



***TYING
THE TIDES***

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THE COLOUR WITHIN
THE SS GREAT BRITAIN

SHANI WHYTE



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Arts and
Humanities
Research Council



*This book is dedicated to all the seamen
of colour who have taken to the seas.
To my mother Beverley and my daughters
Adrienne-Chai, Ty-la and Billie-Rae,
and also Joy, a lady who told me to
step out in faith with all I do.*





CONTENTS

Acknowledgements 8

Preface 9

1

INTRODUCTION 11

2

THE BACKSTORY 13

What the ship was used for

3

DOCTOR SAMUEL ARCHER 19

4

PASSENGER AND CREW 23

Seamen of colour

5

GLOBAL INFLUENCE ON CARGO 29

6

IRIE SAILOR 31

Endnotes 34

Further reading 36





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PREFACE

IN NOVEMBER 2021, the SS Great Britain Trust approached the Bridging Gaps community group, which is a cultural competency training group, to be part of a project put together by the Arts and Humanities Research Council to bring more diversity to museums. The project would be six months long and the research and writing in this book is my output from that project.

1

INTRODUCTION



The SS *Great Britain* in Bristol's floating harbour
SS *Great Britain* Trust

THE SS *GREAT BRITAIN* WAS designed by Isambard Kingdom Brunel and launched in 1843. Isambard was born on 9th April, 1806 in Portsmouth, England. His father Marc Isambard Brunel was a French civil engineer and his mother Sophia Kingdom was English. Isambard spent his schooling years in France attending prestigious schools, and after his studies he returned to England.¹

Once settled, Isambard started as an apprentice to his father, working on a project to create a tunnel under the River Thames. During his time working on the project there was a flooding incident from which Isambard narrowly escaped. This tunnel went on to become part of the London underground.²

After his time recuperating from the tunnel accident Isambard went on to bridge design. He oversaw construction and design of many bridges, building the Wye Bridge Chepstow, Maidenhead Bridge River Thames, the Royal Albert across the River Tamar, but it all began with the very impressive Clifton Suspension Bridge in Bristol.

Whilst in Bristol, from 1838 to 1843 Isambard designed the SS *Great Britain* for the Great Western Steam Ship Company.³ This ocean liner was the largest operating passenger ship in the world between 1845 and 1854. The ship had four decks, with accommodation for 120 crew members and 360 passengers, and provided cabins, dining halls, and promenaded saloons.

The *Great Britain* was the first ship that combined a metal body and propeller (previous ocean steam ships were wooden, with side ‘wheels’ to push through the water). She was fitted with a 1000 horse-power steam engine – the most powerful engine to date to be used at sea. By combining new parts Brunel changed sailing history from this point onwards.

2

THE BACKSTORY

What the ship was used for

THERE ARE MANY FOLK TALES and stories which intimate that the SS *Great Britain* was used as part of the Transatlantic slave trade, but this is not actually true.

On 26th July 1845 the ship went on its first voyage from Liverpool to New York, carrying paid passengers from Britain and Europe. The ship did this voyage a few times then after a few amendments to her structure, the ship took on a new route which was Liverpool to Melbourne, Australia.⁴ She was to be used for transporting men and women as part of the Australian Gold Rush (Gold Mining).

Initially, British convicts had been sent over to Australia to do their sentences, but as industry grew British families started migrating over by themselves to start new lives, something that sped up quickly when gold was found. Gold was first found in Australia in 1823, but the gold mining industry didn't take off until 1851.⁵



A gold nugget carried from Australia to Britain on the *SS Great Britain*'s sister ship, *Royal Charter*, 1857, and a sovereign gold coin, struck from solid gold, dated 1843, the year the *Great Britain* was built | *SS Great Britain Trust*

As emigration and the gold mining industry grew, Aboriginal people, who are the indigenous people of Australia, were displaced. By the time of the Gold Rush, the indigenous population in the region surrounding Melbourne had fallen very significantly.⁶ This was further affected by large numbers of new arrivals during the gold rush. Interactions were complex, and alongside resistance, some indigenous people also found ways to make a living in the new economic reality, with recent research suggesting that some Indigenous Australians were participants in the Gold Rush, too.⁷

LIVERPOOL & AUSTRALIAN NAVIGATION CO.
STEAM FROM LIVERPOOL TO AUSTRALIA.

