm labourer, his rations were cut on the voyage.

Toole Eliza 21, farm servant

Toole Mary 19, domestic servant

Toole Margaret 22, cook

Toole Teresa 14, child

Toole Mary 18, housemaid from Clare Ireland, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Treacy (Tracey) Honora 22, dairy maid from Tipperary. Catholic. She spent 28 May to the 28 June in the Adelaide Hospital with fever. She then went to the Clare Depot and was employed by Mr Taylor Watervale at 3/- a week in August 1855.

Wall Catherine 20, farm servant from Kilkenny, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Walsh Mary 23, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From Adelaide transport to Mac Caw Creek is recorded in December 1855.

Walsh Mary 22, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. She said she had applied for Sydney but in fact she left for Melbourne with a letter and cash from a sister, on the *Havilah* in October 1855.

Whelan Ellen 26, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was paid £2 as a sub matron on the ship. In the German Hospital she said she had applied for Sydney. She had no relatives or friends in South Australia.

Whelan Judith 28, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. In the German Hospital she also said she had applied for Sydney.

Whelan Catherine 23, farm servant from Tipperary, Catholic, German Hospital. She was employed from the Clare Depot in August 1855 at 2/6 a week by Mr Diarwood(?) near Clare.

Whelan Mathilda 20, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic.

White Bridget 24, domestic servant from Clare Ireland, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She was engaged in September at 3/- a week by Mr Evans of Auburn. A Bridget White married John Coussin of Bungaree 7 May 1856.

White Bridget 22, domestic servant from Galway, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was engaged in August at 4/- a week by Mr Beacon near Broughton. See above.

Whitfield Alicia 20, farm servant from Kings, Catholic. She applied for relief June 1856 with a bad hand, unfit for work and destitute, residence, the Bay.

Woods Ellen 28, farm servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was engaged at 3/6 a week by Mr Richmond of Clare (This may have been Ellen Woods, dairy maid from Kilkenny, see below)

Woods Ellen 18, dairy maid from Kilkenny, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Watson Ellen, domestic servant, had applied for Melbourne, and had no friends or relatives in the colony. Though not in the passenger list she was interviewed at the Select Committee as a passenger on the *Nashwauk*.

Wright Mary A 21, sponsored by Stuckey and Rankee, fee paid by James Berry. This name appears on the list of names of *Persons nominated by Purchasers of Land in South Australia*, though not on the Passenger List.

Wolfe William listed as cook on the ship, paid £5 according to Ship's Papers, but not recorded on the Passenger list.

Shea (Sheer) Mary 22, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Sheehan Anne 21, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 29 August 1855, and died 30.9.55 of 'psithis'.

Simmon Mary 20, domestic servant from Carlow, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had had applied to go to Melbourne.

Sinnot Ellen 25, farm servant from Kilkenny, Catholic. She worked first for Mr Haster and proved unsuitable by September. Then she worked for Mr Gowan, and again was unsuitable. From a residence in Norwood she applied for relief by December 1855.

Speer Mary 27, domestic servant from Doncaster, Catholic.

Slattery Nancy 22, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne. From the Clare Depot, in September 1855 she was engaged at 3/- a week by Mr Freeman of Clare.

Stanley Catherine 23, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital on 17 May and died 22 May 1855 from fever.

Stanley Catherine 20, from Kilkenny, Catholic, recorded at the German Hospital in June, 1855.

Storan Ellen 20, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne. She was suffering from 'morbi oculorum' (diseased eyes) and was referred by Mr Ennis from the Adelaide Depot to the Adelaide Hospital on October 15. She was discharged on 24 January and was recommended for relief by Dr Thomas because she was convalescent.

Stapleton Alley 28, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She left for Melbourne on the *White Swan* October 1855 with letter and cash from a cousin.

Stibbles George 39, packer, plasterer, constable on the ship and paid £5. Scotch Free Church. The family was nominated by Alex Hay.

Stibbles Jean 39

Stibbles Edward 1

Stibbles Whilemena 7

Stibbles George 14

Stibbles Eliza 17

Stibbles Jean 6

Stibbles Margaret 3

Stibbles Jessie 10

Sullivan Lucy 23, domestic servant from Dublin, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Sweetman Catherine (Anne) 23, farm servant from Tipperary, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Sweetman Margaret 18, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied for Melbourne.

Toole Alex 48, farm labourer, Catholic. The family was from Wicklow, and in the German Hospital. He complained of neglect of Ship's Surgeon.

Toole Mary 48, servant, matron on the ship and paid £5.

Here the sea was so rough that boarding was impossible. The *Thomas Melbourne* had to be relocated at the mouth of the Onkaparinga. So the passengers trudged another four kilometres along the cliff tops from Harriott's Creek and reassembled at Gray's Store, near the present day footbridge. By now it was dark and only seventy girls had the courage to board the vessel. Events are vividly recorded in the report of the Police Commissioner to the Colonial Secretary:⁵

In obedience to the instructions conveyed in your letter No 1004 of the 14th instant, I reached Noarlunga at about 4 pm on Monday--- hearing that the Harbour Master was at the mouth of the Onkaparinga embarking the immigrants on board the *Thomas Melbourne* --- On reaching the mouth of the river I found that the Harbour Master had just gone on board the *Thomas (Melbourne)* being unable to induce any more of the immigrants to embark with him - The *Yatala* was anchored close into the shore but the women were frightened and all refused to go on board of her-under the circumstances as it was getting dark I went on now to the Publican at Noarlunga to prepare him to receive and feed them and then conducted all of them who had refused to embark back to the township and lodged them in safety at the public house.

Egerton's account continues:

On my return to Noarlunga at 7 pm I found the Immigration Agent had arrived. This officer then made all necessary arrangements for the comfort of the immigrants and for their conveyance the next morning. On Tuesday morning I visited the wreck. The *Nashwauk* is a vessel of 762 tons, wooden, with a total crew of 30 men; she is broadside on and close into the shore, apparently the vessel was --- (indecipherable) being supported in an upright position by the sand in which she is embedded, but in reality she is on the rocks which are about 5 feet below the sandy surface. Her bottom is broken up and there is the same depth of water inside as outside of her. It will be sometime before the hull is broken up and everything that may be worth taking from the vessel secured.

Up to the time of my leaving the wreck (noon yesterday) neither Mr Lloyd's Agent nor the ship's agent had arrived, I was therefore unable to make any arrangements with them personally but I took all the necessary steps for the security of such properties as might be landed and for giving effect in every possible way to the wishes of the passengers and of Lloyd's Agent.

Previous to leaving the wreck I sent a message to the Master of the *Yatala* informing him that he need not wait at the river for any more immigrants, and suggesting for his consideration the propriety of anchoring the schooner abreast the wreck and getting as much out of her as he could - I do not know the result of my note but whatever may be brought on shore will be properly taken care of by the police.



THE CARGO

Due to strong winds by the Wednesday after the disaster debris was strewn for a mile along the shore. The Captain was still pacing along the sand trying to recover whatever baggage of the passengers that he could. The crew had unloaded the accessible cargo and this was guarded by police and customs officers. The rails for the construction of the Port Adelaide railway and tons of coal could not be saved. Part of the masonry for the Masonic Lodge was irretrievable. According to *The Adelaide Times* Thursday 17 May 1855 it was already 'choked with sand.'



Relics retrieved from the *Nashwauk* - soap dish, plate, fragments of masonry for Masonic Lodge. Photos - P. Charles, courtesy Heritage SA.

Ryan Catherine 20, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. She was transported from the Adelaide Depot in March 1856 to Burra for Mr Cooper.

Ryan Ellen 25, dairy maid from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She left for Melbourne on the *White Swan* in June 1856 with an order and the shipping cost from an Aunt.

Ryan Judith 20, farm servant from Tipperary, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Ryan Bridget 19, domestic servant from Tipperary. In the German Hospital she claimed she had applied to go to Sydney.

Ryan Bridget 24, dairy maid from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. Her fee was paid by Elizabeth Ryan, her nominee unknown. From the Clare Depot she was engaged in August 1855 at 2/6 a week by Mrs Frankzism.

Ryan Margaret 22, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She had an unknown nominee and Elizabeth Ryan paid her fee. She was in the German Hospital. In August her residence was East Terrace. She applied for relief in September 1855, her residence then given as Grenfell St. She had lost her job as her conduct was 'immoral.' She is listed at the Clare Depot at the end of 1855 and in March 1856 is returned to Adelaide by order of Mr Gleeson after medical attention for three weeks. A Margaret Ryan, age given as 19, is committed to the lunatic asylum by Dr Gosse early in 1856 as an 'imbecile.' The reason given is social dislocation due to the trauma of immigration. One Margaret Ryan was put into handcuffs(iron) on the ship for unruly behaviour and complained about this. The history of the two Margaret Ryans is impossible to determine accurately, but the two accounts given contribute to the picture of life and conditions for servant girls in the colony.

Ryan Michael 19, labourer from Tipperary, Catholic, nominated by Mr Oldham, fee paid by Elizabeth Ryan. He was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital on 4 June and discharged 25 July, after fever. He then applied for relief.

Ryan Patrick 25, labourer from Tipperary, Catholic, nominated by Mr Oldham, fee paid by Elizabeth Ryan.

Ryan Thomas 35, labourer from Tipperary, Catholic, nominated by Mr Oldham, fee paid by Elizabeth Ryan. He applied for relief in August 1855, residence Unley.

Ryan Mary 20, domestic servant from Kings, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She was recommended for relief in July 1855 by Mrs Alford of the Stag Inn Rundle St, as she was 'inefficient and immoral' and therefore out of work.

Ryan Joanna 22, domestic servant from Limerick, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was employed 24 August by Mrs Brydon near Clare.

Saxby Sarah 27, cook from Dublin, Catholic. From September 1855 she was unable to work because of a bad arm. She was allowed to remain with her employer, Mrs Philips of Port Adelaide, and receive relief.

Seaton (Sexton) Mary 19, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot, she was engaged in September at 3/- a week by Mr Brady near Clare.

Shea Judith 19, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Sydney.

Piper (Pigot, Pearce) Mary 19, domestic servant from Tipperary Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. She went to the Clare Depot.

Purcell Margaret 22, domestic servant from Galway, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Sydney.

Randell Jane 24, domestic servant from Dublin, Catholic. The Ship's Surgeon complained that she flirted with the Captain on the ship. (Ship's Papers) In May 1856 she was conveyed from the Adelaide Depot to Horse Shoe Bay.