THE CELEBRATED STEAM-SHIP
GREAT BRITAIN,
 3200 TONS, and 500 HORSE-POWER, with Water-tight Compartments,
 Lieut. JOHN GRAY, R.N.R., Commander,
 IS APPOINTED TO LEAVE THE RIVER MERSEY,
FOR MELBOURNE.
 TO SAIL THURSDAY, THE 14th DECEMBER, 1871.

THIS magnificent and far-famed Ship made her last passage out to Melbourne in 65 days. Her fourteen previous passages to Melbourne were made in 62, 83, 41, 60, 56, 64, 57, 57, 57, 56, and 63 days, and on one occasion in 25 days 17 hours, and back to Queenstown in 59 days, performing the whole voyage of 98,000 miles in 4 months and 26 days, including a detention at Melbourne of 21 days—a feat never before accomplished by any vessel. This succession of remarkable passages made by the "GREAT BRITAIN" proves conclusively that by her the length of the passage can be depended upon; and she affords an opportunity for Passengers to reach Australia in almost as short a time as by the Overland Route, yet Southampton, without incurring the very heavy expenses attendant thereon, and avoiding entirely the discomfort of frequent changes. Her Saloon arrangements are perfect, and combine every possible convenience, Ladies' Boudoir, Bath, &c.; and her noble passenger decks, lighted at intervals by sideports, afford unrivalled accommodation for all classes.

FARES TO MELBOURNE.

AFTER SALOON	{ POOP 60 and 70 Guineas	THIRD CLASS 18 and 20 Guineas
SECOND CLASS	{ BELOW 55 and 60 Guineas	STEERAGE 15 and 16 Guineas
	{ 25 and 30 Guineas	

Including Steward's Fees, the attendance of an experienced Surgeon, and all Provisions of the best quality, except Wines, Spirits, and Mall Liquors, which will be supplied at very moderate prices on board, and according to the Passengers' Act.
 Children under Twelve Years, Half-price. Infants under Twelve Months, Free.
 Passengers booked to be forwarded from MELBOURNE, by the first opportunity, to SYDNEY, ADELAIDE, and HOBART TOWN, at an extra charge of 2 Guineas Saloon, 3 Guineas other Classes; to LAUNCESTON, 4 Guineas Saloon, and 2 Guineas other Classes—for which separate Forwarding Tickets will be issued in Liverpool.

The SALOON is provided with every requisite, including Berths, Beds, Bedding, Plac, Table Linen, Crockery, Glass, &c. It is supplied with the best articles of Food, and an abundant Dietary Scale, Live Stock, Poultry, &c. It contains a Ladies' Boudoir, Bath, &c. &c. No Passenger looking for a berth in a Cabin is to be accommodated in a Cabin by himself, so long as he can be placed in a Cabin of the same class or price with another Passenger not booked for a whole Cabin.
 Should any Passenger wish from the accommodation to which he was originally booked to a berth for which a higher charge is payable, or from a berth in a Cabin to a whole Cabin, he is to be charged the extra fare throughout.

DEPOSITS.

One-half of the pass-money must be paid before a Berth can be secured. The Berths are appropriated in rotation as the Deposits are paid. Passengers in the country can have Berths secured by enclosing a Bank or Post-office order to the undersigned for half the amount of passage, and they are requested to give their Christian names, ages, and families, and, if married, names and ages of each member of the family.

Apply to **THE LIVERPOOL & AUSTRALIAN NAVIGATION CO.**
(GIBBS, BRIGHT & CO., Agents), 1, North John Street, Liverpool;
THOMAS IRVING & CO., 17, Gracechurch Street, London.

LUGGAGE.—All Extra Luggage must be down at the Bramley-Moore Dock, on Saturday, the 9th December. The Ship leaves the Dock on Monday, the 11th December. All other Luggage must be down at the Prince's Landing Stage on Tuesday, the 12th December, on which day all Passengers (except Sailors) embark. The Government Inspector will examine the Passengers at 9 a.m. on the 13th December. Sailors' Passengers embark on the afternoon of the 13th, at 4 o'clock. The Vessel sails early on the morning of the 14th December.
 OCTOBER, 1871.

A poster advertising journeys to Australia, 1871
SS Great Britain Trust



‘Canvas Town, between Princess Bridge & South Melbourne in 1850s’ (De Gruchy & Leigh, between 1850 and 1860).
Tents put up in Melbourne to house new arrivals from Britain c. 1852 | *State Library Victoria*

Some of the people from the SS *Great Britain* may have interacted with Indigenous Australians, as it carried lots of people over the years, completing 32 voyages to and from Australia between 1852–1875. Where the ship could originally carry 360 passengers to New York, it was later increased to 730 passengers, and it also had 144 crew members to take people to Australia.⁸ Thousands of immigrants sailed to Australia helped by stories of riches and a better life.

When the first migrants from the SS *Great Britain* reached Australia, Melbourne had so many arrivals it had become a camp of large tents. Small houses were also built that people could either work to pay off or buy outright.

19TH CENTURY

PORTABLE IRON HOUSES

399 Coventry Street, South Melbourne

National Trust of Australia (Victoria)

ABERCROMBIE HOUSE

The arrival of thousands of fortune hunters in the Colony in the early 1850s placed an enormous strain on the limited accommodation of the pastoral township of Melbourne.

On the slopes of ‘Emerald Hill’, a ‘canvas town’ of tents and other temporary buildings set in an orderly street pattern grew into the present suburb of South Melbourne. By 1855, nearly one hundred portable buildings including cottages, two-storey houses, shops, stores and a coach house were erected in the vicinity of Coventry Street. Number 399 still stands on its original site close to the road followed by thousands of gold-diggers making their way to Melbourne and the gold fields beyond

Moved from 59 Arden Street, North Melbourne, this house is believed to have been manufactured by Moorewood & Rogers of London. It was first occupied by Andrew Abercrombie and was last lived in in 1976. At some time the house must have been divided – look for connecting doors between the rooms which have been papered over later. There are about 6 to 8 different layers of wallpaper over a lining of newspaper or canvas.

A brick outline on the paving shows where the kitchen was placed. Because of the fire hazard, kitchens were usually added outside.

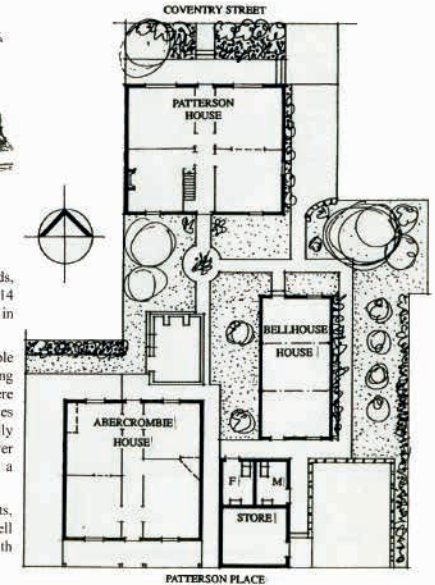


PATTERSON HOUSE

Five six-roomed houses, each valued at 60 pounds, were erected in Coventry Street in 1853/54. In 1855, 14 of a smaller size valued at 30 pounds each appeared in Patterson Place.

Robert Patterson established this little colony of portable houses and his stenciled initials ‘R.P.’ and shipping numbers were revealed on the walls after they were stripped of wallpapers, showing that the wooden crates were used as partition walls. The windows are generally cast iron casement and in one case the frame has a lower panel of corrugated iron, so that the whole opens as a French window.

The occupants of these houses included civil servants, builders, an auctioneer and also John Danks, the well known ironmonger. He and his brother Samuel lived with their families in Patterson Lane.