Richardson Michael 38, labourer, herds man, from Cork. Catholic. He complained of the neglect of the Ship's Surgeon.

Richardson Mary 30

Riordan (Redling, Reardon) Bridget (Bridgid) 20, domestic servant from Cork. Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied for Melbourne. She fell overboard from the *Melbourne* when a deck rail gave way close to Pt Noarlunga. She was rescued possibly by Jacob Haarsma whom she later married. She went to the Clare Depot and was employed by Mr Rogers, school teacher. After marriage to Jacob Haarsma she lived at Seven Hills, and had nine children. Descendents John Touhy, Dennis Connell and families.

Roney Mary 25, domestic servant from Galway, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Ready, (Reedy) Mary 28, domestic servant from Limerick, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, then resided at Glenelg. From September 1855 she received indoor relief because she was out of work. December 1855 a Mary Ready is transported to Kapunda from the Adelaide Depot.

Riley (Ryal) Mary 23, farm servant from Cork, Catholic. Though not on the original passenger list her name appears when she was interviewed by the Select Committee, where she explained that she had been sick for five months after arriving. She claimed that she had applied for Sydney as she had cousins there doing well. She boarded the *Nashwauk* bound for Adelaide because she was told to board the *Nashwauk* to fill it up. She had always lived at home in the country, and had milked, washed, and worked in the house. She had never been in service. She was without friends, and since being well had found no work. She had not been in a country depot.

Ryal Catherine 25, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. From the Clare Depot in August she was employed by Mr Horrocks of Penwortham at 3/- a week.

Ryal (Ryan) Mary 23, domestic servant, from Cork, Catholic, possibly sister of Catherine. From the Clare Depot she was employed in August by Mr Hope of Clare, at 3/- a week. Mr Hope was the Manager of Bungaree. See also Mary Ryan below.

Roney (Roony) Mary 25, domestic servant from Galway, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Ryan Margaret 25, domestic servant, from Tipperary, Catholic. A Margaret Ryan was in court at Port Adelaide in January 1856 because she had stolen £13 and some silver from Mr Robinson of Salisbury, when she was a servant. She was not committed to gaol. Margaret Ryan was again on trial for larceny in October 1856 when she stole gloves and three handkerchiefs from Martha Porter of Adelaide when she was a servant for Porter. The property was returned. In October 1856, residence South Terrace, she applied for relief because she had a bad breast and was given indoor relief, recommended by Dr Gosse. She had no friends and a bad foot. (There are several Margaret Ryans and details may be confused here.)

On 29 May the sale of the cargo was advertised, to take place on the beach. *The Adelaide Times* reports:

By order of Messrs Elder and Co, Lloyd's Agents, Samson, Wicksteed and Co are instructed to sell, on the beach at Harriott's Creek, 2 miles from Noarlunga, this day, Tuesday 29th of May, at 12 o'clock, the Hull and Material of the *Nashwauk* with such portion of the cargo as may be saved from the wreck. Lot 1: All the cargo on board at time of sale, to be removed within a period stated at time of sale. Lot 2: The Hull of the Vessel, as she now lies, with Bowsprit, Masts, Spars, Passengers fittings, etc etc after which the following materials in lots to suit purchasers; Top masts, Top gallant masts, Yards, Spars etc, Sails, 2 entire suits nearly new, Hawsters nearly new, Anchors and kedges, 5 boats viz 2 life boats, 1 long boat, 2 pinnaces, 1 gig 22 feet long, cabin furniture, Ship's chronometers, cabin stores, and a variety of other articles.

The sale was conducted by Mr Neale. It consisted mainly of Ship's fittings as very little actual cargo was retrieved. There were several boxes of raisins, a cask of resin, a case of clocks and a few small objects. This cargo with the chance of finding more was sold to Mr Harriott for £65. He paid £70 for the hull. It is recorded that the proceeds of the sale exceeded £684. The shortage of materials in the colony meant that the wooden partitions, the sleeping quarters, and other fittings of a migrant ship could be sold at a good price. Some sources suggest Mr Harriott bought the lot.⁶ Though this has fueled rumours of a smuggling ring acting under Harriott's auspices there is no official evidence of this.

After the sale of the cargo the Captain was escorted to Adelaide by one of the workmen from Dalkeith. He was accommodated in Currie St at the Golden Fleece, a hotel reputedly owned by Andrew Harriott. Here he retired to bed with 'low fever' diagnosed by Dr Gosse. His death on Sunday 3 June is reported in the Register on 4 June:

With much regret we announce the death of Captain Archibald McIntyre---which occurred yesterday at 12 o'clock. His illness was supposed to have been occasioned by exposure after the unfortunate wreck of his ship on our coast, and mental anxiety, which brought on low fever. He was attended by Dr Bayer and Dr Gosse, and we therefore need not state that every attention was paid to his case. He first took to his bed on Wednesday last. The funeral, from the Golden Fleece, will take place at half past three o'clock, this afternoon.

Ships in Port Adelaide lowered their flags to half mast as the Captain of the *Nashwauk* made his last journey to an unmarked grave in the West Terrace Cemetery. McIntyre, 37 years old, had left a wife and four children in Glasgow.

Cargo of the *Nashwauk* from the *Register* Thursday 17 May 1855 Shipping Intelligence

The cargo on board consisted mainly of materials for the construction of the Port Adelaide to Adelaide railway, and a general cargo.

Imports: Cargo per *Nashwauk* --- 4 cases merchandise Barlow; 1 case ditto Minckton; 12 crates earthenware Dutton; 7 casks ditto Order; 1 cart 4 wheels 1 cart pole Higgins; 1 case merchandise Masters; 1 case ditto Stephenson; 1 box boots Collinson; 6 casks shot Harris; 1 box merchandise 6 sacks oats James; 3 cases merchandise Order; 3 cases and casks ditto Beasley; 1 box ditto Gee; 1 box wearing apparel Marsden; 1 pkg Gibson; 20 boxes merchandise Order; 5 ditto ditto Turner; 28 boxes ditto Cummins; 108 kegs nails 38 coils cordage; 5 casks hardware Harris; 2 cases saddlery Clarke; 1 case merchandise Williams; 10 casks earthenware Walsh; 3 cases merchandise Cumming; 23 crates earthenware Goode; 200 boxes raisins 50 packages ditto; 30 barrels currants 7 cases plums 5 ditto almonds Robin; 8 packages hardware 3 bundles spades 72 iron arms and boxes Colton; 1 box Rowson; 1 case merchandise 1 parcel patterns Robin; 1 hhd cheese 3 barrels ditto Goode; 1371 bars iron 80 bundles bar iron Dutton; 41 barrels venetian red 21 pkgs paints and painters stuff 40 cases oil 10 ditto turpentine Allot; 4 packages 2 cases agricultural instruments Rowland; 1 case merchandise Order; 12 packages ditto Sach; 200 tons coals Stilling and Co.



OFFICIAL ENQUIRIES

There were two official enquiries into the circumstances of the wreck, one by the Trinity Board and one by the Immigration Board. The Trinity Board, named after the London Trinity Board, was established at Port Adelaide in 1851 to regulate port and maritime activities

The enquiry by the Trinity Board into the wreck of the *Nashwauk*⁷ was on 28 May, and the interest was such that it was open to the public.⁸ The proceedings were reported in *The Adelaide Times*, 1 June.

In the Chair at Trinity House Port Adelaide was the Harbour Master Captain Douglas, who was Master of the Board. On the Board were Mr Dashwood (Collector of Customs) and two sea captains, Captain Scott and Captain Malcolm.

Mr Gwynne was the lawyer appearing on behalf of Captain McIntyre. He had with him a medical certificate from Dr Gosse as McIntyre at this time was confined to bed at the Golden Fleece Hotel. Mr Gwynne asked for proceedings to be postponed until the Captain could be present. This was refused and the Board began by examining the witnesses who were present. These were William Curphey (Kirby) the Chief Mate, Daniel McFarlane second mate; the man on the lookout, Jacob Wilson and John Parkinson, seaman.

Morton (Moran, Mooran) Mary 22, needle woman from Limerick, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Sydney.

Moylan Ann 22, farm servant from Tipperary, Catholic.

Mulcahy (Muleahy) Abigail (Aby) 19, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She had applied for Melbourne, and left in February 1856 on the *Havilah* with a letter and cash from a cousin.

Murphy Hannah 19, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Murphy Mary 26, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Murphy Mary 20, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Nally Mary 22, domestic servant from Galway, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Neal Honora (Hannah, O'Niel Ann) 23, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot, she was engaged at 2/6 a week by Mrs Goldsmith, of Watervale.

Nunan (Nonan) Bridget 20, farm servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Sydney. From the Clare Depot in September 1855 she was employed at 3/- a week by Mr I----? near Clare.

O' Brien Bridget 22, farm servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was employed by Mrs Burscott near Clare (Armagh) in August 1855, at 2/6 a week. She married Benjamin Horne. Ellen was born in 1859. George and other children were subsequently born at Auburn.

O'Brien Catherine 20, laundress from Clare, Ireland. Catholic.

O'Halloran Henry 25, farm servant sponsored by Mr Wright and Martin Kelly paid the fee. Henry is not on the Nominal List of Emigrants, but appears on the list of sponsored emigrants. Possibly husband of Mary.

O'Halloran Mary 25, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic. She went to Gawler in December 1855. Mary O'Halloran was confined in May 1856 and still in the Destitute Asylum late 1856.

O'Shea Bridget 20, domestic servant from Limerick, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Sydney.

Oldfield Anthony 33, from York, farm labourer, Church of England, and a sub constable on the ship and received £2. Immediately after the wreck he was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital and was discharged 3 July, after a fever. He applied for relief because he was out of work and without means in August 1855.

Oldfield Anne 28 wife of Anthony.

Pemberton Edward 21, labourer from Kilkenny, Church of England.

Pemberton Mary 25

Mackrell Sarah 20, seamstress from Londonderry, Irish Protestant. She applied for relief August 1855, as she was out of work, and destitute, residing at the Port. There was little demand for seamstresses in Adelaide.

McDonald Ellen 19, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic, and at the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. From the Clare Depot she was engaged at 2/6 a week by Mr Spratt, blacksmith, of Clare, in July 1855. From here she was sent away by mail coach because she 'got too close to Spratt' in January 1856. An Ellen McDonald married Thomas Edmunds of Koorunga at St Joseph's Church 13 December 1857. A baby, Frances, was born in September 1860(S A Births, Index of Registrations 1842-1906)

Magree Bridget 29, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic, and sub matron on the ship. She was paid £2. She was in the German Hospital. She went to Melbourne on the *White Swan* in June 1856.