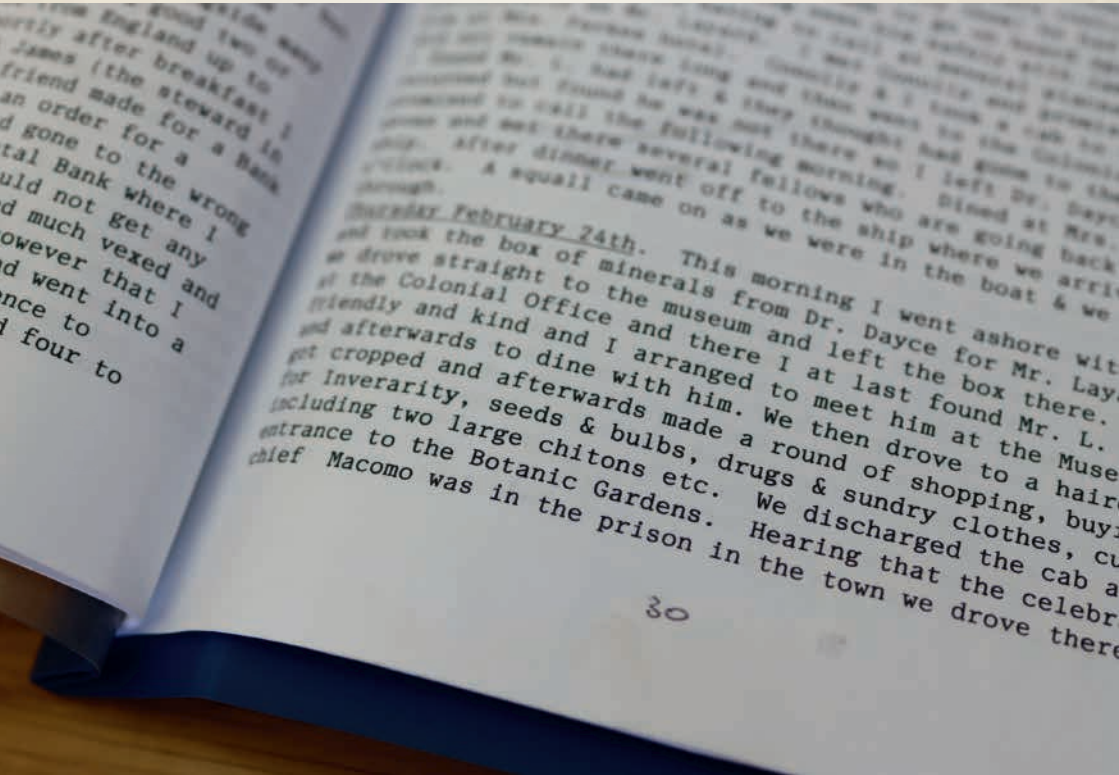

A write-up about homes quickly erected to house immigrants to Australia early in the 1850s | *unknown artist, Courtesy of National Trust of Australia (Victoria)*

3

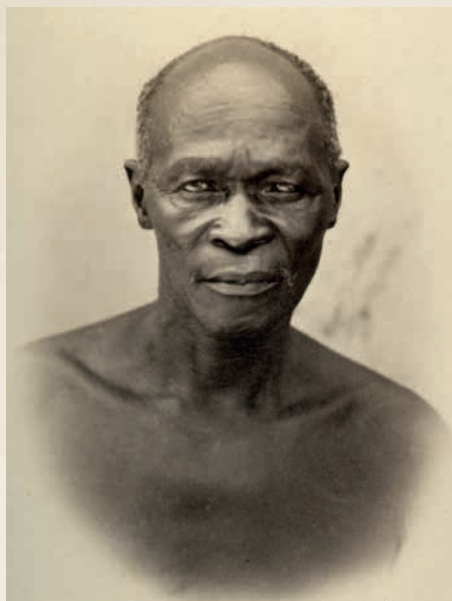
DOCTOR SAMUEL ARCHER

AFTER READING THE DIARIES OF the passengers I realised the impact that people of colour made on these voyages, from crew members to passengers and the communities where the ship docked on its journeys. On some trips to Australia, the ship stopped at ports in Africa along the way. And it sometimes went to other places like India, California, or the Black Sea, carrying soldiers or cargo.

Samuel Archer was the doctor on the *SS Great Britain* on its fourteenth voyage, from Liverpool to Bombay. His diary includes mentions of people of colour and vibrant communities. As I read more into the diary I came across an entry about a visit he made to the famous Chief Maqoma, who was being held at Robben Island Prison, which is in Table Bay, Cape Town, South Africa.



Extracts from a transcript of Samuel Archer's diary, in which he hears of chief 'Macomo' (Maqoma) being in prison nearby and also describes collecting seashells when local children come along to help | *SS Great Britain Trust*



Maqoma
*bpk Berlin/Ethnologisches
Museum, SMB/Gustav
Theodor Fritsch*

20

Chief Maqoma was from the Xhosa tribe and was commander of the Xhosa forces. He led the Xhosa army into battles against the British from 1834 to 1853.⁹ In 1857 Archer documents that while he was having his hair cut his barber continuously spoke about the chief and he was held as a celebrity to the local people.

Archer stated ‘in a cell of considerable size we found this celebrated character with one of his wives and two of his counsellors. His wife was seated on a platform a little raised from the floor and dressed in a flowing print gown with a handkerchief tied over her head... he grinned at us and muttered something which we could not understand. The two other men were in no way remarkable. Macomo is said to be a wonderful shot with a rifle and we heard a great deal about him.’¹⁰

I was so amazed with this find I continued to look more into the Chief and found out that one of his grandsons became very friendly with one of the British Admirals and was sent to England to study and to also learn about Christianity. He was called George Mandyali Maqoma.¹¹ He lived in a vicarage in Nuneaton, Warwickshire which is noted in the 1861 census and went to a small Christian school.¹²

Three years later the young Mandyali was ready to return home to teach the Christian gospel but was taken ill and unfortunately passed away. It was said that he died from a blow to the head and had an aneurysm, but his death certificate stated that he died from phthisis. This could be linked to TB, (tuberculosis) and could have been due to the damp conditions that he was not used to. Mandyali is buried with Alfred Savage, a close friend he made while living in Warwickshire.¹³

21

MAQOMA

Maqoma, Shaka Zulu right hand man
Protector of people and sacred land

They said they would be fair but this wasn't true
They lied to me, and also to you

You can't just come and take what isn't yours
Motherlands precious jewels and gold
We will raise our ancestors with warrior dance
And protect the land with every chance

They said they would be fair, but this wasn't true
They lied to me and also to you



Author's photo

22

While the ship was docked in Cape Town, Samuel Archer also talked about the children of colour who played with the white children.

He also stated that in Bombay while the ship was docked, the ship's restaurant would be open to the public and people would come and feast, dressed in their colourful clothes and draped in gold jewellery.

BESTIE

I don't see colour I see my best friend
And always will to the very end
Collecting seashells along the seashore
I don't care that I'm rich and that you are poor
They say we can't play together but we don't care
Food and secrets we will forever share
We don't see colour we are best friends and always
will be till the very end

4

PASSENGER AND CREW

Seamen of colour

23

DURING MY RESEARCH I CAME across a database of the passengers and crew members on each voyage.¹⁴ The crew members came from different countries all over the world and they took roles like captain, bosun, 1st mate, engineer, cook and doctor. I was also able to narrow down the search to crew members and passengers of colour.