Magree Bessie (Elizabeth) 22, domestic servant from Kilkenny, sister of Bridget. Also in the German Hospital, and had applied to go to Melbourne. They both paid their own way there on the *White Swan* in June 1856.

Maher (Mahir, Minahar) Bridget 26, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She spent from 2 June until the 22 June in the Adelaide Hospital with fever. She had applied for Melbourne and left on the *White Swan* in June 1856.

Malony, (Malone) Eliza 18, domestic servant from Kings, Catholic.

Malone Judy 20, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic.

McCarty Honorah 21, dairy maid from Cork, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital and was engaged from the Clare Depot by Mr Mc Waters in August 1855 at 4/- a week.

McCaughey (McCarthy) Margaret 22, domestic servant from Londonderry, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 1 June and discharged 12 July after a fever.

McDougall (McDowall) Mary 20, domestic servant, from Donegal. Church of England. She was in the German Hospital, and paid her own passage to Melbourne in December 1855 aboard the *White Swan*. She had a letter from a cousin.

McLaughlin (McGlaughlin) Mary 18, domestic servant from Donegal, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital and said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

McMahon John 39, farm labourer, from Clare, Ireland. He was nominated by A E Wright, and Martin Kelly paid the fee. Catherine Kelly, 9, and Martin Kelly, 6, were both also included in this nomination.

McManus Catherine 22, farm servant from Fermagh, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She complained of the neglect of the Ship's Surgeon. She said she had applied to go to Sydney

McNamara Anne 22, farm servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic.

McPeake Anne 19, domestic servant from Londonderry, Catholic.

Minihan Bridget 18, farm servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne. From the Clare Depot she was engaged in September 1855 at 2/- a week, by Mr Thomas of Auburn.

Moore Margaret 20, domestic servant from Kings, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 28 May with fever and discharged 19 July.

Moore Ellen 20, domestic servant from Kings, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. From the Clare Depot she was engaged July at 2/6 a week by Mrs McKenzie, inn keeper, of Clare.

In answer to Mr Gwynne's question "To what do you attribute the wreck of the vessel?" Curphey stated that Jacob Wilson who was on watch on Sunday morning at 4 am had seen heavy black cloud. In hind site this must have been land. Though the previous evening had been clear it was a hazy night with little moon. John Parkinson had relieved the helm at 4am and saw what he took to be black cloud. The ship had struck at approximately 5am.

Mr Dashwood produced two charts of the gulf pricked off by the Master of the Ship showing a safe passage through the Troubridge Shoal. In answer to a question from Mr Gwynne the Chief mate stated that the Captain was a temperate man. He had 'never seen him in the least excited by drink.' The second mate, Daniel McFarlane, said that 'the Captain was at the cabin table when I called him and appeared to be quite sober.'

Captain Douglas summed up, saying that the Captain had come on deck immediately on being called, and that he had set the main sail and main top mast stay sail. The ship had gone off 'upon her heel and remained in that position with her sails full on the starboard tack.' The Captain was a 'good and sober Captain.' The enquiry was carried over pending the recovery of the Captain. However, because of his death Sunday 3 June the findings of the Trinity Board had to be based on the evidence given above.

The second investigation, carried out by the Immigration Board, was into the 'treatment of the people by the Surgeon and the Master of the Ship.'

There were reports of drunkenness on board the night before the wreck. Edward Stibbles' account of his father's memoirs reads; 'The Doctor was not the only man on board the worse for liquor. It was a Saturday night and moonlight---'

Mr Bosworth, of Noarlunga, J P, also claimed that the Surgeon was 'tipsy' when he came ashore.¹⁰ Dr Knipe of Noarlunga had attended the patients immediately after the wreck.

Fearing for his reputation Surgeon Richard Smales recorded his concern in a letter to the Immigration Agent. It is written from the Horseshoe Inn where he had remained to care for the sick passengers. Dated 21 May the letter reads;

'I am very anxious to be in town as I understand that some complaints have been preferred against my conduct on board ship prejudicial to my character which I wish to be thoroughly investigated.'¹¹

Duncan also received this letter from George Doolette, dated 24 May:

Doctor, I also beg to state here that our ship doctor Mr Richard Smales conducted the arrangements of ship with the utmost propriety to the health and comfort of all the passengers, and I trust that no idle reports will in the least injure his character for he deserves great respect from all, for my duties as schoolmaster and as his assistant I call myself called upon now to support his character, from any slander that any evil disposed Person may cast upon him.

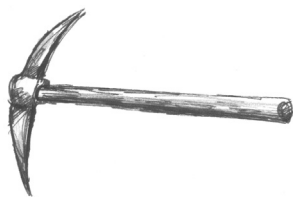
The complaints against the Surgeon were dismissed.

The Adelaide Times informed the public on Wednesday 6 June 1855:

The Immigration Board having met agreed to suspend all future enquiries into the treatment of the immigrants per *Nashwauk*, owing to the premature death of the Captain, and also the fact that nothing had been elicited from the emigrants who had lodged complaints to militate in any way against the character of the late Captain or the Doctor of the vessel; the enquiry therefore has terminated.

In his Quarterly Immigration Report July 12 1855 Duncan officially concluded the story of the wreck of the *Nashwauk*:¹²

The *Nashwauk* was wrecked on the coast near the mouth of the Onkaparinga on the 13th May. All the immigrants were safely landed and taken to the town ship of Noarlunga from which place some were taken by the steamer *Melbourne* to Port Adelaide and some were sent overland in drays to Adelaide. An investigation was ordered by His Excellency the Officer Administering the Government into the treatment of the people by the Master and the Surgeon Superintendent of the ship. The Immigration Board sat for this purpose on the 2nd June when it appeared to the board that there was no foundation for any complaints against the Surgeon Superintendent during the voyage. The board was adjourned until the following Tuesday on purpose to investigate the conduct of the master of the ship but information having in the interval been received that he had died in Adelaide the inquiry of course terminated.



Kelly Richard (Michael) 53, shepherd from Carlow, Catholic. He was a sub constable on the ship, and paid £2. This family was nominated by Mr Giles but is recorded in the Destitute Asylum soon after arrival. It looks as though Martin Kelly paid the fee for Marty and Catherine while Anne Kelly paid for the others.

Kelly Susan 33, wife of above

Kelly Sarah 22, cook from Carlow, Catholic. She was a sub matron on the ship, and paid £2

Kelly Prudence 18, housemaid from Carlow, Catholic

Kelly Ellen 16, housemaid from Carlow, Catholic

Kelly Mary 14, domestic servant from Carlow, Catholic

Kelly Ann 13

Kelly Martin 6 (see J McMahon below)

Kelly Deborah 8 (see J McMahon below). These children may have been a different family, related to J Mc Mahon)

Kelly Catherine 9

Kelly Charlotte infant

Kelly Ellen 26, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She said she applied to go to Melbourne.

Kelly Honora 20, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Kelly Bridget 17, farm servant, from Ireland, Catholic. Recommended for relief by Mrs Abins after working for three weeks then out of place. Address Bowden.

Keaire, (Kerin Keaire) Mary 21, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic.

Kennedy Bridget 24, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital and said she had applied to go to Sydney.

Kilderry John 21, farm labourer from Galway, Catholic

Kilderry Mary 26, from Galway, gave birth to a boy just after the wreck, 15 May.

Lally (Luby) Ellen 20, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied for Sydney. From the Clare Depot she was employed in August at 3/- a week by Mr Beard of Penwortham.

Leahy (Lahey) Bridget 17, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Sydney, and left in June 1856 with a letter and shipping order from an Aunt, on the White Swan.

Leary Johannah 20, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic, and at the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was employed in September 1855 at 3/- a week by Mr Paul Tierzk? of near Wakefield. She married Robert Giles of Kooringa 10 June 1856.

Leary (O'Leary) Mary 32, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic, recommended for relief by Mr Regan after leaving a situation at Mud Hut because of problems with her hands probably from excessive milking. In September 1855 she was in the Destitute Asylum.

Lonigan Ellen 23, farm servant from Kilkenny, Catholic. In July 1855 she had left employment and was without means, address Norwood. She applied for relief July 1855.

Loughman (Lokeman, Loakman) Mary 26, domestic servant from Tipperary, and at the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was employed in August at 2/6 a week by Mrs Slater(?) near Clare.

Holohan Martin 27, labourer from Clare, Ireland , Catholic.

Holohan Margaret 25, wife of Martin.

Houlihan Hannah 18, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic. An Ann Houlihan (Hourigan) was at the German Hospital.

Hourigan Lucy 23, domestic servant from Limerick, Catholic. She was a hospital assistant on the ship, and paid £3. She was at the Clare Depot and was employed by Mr Harrison of Clare at 2/6 a week, on 30 July 1855.

Ines (Jones) Ann 23, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. In the German Hospital she said she had applied to go to Melbourne. She was engaged from Clare Depot August 1855 at 3/6 a week by Mr Wood , of Penwortham.

Ivory Margaret 26, farm servant from Kilkenny, Catholic. She was at the German Hospital.

Johnson Francis 24, labourer, from Antrim. Church of England

Johnson Anne 21

Johnson Margaret 2

Keally Margaret 25, farm servant from Kilkenny, Catholic. She left for Melbourne with a letter and £7 from an Uncle, on the Havilah in October 1855.

Kennedy Mary 19, farm servant from Kings, Catholic, and at the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Keating Eliza (Elizabeth) 19, farm servant from Cork, Catholic. She spent from 23 May until 31 July in the Adelaide Hospital with fever. She left for Melbourne on the Havilah October 1855.

Kiely Honora 20, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic.

Kelleher, Kelcher (Callaghan) Bridget 20, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic. She was at the German Hospital. She had applied to go to Sydney. From the Clare Depot she was employed at 5/- a week by Mrs Paech of Penwortham, in August 1855. Jean Turner of Adelaide is a descendent.

Kelcher, Kelleher, Susan 19, sister of Bridget (verified by a letter from Jean Turner) Catholic. Employed from Clare Depot by Mr Bryden near Skillolagee Creek, at 5/- a week, in September 1855. She married Edward Nicholls of Skillolagee Ck 13 January 1856, at Clare.