Men of colour made a huge contribution to maritime history right back to the seventeenth century. Many seamen of colour were placed on ships by their slave masters, many were also free African sailors, and in the eighteenth century, many boarded navy and merchant ships from North America or the Caribbean.¹⁵ Whilst on the ships some seamen were treated badly, but a lot were accepted by the crew, and they were paid well. Seamen of colour were paid around £3 a month and in war time this would increase further.¹⁶

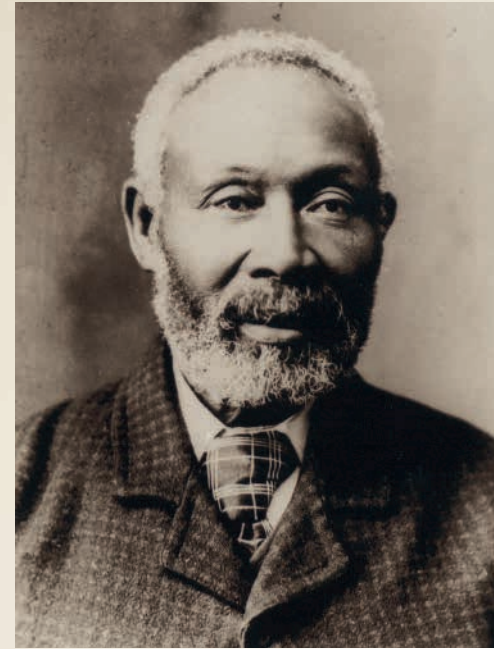
NAME(S)	LAST NAME	AGE	NATIONALITY	BIRTHPLACE
J.	Armstrong	27	Jamaican	Jamaica
James	Crockett	25	Jamaican	Lyssons, Jamaica
Thomas	Fowler	19	Jamaican	Jamaica
William	Grant	30	Jamaican	Jamaica
John	Henry	29	Jamaican	Jamaica
James	Johnson	25	Jamaican	Jamaica
George H.	Moore	30	Jamaican	Jamaica
George	Moses	40	Jamaican	Jamaica
Abraham	Saunders	40	Jamaican	Jamaica
John	Savage	29	Jamaican	Jamaica

GLOBAL STORIES: The SS *Great Britain* has a database of all of the passengers and crew who travelled on the ship, to which details are constantly being added. I used this database when doing my research.

People can be searched for by their name, or by their place of origin, with additional details always being added when new information is found. Above are search results of the people who had 'Jamaica' listed as their nationality, and were either passengers or crew.

See: globalstories.ssgreatbritain.org

In the eighteenth century men of colour were increasingly present on British merchant ships. These mariners took on roles as cooks, officers, musicians and servants. They were also employed as news carriers carrying news and important letters to different parts of the world. Men would travel to large seaports to find work. Many men from the Caribbean emigrated to America, and headed to the docks of New York, while there was always work in Cape Town, South Africa and Calcutta, India, and, of course, Britain too.



Henry Parker
Bristol Archives,
 43650/7/5

In the nineteenth century many black sailors resided in Bristol. I researched and found information on Henry Parker. He escaped from a slavery plantation in the southern United States and fled north with help from a Quaker family.¹⁷ The Northern United States were against slavery and many people there helped with the movement of the underground railroad and used their properties as safe houses.

Henry Parker was then employed as a seaman and sailed on the SS *Mayflower* ship to England. He settled in Bristol and married Eliza Forward. They had seven children. He changed his profession to shoemaker and he also became a preacher and was part of the now-named Ivy Church, which is located on Ashley Hill.¹⁸ He still has descendants living in and around Bristol.



A model of 'barber' Jones on board the *SS Great Britain*
SS Great Britain Trust

By the time the *SS Great Britain* was sailing in the nineteenth century, Black seafarers and ship staff were increasingly commonplace, especially in cargo trades. There were a number of Black seafarers and passengers on the ship. These included William, or 'barber' Jones, a passenger on the ship. We do not know his purpose for travelling from Melbourne to Liverpool, but we do know that on the voyage he set up a barber shop in the first-class saloon. He was also talented in performing arts.¹⁹ I found it intriguing that he was travelling from Melbourne. I started looking through records and these suggest he could be from Barbados, from where a William Jones was sent to Australia after being convicted of horse stealing.²⁰

After two months and sixteen days of his sentence Jones was released but decided to stay in Australia and set up home.²¹



Crew members on the deck of the *SS Great Britain* in the period 1882–1886, when the ship carried cargo between Cardiff and San Francisco
SS Great Britain Trust

There are several Australian newspaper articles that indicate that he was a well-known and well-liked man in his community.²² Mr Jones had an Aboriginal member of staff, Samuel Gee, who could have been a house servant and the newspapers state that he would treat his staff the same way he would treat his own children.²³ He also would play music as a banjoist in a venue called the Wakely's.²⁴ He died in 1883 in New South Wales around the age of 71. The cause of death is unknown.