Kelly Thomas 37, sub constable on ship, paid £2. This family from Galway was nominated by John Baker. Michael Kelly paid the fee. By June 26 Thomas had had two days work at Bowden. The family applied for outdoor relief in June.

Kelly Catherine 37

Kelly Catherine 1

Kelly Honora 5

Kelly Mary 11

Kelly Margaret 13

PART TWO

THE PASSENGERS

What was life like for passengers on board an emigrant ship such as the Nashwauk? And what challenges faced the passengers shipwrecked on our shores?

Conditions for emigrating to Australia were set out in the *Regulations for the Selection of Emigrants* from the Government Emigration Office at Westminster. Emigrants had to be 'of the callings most in demand in the Colony.' In 1854 the demand was for farm labourers and domestic servants. Single female emigrants had to be under 35 and sober, industrious and of good moral character. Emigrants had to find a contribution towards the cost of the voyage; married agricultural labourers under 45 £1, married journey men and artisans £2, and single men who must be sons of eligible families, £2. Women of the working classes needed £1.¹³

This money was used for the outfit provided to all emigrants. They received as well as provisions and medical attendance on the ship cooking utensils, a mattress, bolster, blankets, a bag to contain linen, knives, forks, spoons, metal plates and drinking mugs. These articles were kept on arrival.

Emigrants were expected to find their own clothing and assisted females could not board without 6 shifts, 6 pairs of stockings, 2 warm flannel or guernsey shirts, 2 pairs of new shoes and 2 strong gowns, 1 of which must be warm. Males needed 6 shirts, 6 pairs of stockings, 2 warm flannel or guernsey shirts, 2 pairs of new shoes and 2 complete suits of strong exterior clothing. They had to bring brushes and combs, 4 towels and 3 sheets.

A Surgeon Superintendent was employed on Government ships and was responsible for the health and safety on board. To help him a constable and sub constables from among the passengers were appointed as well as a school master, nurse and hospital assistant, a religious instructor, assistant cooks, and a matron and sub matrons to help supervise the single female immigrants. The Surgeon Superintendent on the *Nashwauk* was Richard Smales.¹⁴

The School Master on board was passenger George Doolette who was paid £5 for his services. Of the single women aboard 61 could read and 34 could write.¹⁵ George Stibbles was appointed Constable and paid £5 for this. Under him were eight sub constables from the passenger list. These men, paid £2 each, were expected to help maintain law and order among the passengers. They were Thomas Begg, Robert Anderson, Thomas Davill, George Bell, Anthony Oldfield, Richard Kelly, William Brown and James Dunn .

Robert Bottomly was appointed baker and William Wolfe was cook with Hugh Davlin to assist him.

In charge of the single female emigrants was Matron Sarah Kelly. Sub matrons were Eliza Fernie, Ellen Whelan, Bridget Magree and Ally Dineen. These women helped organize the food for each mess of girls. The single female emigrants, berthed at the stern of the ship, were divided into mess groups of six or eight. Sub matrons also supervised washing days and the airing of the bedding. Girls slept on shelving, the layers about two feet apart, toes pointed towards the mess table.



Steerage accommodation c 1855. Photo courtesy SA Maritime Museum.

Fox Sarah 26, residence Destitute Asylum. The family was receiving relief shortly after arrival.

Fox John 1

Fox Mary 2

Green Margaret 20, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. From the Clare Depot she was engaged in August at 2/6 a week by Mrs Craig of Clare.

Gavan Margaret 18, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. On 30 November she went to Auburn from Adelaide Depot on Simms and Co.

Gorman Anne 28, domestic servant from Carlow, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital.

Hanlon (Hanlan) Catherine 19, domestic servant from Westmeath, Catholic, in the German Hospital. She went to Melbourne with a letter and cash from an Uncle in July 1855.

Hanlon Mary 20, domestic servant from Westmeath, Catholic. She was at the German Hospital.

Healy Margaret 19, domestic servant and farm servant, from Cork, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She went from Adelaide to a situation in Kapunda in December 1855. She was interviewed by the Select Committee and said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Heffernan Mary 20, farm servant from Clare Ireland, Catholic. She was at the German Hospital.

Hehir (Hare) Mary 25, dairy maid from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. She was at the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Hennessy Catherine (Mary) 20, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. She was at the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. She was employed from the Clare Depot on the 24 August by Mrs Johnson, of White Water, at 2/6 a week.

Heydon Anne 22, domestic servant from Carlow, Catholic. Honor Heydon was employed from Willunga Depot at 4/- a week in November 1855.

Hinchen (Inchen) Bridget 19, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic. She was at the German Hospital. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital November 3 1855 and discharged 5 January 1856 after 'morbi oculorum' (diseased eyes).

Hoar (Hare Hoare) Alice 19, domestic servant from Tipperary. Catholic, and at the German Hospital. She said that she had applied for Sydney although she had one sister or cousin who came with her to Adelaide. Alice was in the Adelaide Depot at the time of the Select Committee. Alice was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital on 15 January 1856 and discharged on 6 February, she was suffering from 'rheumatismus' (rheumatism).

Hoar Margaret 23, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital.

Hoare (Hoar) Bridget 22, laundress from Clare, Ireland. Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Hodgins William, 34, labourer, from England, Church of England.

Hodgins Mary 21. She gave birth to a female on the ship on 23 March, and complained of the neglect of the Ship's Surgeon (Ships Papers). She applied for outdoor relief July 1855 for self and one child, her husband was away, and her residence Thebarton near the Gaol.

Doolette Nathaniel 2

Doolette Sally 10

Doolette Elizabeth 7

Doughney Honora 30, domestic servant from Lancaster, Church of England. Nurse on board ship, paid £2.

Doyle Catherine 21, domestic servant from Limerick, Catholic. C Doyle went to Horseshoe Bay December 1855, via Simms and Co. The death of a Catherine Doyle is recorded in the Death Register on 11 June 1856.

Dunn Isabella 40, farm servant from Ross Carney, Free Church. Isabella and James had an unnamed nominee, but the fees were paid by Martin Kelly. A Dunn female went to Willunga on Simms and Co December 1855.

Dunn James 17, labourer, probably son of the above, was paid £2 pounds as sub constable on the ship.

Dwyer Mary 20, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Digedan (Dyson, Diggedan, Degan) Bridget 20, farm servant , from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital on 24 May with fever and discharged 21 June.

Digedan (Dyson) Margaret 16, farm servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic, German Hospital. These girls may have been sisters, both said they had applied to go to Melbourne.

Feighney Bridget 22, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. She was ill after the wreck and not sent to Adelaide with the others.

Fennelly Catherine 17, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was recorded as being in the Destitute Asylum soon after the wreck.

Fernie Eliza 32, domestic servant from Lancaster, Church of England. She was sub matron and paid £2 on the ship. She was employed by Mr E S Wigg of Adelaide after the wreck, but first nursed the sick passengers.

Fitzgerald Judith (Joanna) 32, farm servant from Tipperary, Catholic, and in the German Hospital.

Fitzgerald Margaret 24, farm servant from Tipperary. Catholic, and in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was engaged in August 1855 at 2/6 a week by Mr Diarwood of Amargh near Clare.

Flaherty Bridget 22, domestic servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. She was employed from the Clare Depot in August by Mrs Ashley, near Clare, at 2/6 a week.

Flynn Catherine 23, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic.

Foggarty (Fogerty) Ann 21, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. From the Clare Depot she was engaged in July at 2/6 a week, by Mr Robinson, near Clare.

Foggarty (Fogerty) Mary 19, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. From the Clare Depot she was engaged in July by Mr Gleeson, gentleman, of Clare.

Fox John 26, labourer, from Oxford, Methodist. He was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 28 May with fever and discharged July 16.

Lucy Hourigan was appointed hospital assistant and Honorah Doughney, nurse. On the *Nashwauk* there were 'Separate Hospitals for males and females, fitted up with bed spaces and swing cots'.¹⁶

The single girls were occupied during the long days by sewing with materials provided by charities, so that on arrival they would have extra clothing. The school also filled time usefully, and Divine Service was on deck weekly. Occupation on board helped to maintain discipline.¹⁷

One of the duties of the sub constables was the control of fire on board. With every fitting made of wood and with mattresses stuffed with straw, fire was a constant risk.

Cooking was done on coals enclosed in brick work and the food was taken below to be eaten. Here illumination was a problem, naked candles being forbidden and various kinds of oil lamps used. The lamps were kept burning all night when there were passengers on board so at all times there had to be an adequate supply of 'good quality' sperm oil. The lamps were carefully secured to prevent accidents and fire. To put out a fire meant lifting water from the sea below probably by a hand pump. The *Nashwauk* was equipped with an efficient fire engine and fire annihilators.¹⁸

The daily routine adopted on board is outlined in the *Changes to the Passenger Act* of 1849:¹⁹

All passengers who shall not be prevented by sickness, or other sufficient cause, to be determined by the surgeon, or in the ships with no surgeon, by the master, shall rise not later than 7 a m, at which hour the fires shall be lighted. It shall be the duty of the cook ---to light the fires and to take care that they be kept alight during the day, and also to take care that each passenger, or family of the passengers, shall have the use of the fire place, at the proper hours, in an order to be fixed by the master.

When the passengers are dressed their beds shall be rolled up. The decks, including the space under the bottom of the berths, shall be swept before breakfast, and all dirt thrown overboard. The breakfast hour shall be from eight to nine a.m. if all preceding matters have been attended to.

The deck shall further be swept after every meal, and after breakfast is concluded shall be also dry holystoned or scraped. This duty, as well as that of cleaning the ladders, hospitals, and round houses (deckhouses) shall be performed by a party taken from the adult males above 14, in proportion of five to every hundred migrants, and who shall be considered sweepers for the day. But the single women shall perform this duty in their own compartment---and the occupant of each berth shall see his own berth is well brushed out.

Dinner shall commence at one o'clock and supper at six p.m.---and migrants to be in their berth by ten p.m.---

Usually the matrons supervising the single girls encouraged them to spend a lot of time in their quarters below. This made contact with male emigrants or crew members less likely. Also the deck of a sailing ship was crowded with sailing and safety equipment. On the *Nashwauk* were two life buoys, a long boat, two cutters and a jolly boat. These boats sometimes served as pens for chickens and other livestock for use on a voyage, but under Captain McIntyre's command the safety equipment was available for duty when the catastrophe occurred.