Another passenger was James Crockett, who was one of my favourite finds during research. James Crockett was a 25-year-old man who travelled from Liverpool to New York on the ship's eighth voyage, which was one of the earlier voyages. He was from Jamaica but what I found surprising was the district he was born in was stated on the passenger list. This was Lysson, in the parish of St Thomas, Jamaica. His birth certificate stated his mother was a lady called

Margaret Dick and his father a Mr John Crocket.²⁵ The list also stated that his occupation was a clerk.²⁶

Finding a Black office clerk from Jamaica in the 1800s who was able to travel was rare. He would have had to have good schooling, and to have good schooling in the 1800s, that meant he would have to come from a wealthy family. So I looked up his parents' details in the University College London 'Legacies of Slavery' database and found his father John Crocket was the owner of the Mount Ephraim sugar estate, St Thomas, between 1829–1834.²⁷ It also states that James' mother, and her family, were free people of colour. Margaret and John were not married, but lived on neighbouring estates. Margaret had previously been married, and she also inherited or owned an estate, as the data base also shows that Margaret was paid compensation from the British government when slavery was abolished.²⁸

There were also many seafarers from the Caribbean who worked on board the SS *Great Britain*. George Moses was a cook from Manchester, Jamaica who worked on voyages 46 and 47, travelling from Cardiff to San Francisco. Many men from Caribbean descent were sailors during the nineteenth century and travelled to America to seek work on ships. In 1886, on voyage 47, there was a fire on board which caused some structural damage to the ship, and the ship had to halt sail at the Falkland Islands. The damage was beyond repair, so the ship was sold and then used to store coal.²⁹ Working on this voyage, Moses would have been one of the last ever seafarers on the ship.

He appears have gone back to Wales, dying in Newport in 1891.³⁰

5

GLOBAL INFLUENCE ON CARGO

THE SS *GREAT BRITAIN* ALSO carried cargo to and from countries. There was enough space to carry at least 1,000 tons of cargo on each voyage as well as all the passengers. The cargo was documented whilst being loaded onto the ship. There was a vast variety of goods. Plants were a very popular item transported by the ship and were traded on at least 13 voyages. These could have been used for scientific reasons or destined for parks and gardens in Britain. James Veitch, one of the largest garden and plant businesses of the nineteenth century, was one company trading plants. The ship also carried leather, cotton, goat and sheep wool, kangaroo skins, stuffed birds, emu eggs, whiskey, cocoa, preserves (jam) and wine.³¹ Gold and minerals were also regularly transported back to England which could have been used for testing by mining companies or just in people's pockets.³²

In the 1800s there was also a huge demand for ivory and South Africa was able to supply this, from large herds of elephants that inhabited the south and eastern Cape area. In 1800 there were millions of elephants in South Africa. Their ivory was traded by the original tribes of South Africa to passing merchants.³³ In 1852, the SS *Great Britain* called at Cape Town to collect cargo bound for the UK. This included ivory, which would then have been used to make many items such as piano keys, buttons, chess sets, handles on cutlery and ornaments to name a few. On the 1852 cargo list from Cape Town there were three cases of ivory and sixteen elephant's teeth.³⁴

6

IRIE SAILOR

A poem imagined by Shani Whyte

Inspired by the collections of the SS Great Britain Trust

I'm on a voyage at sea
I miss my wife and my daughter who is three
I left Jamaica land of many
to become a sailor and save some pennies

The sea is my blanket my safe place my haven
And the crew are my armour they keep me from danger
I am a free man and get paid a wage and this crew is
quite mixed
We all get treated the same

When there's a storm the waves fight with all might
And the cool air turns freezing at night
I've named all stars they have become all my friends
They quietly listen when I have stories to tell

Then the sun comes up and takes them away
See what adventure the SS *Great Britain* brings to us today