The decks were needed when the passengers' boxes were brought up from the hold. This was scheduled for every third or fourth week for the exchange of articles. Also the beds had to be well shaken and aired on the deck at least twice a week.²⁰

The *Nashwauk* was equipped with a bathroom lined with zinc for the females, with double pan 'self acting' water closets. Washing was in sea water which made the clothes so stiff that they chafed and scratched. The men usually hosed themselves on deck. There was a pump and hose fitted to the upper deck for drawing water out from the hold, pumped by the men on a roster system. For toilets the men used the heads.

Water seeped into the lower quarters where the servant girls slept. It continually sloshed around, keeping the air dank and everything moist. It was impossible to dry these quarters, even by opening every hatch, air shute and ventilating tube. Food scraps, vomit, blood and hair are some of the rotting matter which could get into this putrid water.

Drinking water on board was precious. Water stored in barrels for long periods became smelly and on some boats needed the addition of wine or vinegar to render it palatable. The water on the *Nashwauk* was filtered before being put on board and was in 'sweet and substantial casks, properly charred, and constructed of staves of not less than one inch in thickness'.²¹

On board were sufficient quantities of biscuit, beef, pork, preserved meat, flour, raisins, suet, peas, rice, preserved potatoes, tea, coffee, sugar, butter, sugar, vinegar, mustard and salt to feed the emigrants during the voyage. Medical 'comforts' included preserved milk, yeast, stout, gin, brandy, wine, lemon juice, meat soup and preserved broth. Proper medicines from the Apothecaries Company were held in a sealed medicine chest.

Health during the voyage was good. Under the care of Surgeon Superintendent Richard Smales all but one of those on board reached the colony, and Mary Hodgins' baby born on 23 March was healthy in a time when mortality in childbirth on board ship was greater than 50%.

John Allen died in March. The cause given in the Ship's Papers for the death of 40 year old John is 'low fever,' due to change of climate. Leaving in the northern winter meant freezing temperatures on board for the first month of the voyage, combined with the strong winds needed to sail the vessel.

Curtis (Curtin) Margaret 22. This couple was in the German Hospital, and applied for relief in June 1855 as Margaret was near confinement.

Dalton Ellen 21, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She was in the Clare Depot, and engaged 31 July at 2/6 a week by Mrs Frankzism of Macklin(?) She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Daville Thomas 22, labourer, miner, farmer, from Nottingham, Church of England. He was paid £2 as a sub constable on the ship.

Daville Mary 20. This couple was employed in May, after the wreck, by William Randall of Finnis Vale.

Dempsey Fanny 19, farm servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne. See details of the Select Committee.

Devlin Hugh 19, labourer, from Derry. He was Cook's assistant, and paid £3 on the ship.

Devlin Rose 18, domestic servant from Derry, Catholic. She was in the Clare Depot and employed by Mrs Rowe of Clare in August at 2/6 a week. Probably brother and sister.

Dineen (De Neill) Allie 19, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, and paid £2 as a sub matron on the ship.

Dinsdale Anthony (Antony) 38, labourer. This family was from York, Church of England. The family was nominated by Frances Duval, and the fee was paid by James Dinsdale. Anthony died shortly after arrival.

Dinsdale Ann 38, by June 19 1855 recorded as a widow. She was destitute and receiving assistance with three children, address Gouger St next to Butlers Grocer Shop. One child was ill and one had bad eyes.

Dinsdale Esther 12

Dinsdale Isabella 6

Dinsdale John 8

Dinsdale Margaret 15, domestic servant

Dinsdale Thomas 17, farm labourer, was admitted to Adelaide Hospital 25 June -13 August 1855, because of fever, referred there by the Destitute Board.

Donahue Mary 20, domestic servant, seamstress, from Limerick, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital.

Donahue Ellen 15, domestic servant from Limerick, Catholic, and also in the German Hospital.

Donovan Eliza (Bessie) 22, dairy maid from Cork, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She was employed from the Clare Depot in August 1855, by Mrs Rowe of Clare, at 2/6 a week.

Doolette George 38, carpenter, Church of England, school master on the ship, paid £5. The family was residing with a brother in law in Norwood after the wreck. This family was nominated by Mr F C Bayer and the fee paid by Mr Geo. Beynaith.

Doolette Elizabeth 33, wife of George

Doolette George 14

Doolette John 5

Doolette Julia 12

Cahill Mary 19, farm servant, from Kilkenny, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. She went from Adelaide to Auburn by Simms and Haines transport in November 1855 and was also employed from the Clare Depot in August at 3/- a week by Mr Vi---? She is recorded as having applied to go to Sydney.

Caley Margaret 20, domestic servant, Irish, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 28 May, and discharged 28 June, having had fever. She was readmitted 13 August, again with fever, and discharged 13 September, then recommended for relief in September 1855 by Mr Thomas because she was convalescent.

Curless (Carlis, Curlis.) Bridget 23, domestic servant from Galway, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 28 May with fever and discharged 13 July.

Carroll Mary 22, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 22 June, with fever, and discharged 28 August.

Carthy Catherine 23, dairy maid from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She was employed from the Clare Depot, 30 August 1855, by Mrs Trezise, at 3/6 a week. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Cash Catherine 24, farm servant from Kings, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, then from 26 July until the 1 September was in the Adelaide Hospital with (fever and rheumatism. She said she had applied to go to Sydney.

Clancy Mary 25, from Clare, Ireland, Catholic.

Clancy Michael labourer 24, from Clare, Ireland, Catholic.

Coffey (Coffee) Catherine 20, servant from Kings, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, then from the Clare Depot was engaged 27 July at 2/6 a week by Mr Hitchcock, saddler, Clare. A Catherine Coffey married Robert Henry of Armagh (near Clare) at Butler's residence June 1858.

Considine Margaret 19, farm servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She went to Kapunda from the Adelaide Depot in January 1856. She said she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Coppings Mary 31, farm servant from Galway, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, and from the Clare Depot she was engaged in July 1855 at 2/6 a week by Mr Young, shepherd, Clare.

Cotter Ellen (Mary) 22, farm servant from Cork, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, and she said she had applied to go to Sydney.

Coughlan (Collins) Ellen 27, domestic servant from Cork, Catholic. She was at the Clare Depot, and employed in September 1855 by Mr Rogers near Clare.

Crowley (Connelly) Ellen 20, domestic servant, from Cork, Catholic. She was at the German Hospital, and she said she had applied to go to Melbourne. From the Clare Depot, she was employed in August, at 2/6 a week, by Mr Blight near Clare.

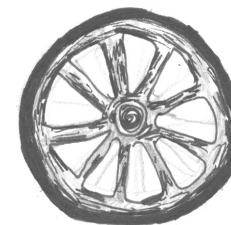
Collins (Cullens) Anastasia 25, farm servant from Kilkenny, Catholic. From 29 May -14 August she was in the Adelaide Hospital with fever. She had applied for Melbourne and when interviewed by the Select Committee explained that her parents were not happy when she boarded the ship for Adelaide but were told 'by the person they paid money to' it was easy to get to Melbourne from Adelaide. She had no friends on board, but friends in Melbourne. She had spent three weeks in the Adelaide Servant Depot by February 1856.

Curtain Eliza 24, servant from Cork, Catholic.

Curtis John 25, agricultural labourer, from Clare, Ireland, Catholic.

The temperature soared as the vessel neared the Equator and as they entered the Roaring Forties it dropped again. Ships went far enough south to see icebergs in an effort to catch favourable winds and to avoid having to navigate between the islands and reefs in a more northerly route. It is probable that John Allen was experiencing high temperatures and humidity while lying in damp sultry darkness. His wife Mary, debilitated from recent childbirth, may not have had access to the change of clothing and bedding needed. John Allen was buried at sea, slid down a plank wrapped in a canvas shroud with his body weighted with a cannon ball to make it sink.

The Surgeon Superintendent on Government ships received 10/- for every adult passenger he landed alive. This highly paid position was a huge responsibility and the Surgeon Superintendent could be refused his return passage money in the case of serious complaints. Richard Smales received £129 for this voyage.



FROM NOARLUNGA TO ADELAIDE BY SEA

The ship wrecked immigrants were stranded in a remote community. There were few roads and it was the days of sail.

Seventy of the shipwrecked passengers dared to board the *Thomas Melbourne* bound for Adelaide on 14 May, the evening after the wreck. According to *The Adelaide Observer* Saturday 19 May 1855 they were ferried across the Onkaparinga in boats and gathered near the newly built Port Noarlunga jetty. By now it was dark and the seas were rising. As the Melbourne steamed away from the land at 8 o'clock that evening the servant girl Bridget Riordan, exhausted from the exertions of the day, leant wearily against the deck railing. It gave way and she fell over board. *The SA Register* of Saturday 19 May 1855 reported this incident:

After leaving the wreck on Monday evening a young woman fell overboard while leaning against the bulwarks and slumbering from fatigue. It was a hinged portion of the bulwark, which, yielding to her weight, occasioned the accident. It was dark at the time, and the steamer was at full speed, but her life was saved by the promptitude with which Mr H Quinn, Superintendent of Pilots, Captain Roberts, and another, put off in a boat to the assistance of the young woman, who had been nearly five minutes in the water when she was rescued. She is yet an invalid from the effects of the accident.

The unnamed rescuer, it is said, was Jacob Haarsma who later became Bridget's husband.



Wedding photo of Bridget Riordan and Jacob Haarsma Georgetown 1858.
Photo P. Charles courtesy J. Tuohy.

The arrival at Port Adelaide of the servant girls in the *Thomas Melbourne* is described in *The S A Register* on Saturday May 19 1855;

The *Melbourne* steamer reached the wharf on Tuesday at 9 a m, with 60 (sic)female immigrants from the stranded ship *Nashwauk*. Dr Duncan, with very commendable foresight had engaged for the reception of the immigrants on their landing, a newly erected store belonging to the SA Company.

Begg Mary 35

Begg Agnes 9

Begg Elizabeth 6

Begg William 11

Bell George 33, labourer, from Cumberland , Church of England. He was paid £2 to act as sub constable on the ship. In 1856 both were in the Destitute Asylum.

Bell (Bale) Elizabeth 39, from Cumberland, Church of England. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 29 May and discharged 21 June. She received relief from June 1855 because she was convalescent.

Birdy Bridget 19, farm servant from Clare, Ireland. Catholic

Blake (Bleake) Mary 24, domestic servant from Limerick, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, and at the Select Committee was recorded as having applied to go to Melbourne.

Bottomley Robert 25, farm labourer, baker, grocer. From England, Church of England. He was baker on the ship and was paid £2 for the service.

Brien Johanna 24, domestic servant from Carlow, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She went from the Clare Depot to Mrs Brydon as a servant 24 August 1855.

Brien Mary 28, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, and said she had applied to go to Melbourne when interviewed by Handasyde Duncan. She went to the Clare Depot and was engaged by Mrs Goldsmith of Watervale, in September 1855, at 3/- a week.

Brooks Mary 18, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital, and was recorded as having applied to go to Melbourne.

Brody Bridget 19(21), domestic servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital.

Brophy Bridget 21, domestic servant from Kilkenny, Catholic, and in the German Hospital. This name appears twice on the German Hospital list of June 1855.

Brown William 29, labourer from Tipperary, Catholic. He was paid £2 as a sub constable on the ship.

Brown Catherine 8

Brown Mary 30

Burke Eliza 23, domestic servant from Donegal, Free Church. She was in the German Hospital, where she said that she had applied to go to Melbourne.

Burke Mary 21, farm servant from Clare, Ireland, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 1 June, with fever and discharged 6 July. In May 1856 a Mary Burke went to Port Adelaide by rail to go by ship to Pt Lincoln as a servant for Captain Bishop.

Burns (Byrne) Mary 20, farm servant from Cork, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. She left for Melbourne in the *Havilah* in February 1856 with £10 cash and a letter from a cousin.

Butler (Batta) Catherine 22, domestic servant, from Kilkenny, Catholic. She was in the German Hospital. A Catherine Butler left for Mc Claren Vale December 1855 on Simms and Co. transport.

PART THREE

PASSENGER LIST

This passenger list is based on the *Nominal List of Emigrants on board the Nashwauk, despatched from Liverpool for Adelaide, South Australia*. Other sources are *Registered Cases of Destitution 1855-1856*, the *List of Persons nominated by Purchasers of Land in South Australia for Passages to that Colony, towards whose passages small contributions have been paid in South Australia, and who have received Embarkation orders to join the ship Nashwauk*, and the document *Irish Female Immigrants Expenditure at Adelaide and Country Depots 1855-1856*. The servant girls were dispatched to Servant Depots which were established in country areas and they remained under the care of a Matron until employed by a member of the local community. Some *Nashwauk* girls were interviewed by a Select Committee in an Enquiry held by the Legislative Council into Excessive Female Immigration.. Over four thousand single females arrived in Adelaide in twelve months, and consequently many were destitute.

PASSENGER LIST *NASHWAUK*

Aderson Robert 27, carpenter. This family was selected from Lancaster, Free Church. Robert was a sub constable on the ship, and paid £2.

Aderson Isabella 25, admitted to Adelaide Hospital 28 May with 'febris' (fever) and discharged 27 June.

Aderson (Anderson) Elizabeth 1

Aderson Isabella 4

Ahearn Catherine 20, domestic servant, Catholic from Tipperary. She left for Melbourne in the *Burra Burra* with a letter and cash from a brother in July 1855.

Allen John 40, wheelwright, died of fever on the voyage and was buried at sea. The family was from Lancaster. This family was Scotch Free Church.

Allen Mary 30, was ill after the wreck and applied for relief because the family was destitute August 1855, residing in Morphet Vale.

Allen John infant

Allen Janet 9

Allen William 11

Barron Mary 22, domestic servant from Tipperary, Catholic. She was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital 28 May 1855 with fever and discharged 13 July.

Begg Thomas 35, miner. This family was from Lamarck in Scotland, Church of Scotland. Thomas was paid £2 as a sub constable on the ship. After the wreck Thomas suffered from fever and was in the Adelaide Hospital between the 25 May and 23 August. His family was in the German Hospital. In August 1855 Thomas applied for outdoor relief for a wife and two children, residing in North Adelaide. In July 1856 the Beggs were living in Brown Street receiving relief as Thomas had been in the goldfields eight months and had sent back £8.

This was Newland's Iron Store where the accommodation was considered 'spacious and comfortable.' The room was 100 feet long and 40 feet wide, and a cooking apparatus and bedding was made available. The immigrants' arrival was supervised by Mr Inspector Drew who made sure that 'all that was needed to alleviate their destitute condition was amply provided.' *The Adelaide Times* 19 May reported in the 'highest terms' of the girls' behaviour in these circumstances. *The S A Register* Thursday 17 May reported that thirty more immigrants arrived on the *Yatala*, and that they joined the group at the Iron Store. The numbers on board these boats differ in various accounts.



Port Adelaide 1847. Sketch by George French Angas.
Photo courtesy State Library of South Australia.

The cost of the first fortnight's accommodation of the immigrants was incurred by the owners of the *Nashwauk*. It was usual for immigrants to spend up to two weeks in port on board their ship while finding work and accommodation.²² Care of the vulnerable shipwrecked servant girls was imperative as procurers were known to frequent the Port to lure girls to Adelaide's brothels. The Immigration Agent commented that:

the deck of an immigrant ship --- is a public place where all persons in search of servants have full liberty of access; and at this time the supervision of the single women is utterly impossible.²³



FROM NOARLUNGA TO ADELAIDE BY DRAY

Those immigrants too nervous to travel further by sea returned to the Horseshoe Inn for a second night and set off in drays from Noarlunga to Adelaide the following day. The road between Adelaide and Noarlunga was little more than a bush track. They would have rumbled through the tiny settlements of Hackham, Morphett Vale and Reynella, and perhaps heard the bugle announcing the approach of the twice weekly mail coach. The drays lumbered into Adelaide on the Tuesday evening, calling at the Destitute Asylum on North Terrace for food and blankets. *The Adelaide Observer* Saturday 19 May 1855 has the story;

The remainder of the Immigrants, about 130, arrived in town having come from Noarlunga in several bullock drays hired by the Immigration Agent to convey them hither. They were in the first instance taken to the Asylum where they were supplied with food and blankets, and afterwards to the large building near St Johns Church which was hired of the committee for their reception, and which affords very excellent and extensive accommodation.

This building in Carrington St had been completed as the German Hospital in 1852. However, due to the absence of the trustees at the gold fields in Victoria the hospital had not been opened and the building was available to accommodate the immigrants. Matthew Moorhouse, Comptroller of the Destitute, was responsible for arranging to rent the premises from the trustees. It was expected to house 180 immigrants.²⁴ The building was inspected before occupation and was to be inspected after the eight weeks, any damage to be paid for by arrangement with the Immigration Board.²⁵

The Adelaide Observer 19 May 1855 reported that the premises 'afforded very extensive and excellent accommodation.

Misfortune led some of the *Nashwauk* girls to prostitution. Unemployed girls could fall prey to procurers in the vicinity of the play houses near Light Square in the west end of town. In *The Adelaide Observer* 31/3/1860 the Reverend Russell commented on the evils of the 'dancing rooms' connected with 'houses licensed for the sale of ardent spirits.' In such places young females 'unattended by their friends and often drugged with liquors (were) led to the most revolting moral evils.' Was the Mary Ryan convicted of stealing £6 from a drunken Moses Walker in a brothel in Adelaide the Mary Ryan of the *Nashwauk*? Prostitution was ignored by the courts. In fact the age of consent was 10 years.

Several of the girls from the *Nashwauk* appeared before the courts for larceny. Margaret Ryan appeared before a magistrate for stealing three handkerchiefs and gloves from Martha Porter of Adelaide in October 1856. In January she had stolen £13 and some silver from Mr Robinson of Salisbury. The property was returned and she was not committed to gaol for these offences.

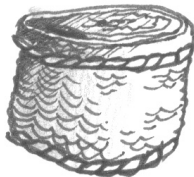


Of the *Nashwauk* girls it is probable that Margaret Ryan was the Margaret Ryan returned to Adelaide from the Clare Servant Depot by order of Mr Gleeson, Chairman of the Clare District Council. She was declared an 'imbecile' and needed care as a 'lunatic' by March 1856, having no relatives or friends in the colony. When interviewed by Dr Duncan after the wreck she had said that she had not applied to go to the colony of South Australia but to Melbourne where she had friends.

Confusion over the destination of migrant ships was an ongoing problem. In Britain migration agents were expected to fill the ships regardless of whether they were bound for Sydney, Melbourne or Adelaide. Other servant girls aboard the *Nashwauk* claimed to have intended landing in Sydney or Melbourne where they had relatives or friends. One was Anastasia Collins (Cullen) who had planned to join a relative in Melbourne. When interviewed in the *Enquiry into Excessive Female Immigration* held in March 1856 by the South Australian Legislative Council she explained that the agent to whom her parents had 'given the money' had told her it was an easy walk from Adelaide to Melbourne.

Dr Duncan worked hard on behalf of the *Nashwauk* girls in this situation. Through his efforts some were eventually able to sail from Port Adelaide⁴⁶ to join relatives or friends. Mary McDougall left for Melbourne on the *White Swan* in December 1855 with a letter and £6 from a cousin. Alice Stapleton left for the same destination on this ship in October with a letter and £6 from a cousin. In October Eliza Keating sailed on the *Havilah* with a letter and £7 from an Uncle, also in Melbourne. Mary Walsh sailed on the same voyage. Kate Ahearn's brother sent for her in July 1855 and she left on the *Burra Burra*, as did Kate Hanlan, with a letter and cash from an uncle. Mary Byrns and Abigail Mulcahy had to wait until February 1856 but left for Melbourne together on the *Havilah*, both to go to relatives with letters, and £10 pounds. Bridget and Bessie Magree paid their own way in June 1856, and Ellen Ryan and Bridget Lahy left with them on the *Havilah* with money and shipping orders from relatives.

Several other *Nashwauk* girls were to be involved with life in Port Adelaide. Sarah Saxby found work there as a cook with Mrs Philips soon after the wreck. Sarah is recorded as applying for relief from the Destitute Board in September 1855⁴⁷ as she had burnt her arm and was unable to work. However she continued to live with Mrs Philips. In May 1856 Mary Burke returned to Port Adelaide on the newly opened railway. She sailed to Port Lincoln to be a servant for Captain Bishop.



2. *German Hospital* 218
Classified return of Irish female Immigrants
supported by Government 27th June 1855

Name	Servants	Cook	Servants	Washing	Domestic	Washing	Where applied to be sent
<i>Nashwauk</i>							
Brophy Bridget ✓			/				Melbourne
Bryan Johanna ✓	/						Adelaide
Batta Catherine ✓	/						Adelaide
Byrne Mary ✓	/						Melbourne
Bryan Mary ✓			/				Melbourne
Brophy Bridget ✓			/				Adelaide
Blake Mary ✓				/			Melbourne
Broady Bridget ✓			/				Melbourne
Brooks Mary ✓	/						Melbourne
Burke Eliza ✓	/						Melbourne
Conscience Margaret ✓			/				Melbourne
Crowley Ellen ✓			/				Melbourne
Carty Catherine ✓			/				Melbourne
Cahill Mary ✓	/						Sydney
Cappinger Mary ✓			/				Adelaide
Cashe Catherine ✓			/				Sydney
Cotter Ellen ✓			/				Sydney
Coffie Catherine ✓			/				Adelaide
Devore Mary ✓			/				Melbourne
Donahoe Mary ✓			/				Adelaide
Donahoe Ellen ✓			/				Sydney
Dr. Mill Alice ✓						/	Melbourne
	6		10	2		1	53

Facsimile of Classified Return of Irish female immigrants supported by the Government 27 June 1855 (C.O.13/90 p.248). Courtesy National Library of Australia.

Some of the passengers from the wreck were too ill or distressed to move immediately to Adelaide. They remained at Noarlunga under the care of Richard Smales. Letters to the Immigration Agent reveal that Richard Smales asked the servant girl Eliza Fernie to nurse Mary Allen, weak and ill after the death of her husband. Richard Smales also remained to care for her and the servant girl Bridget Feighney who was feverish. Mary Kilderry whose baby was born on 15 May was nursed by Eliza Fernie.

On 21 May Richard Smales wrote to Dr Duncan from the Horseshoe Inn:

Sir,

I am happy to inform you that the girl Bridget Feighney is now so far recovered as to be able to undertake the journey to Adelaide with safety, and if you will kindly inform me by what means she is to be conveyed there I will send her without delay. The widow woman Mrs Allen is still in a very weak state but I think will be able to make the journey to town by the end of this week. The son and daughter have both found situations and some person about here has kindly offered to take the infant and nurse it gratuitously---

Care for the 9 month old baby was arranged by Reverend James Benny of Morphett Vale. By 7 June the Reverend is unable to trace the mother. Had she gone to Adelaide?

H Duncan,

Sir,

Mrs Allen, an emigrant by the ship *Nashwauk* enlisted to my care two of her children during her illness at Noarlunga when I visited her. I obtained for them the sympathy of a member of the church of which I am the Minister, with whom they now are. Mrs A was suddenly removed by the Doctor and Nurse without any communication with me, and as the party to whose care I committed the children, and the children themselves are anxious to hear of the mother, I take the liberty of addressing you and enquiring if you can give me information. Some definite arrangement must be come to as regards the children one of whom is an infant of 9 months, with the party now in charge of them, as the care of them was merely undertaken by them temporarily, to further the mother's recovery. If you can inform me where she is located I will make a point of seeing her when next in town.

I am Sir,

Your noblest servant,

James Benny

H Duncan Esquire M.D.²⁶

Conditions in Adelaide at this time are graphically described in *The Adelaide Observer*. The streets of Adelaide were 'undrained, unpaved and unclean' with 'rich odours steaming up from the greasy thoroughfares after every casual shower.' Behind the cottages at the west end of town there were 'open cess pools, fetid water, dung heaps, butchers' offal, decayed vegetables, and crowded pig sties.' *The Adelaide Observer* Saturday 15 December 1855 records complaints of smells and 'slaughter house nuisance,' and on 2 August 1855 letters refer to 'pig nuisance.' The west side of Montefiore Hill is described with 'glass bottles by the cart load, old trousers rotting and producing nasty stinks, and other rubbish including night soil on the footways.' Water was delivered by the water cart from the Torrens until 1856, and the streets, rutted by the wheels of carts and the hooves of horses and bullocks were splattered with manure. Flies, mud, and dust were a constant nuisance and the health of the colonists suffered accordingly. Common causes of death in the 1850s were consumption, typhoid fever, diphtheria and diarrhoea. Unspecified fever (febris) is often recorded. Infectious diseases like measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever and influenza contributed to the high infant mortality. There was the constant evil of venereal disease and eye problems were exacerbated by the dust and flies.

In these conditions the Adelaide Hospital was inadequate.⁴⁰ Nevertheless it became a temporary refuge for some *Nashwauk* immigrants when they arrived in town. Admitted suffering from 'febris' (fever) were Bridget Digedan, Thomas Begg, Elizabeth Bell, Catherine Stanley who died 22 May, Anthony Oldfield, Bridget Curtis, John Fox, Isabella Anderson, Mary Barron, Honora Tracey, Margaret Moore, Anastasia Cullen and Margaret Caley. Margaret Caley was readmitted later. They were followed in June by Mary Burke, Mary Carroll, Eliza Keating and Thomas Dinsdale all of whom also had fever.⁴¹ Thomas, 17 years old, was admitted to the Adelaide Hospital on 25 June and discharged on 25 August.⁴² By 19 June his brother Anthony Dinsdale had died and his wife Ann was claiming relief for herself and three children from an address in Gouger St next to Butler's grocers shop.⁴³ Anthony Oldfield spent from 20 May until 3 July at the Adelaide Hospital and his wife Ann claimed relief in August when both appear on the records of the Destitute Asylum. As well as the passengers admitted to the Adelaide Hospital shortly after the wreck several months later Alice Hoare, Bridget Inchen and Ellen Storan were admitted from the Destitute Asylum. Alice suffered from 'rheumatismus' and spent three weeks in hospital from 15 January to 6 February, 1856. Bridget spent from 3 November until 5 January 1856 suffering from 'morbi oculorum,' (diseased eyes) and Ellen suffered the same complaint between 15 October and 24 January.⁴⁴ Ann Dinsdale's son John also suffered from sore eyes. Ann Sheehan died of fever in September 1855.

Another affliction affecting immigrants was 'disorder of the nervous system.' This was caused by social dislocation 'consequent upon disappointment in the colony' according to Dr Gosse, Acting Colonial Surgeon.⁴⁵

All the immigrants vacated the German Hospital by late August, the servant girls being sent to Servant Depots which had been established throughout the colony. The rent paid to the management committee of the hospital is recorded in *The Adelaide Observer* Saturday 20 November 1858 as £140. The Colonial Architect was invited to inspect the building and to indicate what was needed to restore it to its former state.³⁸



The misfortunes of the immigrants were compounded by the unstable labour market due to the poor 1854-55 harvest. The Kelly family found only two days labour at the brick making pug holes in Bowden and Mary O'Leary was out of work after a short time at Mud Hut. Both Bridget Kelly and Ellen Lonigan worked for a few weeks and then were 'out of place'.³⁹ This family lived in North Adelaide. Other passengers who claimed relief from the Destitute Asylum for varying periods of time were George and Elizabeth Bell, Margaret Caley, the Hodgins, the Kelly family, Bridget Kelly, Ellen Lonigan, Sarah Mackrell, Mary Leary, Mary Riley, Margaret Ryan, Mary Ryan, Michael Ryan, Thomas Ryan, Ellen Sinnot, Ellen Storan and Alicia Whitfield. The Fox family also applied for out door relief. The family was living in North Adelaide. John was absent. Had he gone to the goldfields?

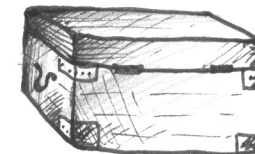
The Destitute Asylum also provided shelter for lying-in. Mary O'Halloran was admitted as she was close to confinement, and gave birth at the Destitute Asylum, remaining there until 14 December, 1855. Margaret Curtin's baby was also born there.



According to records by August Mary Allen was destitute and applying for relief for herself and two children. Her address was Morphett Vale.²⁷ William, aged 11, may have found work.

Mr E S Wigg of Adelaide expressed concern about Eliza Fernie. In a letter to Dr Duncan he explained that she was engaged at the Horseshoe Inn 'on the third day after landing on the understanding she would be paid for her service.' This included 'attending 4 days on a woman during her confinement' and 'attending on Mrs Allen and 2 children- taking the children 6 miles into the country, walking there and back, attending one girl with fever.' Eliza had brought excellent testimonials with her and Mr Wigg had employed her after the wreck. But she could not leave the inn because of nursing duties. Could the Immigration Agent arrange for the wages to be made up? Mr Wigg was of the opinion that 'we should be careful to keep good faith with the good servants when we get them.'²⁸

A few of the passengers found work in the area. Thomas and Mary Daville were employed by William Randall of Finnis Vale. William wrote to Dr Duncan on 19 May requesting him to send any of their baggage recovered. Randall explained that the couple were good workers and that they 'found their way down here' soon after the wreck. Could Duncan arrange to send their three boxes, one a tea chest, the others painted yellow, and labelled Thomas Davill, Passenger to Liverpool, Emigrant to Australia? Could they come by the cutter Gem?²⁹



DESTITUTE PASSENGERS

Very little of the immigrants' baggage was recovered from the wreck. This meant destitution for many families. Their distress is expressed in letters to the Immigration Agent.³⁰

On 22 May George Stibbles wrote from the premises of Mr W C Buck, Ironmonger, Rundle St, explaining that only half of his family's luggage had been recovered. He had only received 2 casks, 1 box, 1 tub and several bundles of bedding, and wearing apparel. The cost of tools and possessions not yet received was 'upwards of £20 at home prices,' and Duncan 'would greatly oblige by stating what you would advise me to do under the circumstances as I am much in want of a little money to commence housekeeping the whole of my cooking utensils being amongst the packages I have mentioned. The £5 I am to receive as officer on board the *Nashwauk* would be very acceptable just now.'

Passenger Anthony Dinsdale was ill and his relative, Mrs I Dinsdale, Fruiterer, wrote on his behalf on 29 May.

Dr Duncan, Sir,

I write and to your request on behalf of my brother Antony(sic) Dinsdale, an emigrant in *Nashwauk*. He has along with a great many men of the unfortunates lost nearly all their clothes and household goods -the cases in particular containing boots and shoes value £5, sisters bags of ready made wearing apparel, their outfit from England, worth full £6, another large packing case of flannel wear, and more goods than I can here name. They are anxious to know if anything can be done for them in the way of recompense as they are entirely left without anything but just what they have. Ransacked and turned over by every body-your attention to this will greatly oblige.(sic)

Yours Obediently, I Dinsdale

PS Sir, any communication you may have you address to me---

Mrs I Dinsdale, Fruiterer

Menabe(?) S A

This loss was never made good and when next we hear of the Dinsdales it is in the records of the Destitute Asylum. Anthony was dead and his widow and three children were destitute. Her address was Gouger St next to Butler's Shop. One of the children had 'bad eyes.' Rations were being provided by the Destitute Asylum.

George Doolette wrote to Dr Duncan on 24 May from his brother-in- law's dwelling in Norwood:

Norwood

24 May 1855

Dr Duncan,

I take the liberty of forwarding my address to you. I live with my brother in law, George Reynard, Carpenter and Builder, William St, Norwood, where any communication from you will find me.

And I believe Doctor that none of the immigrants have sustained such a loss as me by the shipwreck and I appeal Doctor to your benevolence to see me remunerated for the loss of nearly £50 worth of Property, I have a large young family totally depending on my exertions in a strange country --- I am Doctor

Your Obedient Servant

George Doolette

P. S. My family consists of 8 souls, Religion, C of E

The enclosed is a return of the number of articles required if His Excellency should be pleased to allow them, namely
108 P^r of Boots
18 - - Stockings
55 Bonnets
8 Petticoats
28 Chemises
63 Dresses
27 Shawls.
There are also two widows, one named Allen whose husband was a joiner - she has 3 children

Facsimile of (part of) Ryan's letter to the Colonial Secretary July 1855.
 Courtesy State Records of SA.

Governor MacDonnell was sympathetic. In fact he was very concerned about the whole situation because by late in June quarters at the German Hospital were proving most unsatisfactory. Single female immigrants from other ships were flowing in and by Tuesday 26 June 524 Irish girls were supported by the Government and 279 of these were in the German Hospital. The Governor on inspection found '30 women sleeping in a room 16 feet square.' The accommodation originally intended for 180 was inadequate. In fact 'the most ordinary means of preserving decency and cleanliness were wanting.' Health was at risk and it was felt that 'these people should be lodged at least as decently as a criminal would be lodged.'³⁵

Of the families on the *Nashwauk* we know that Thomas Begg's wife Mary, and children Elizabeth, William and Mary, were at the German Hospital while Thomas was at the Adelaide Hospital with fever. He was discharged on 3 August, and may have joined them there until the eight week lease of the German Hospital expired. The Stibbles family, George, Jean, George junior, Whitemena, Edward, Elizabeth, Jean and Margaret, spent an uncomfortable night there. Edward, aged 2, was wrapped in a large overcoat by his mother and put on the floor. Someone removed the overcoat---³⁶ The address of this family by 22 May is C/- of Mr W C Buck, Ironmonger, Rundle St, Adelaide. Margaret Curtis (Curtin) is recorded as being at the German Hospital after the wreck. By 25 June she was destitute and claiming relief as she was near confinement. There is no record of the whereabouts of husband John.³⁷

By August Anthony and Ann were still destitute and applying for relief from a residence 'near Adelaide.' Anthony was 'out of work and without means.'³²



The *Classified return of Irish female Immigrants supported by the Government 27 June 1855* ³³ records over 100 single girls from the *Nashwauk* as being at the German Hospital. Most of them were unable to seek work as two months after the wreck they were still without articles of clothing. On 12 July Matthew Moorhouse wrote to the Colonial Secretary:

Sir,

The Reverend Ryan, as a member of the Destitute Board invited the attention of the Board to the Destitute condition of the wrecked female immigrants-that many were without shoes or other articles of dress and in consequence unable to enter service. The Board passed the following minute: 'It was agreed to see that every girl had, before being hired, 3 shifts, 1 flannel petticoat, 2 pairs of stockings, 1 pair of shoes, 2 gowns, 1 bonnet and 1 shawl, if such as already had this compliment remaining were not to have further supplies given.'

The enclosed is a return of the number of articles required if His Excellency should be pleased to allow them, namely:

- 108 pairs of boots
- 13 pairs of stockings
- 55 bonnets
- 8 petticoats
- 28 chemises
- 63 dresses
- 27 shawls

There are also 2 widows, one named Allen, whose husband was a joiner, she has 3 children and has lost the clothes of the family and a chest of tools worth 15 pounds. The other named Dinsdale has written to me and I enclose her own statement which I believe to be true.

Signed M M ³⁴

Thomas Begg, recovering from debilitation and fever, was not able to write on his family's behalf until a month after the wreck. He wrote to Dr Duncan from the Adelaide Hospital at the end of June:

Dear Sir,

I regret having to trouble you with this letter but I hope you will see that it is of great importance to me and my family and that I do not write to you without cause. The subject I refer to is two canvas bags cram (sic) full of clothes and other useful articles which I left at Mr Harriott's farm on the day that our ship was stranded their (sic) being no police their (sic) to take charge of anything. Mr Harriott's farm is just opposite where we were wrecked. On the following day when the passengers were told to walk along the seaside a mile or two to join the steamer I told Captain Douglas that I had two bags over at the farm which I was not able to carry along with me and he told me to walk along to the steamer and the bags would be sent along in drays. Now if the Captain had not promised to send the bags along in the dray I never would have thought of coming away without them--- The bags are each plainly marked T Begg in large letters in black paint. As I have been in hospital these last three or four weeks I was not able to write sooner---My family are at the German Hospital to which place the bags would require to be sent c/- Mr Walker---

By August Thomas was living in poverty in North Adelaide, applying for relief from the Destitute Asylum for his family. In November he went to the gold fields and his wife was left to apply for relief. By July 1856 she had received £8 from him in eight months. She was living in Brown St.³¹

Anthony Oldfield expressed his concern from the Destitute Asylum on 24 July.

Dr Duncan

Sir,

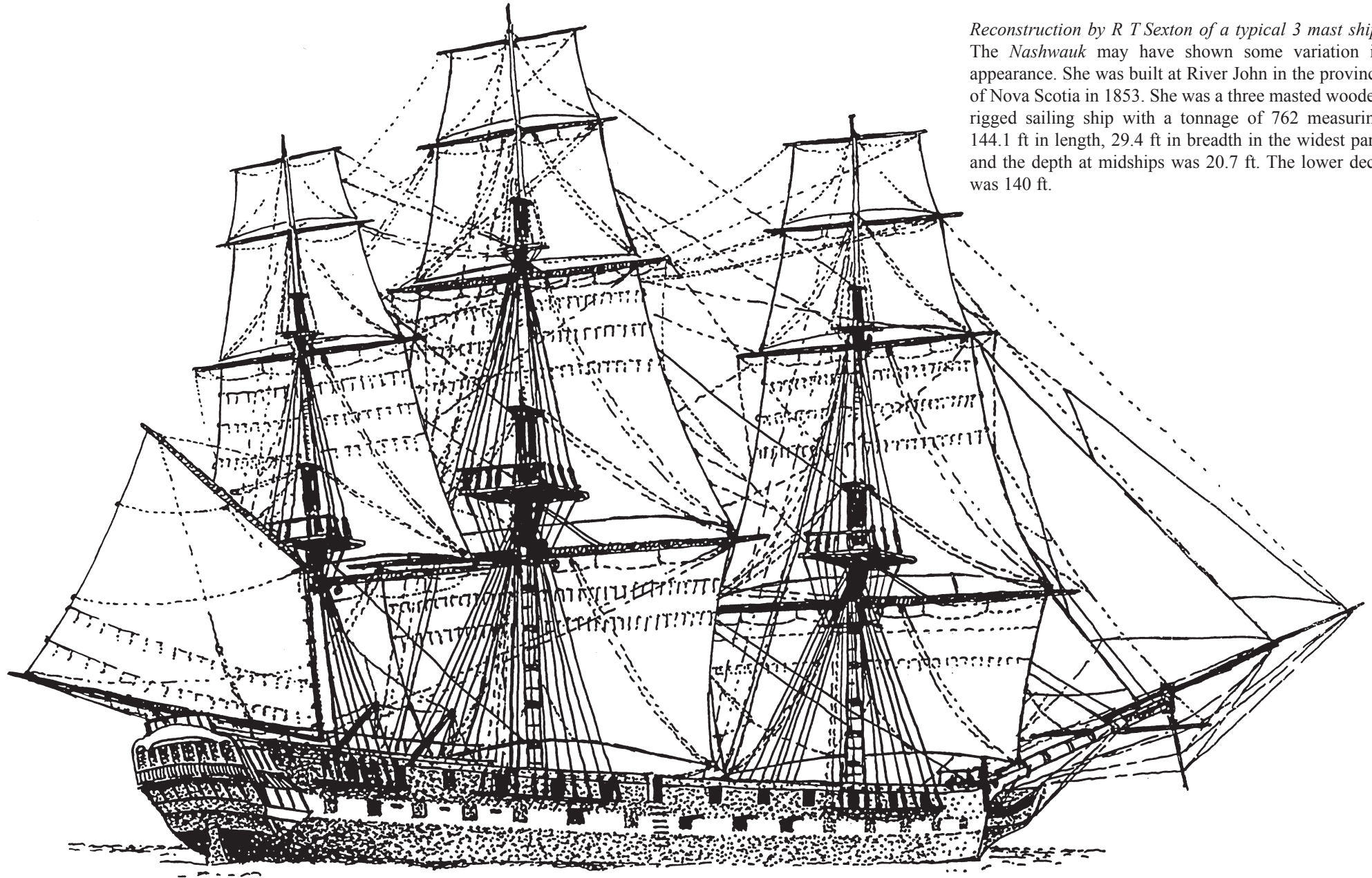
Understanding that unclaimed goods that came in the *Nashwauk* are on the eve of being sold I take the liberty of sending a few lines to inform you, Sir, that I Anthony Oldfield have two boxes, the one a tool chest and the other a clothes chest, but being an invalid and just left the hospital I am unable to see after them, so would you Sir, have the kindness to use your influence so that I may not be the loser of them for in my present circumstances I could ill afford to lose them. Trusting you will excuse the liberty I have taken.

Believe me to be

Your humble servant

Anthony Oldfield

Sir the marks on the boxes are A.O. numbered 685



Reconstruction by R T Sexton of a typical 3 mast ship. The Nashwauk may have shown some variation in appearance. She was built at River John in the province of Nova Scotia in 1853. She was a three masted wooden rigged sailing ship with a tonnage of 762 measuring 144.1 ft in length, 29.4 ft in breadth in the widest part, and the depth at midships was 20.7 ft. The lower deck was 140 ft.