When we stop in Cape Town, I see people like me
selling elephant tusks and different types of bush teas
they are shocked because I speak the Queen's English
and they are more confused because my accent's not British

We dance to the fiddle and drink dark rum
And we sit by the fire and have drunken fun
Act out folk tales and listen to African drumming
And the animals are breath-taking and the scenery
 is stunning
The sunrises and the sails are set free
And for breakfast we eat the fruit we picked from the trees

We heave and ho all day long
And learn the words to all of our native songs
Our crew are from all different places
Different ages and different races

I love docking in Bombay is a colourful delight
the smell of rich spices and all the fireflies at night
cold beers and good game of cricket the natives introduced
 me to the fruit called fig and showed me how to pick it
they gave me silk for my wife and also some of that
 sweet-scented rice

After a night of games and folly we are off to set sail again
to sail the seas on the Australian Gold Mine trail

I hope to find a gold nugget to bring back home
I'll feel like a king upon his throne
Everyone digging to find the biggest
They say it's a case of survival of the fittest

Some of the crew say they're staying to set up new homes
But that's not for me it's the sea I love to roam

After this voyage it's Jamaica for me I can't wait to sit back
 under my mango tree
to eat some good food and play with my daughter
I'm tired of slop and biscuits and bad coloured water

So I write in my diary of memories at sea
Of the SS *Great Britain*
Bombay Cape Town Australia and me



ENDNOTES

1. A good biography of Brunel is Angus Buchannan, *Brunel: The Life and Times of Isambard Kingdom Brunel* (London: Hambledon & London, 2002).
2. The entrance to the Tunnel can still be visited today. It is in Rotherhithe, London, and is called the Brunel Museum.
3. This ship followed the wooden *Great Western*, with traditional ‘paddles’, built by the same group in Bristol from 1836–38.
4. This happened after the ship ran aground in Ireland in 1846 and was then bought by new owners who repaired and changed it.
5. Robin May, *The Gold Rushes* (London: William Luscombe, 1977), pp.44–49; Ben Wilson, ‘Heyday’ – *The 1850s and the Dawn of the Global Age* (London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 2016), pp.33–66.
6. Wilson, *Global Age*, p.45; Henry Reynolds *Frontier: Aborigines, Settlers and Land* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1987), is one of many books that also discusses the number of Aboriginal people who died in conflict.
7. <https://sovereignhilledblog.com/2013/11/19/indigenous-stories-of-the-goldfields/#:~:text=Often%20the%20perceptions%20that%20are,Aboriginal%20people%20was%20very%20negative> and <http://www.vaeai.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Koorie-Perspectives-from-the-Goldfields.pdf>.
8. Ewan Corlett, *The Iron Ship* (Bristol: SS Great Britain Trust, 2010).
9. Les Switzer, *Power & Resistance in an African Society: The Ciskei Xhosa and the Making of South Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), pp.56–71; Ian J. Knight, *Warrior Chiefs of Southern Africa: Shaka of the Zulu, Moshoeshe of the BaSotho, Mzilikazi of the Matabele, Maqoma of the Xhosa* (Poole: Firebird Books, 1994), pp.158–176.
10. Diary of Samuel Archer / Voyage Box 14, SS Great Britain Trust.
11. Timothy J Stapleton, *Maqoma: Xhosa Resistance to Colonial Advance, 1798–1873* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 1994), pp.199–201.
12. <https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/mystery-nuneatons-african-chiefs-part-one>; <https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/mystery-nuneatons-african-chiefs-part-two>; <https://www.ourwarwickshire.org.uk/content/article/mystery-nuneatons-african-chiefs-part-three>.
13. Ibid.
14. <https://globalstories.ssgreatbritain.org>.
15. Ray Costello, *Black Salt: Seafarers of African Descent on British Ships* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), pp.1–28.
16. Ibid, pp.39–40.
17. The Quakers are Christians who famously taught tolerance of other religions and have very strong historic ties with Bristol.
18. ‘Henry Parker’ in *Black Bristolians* 3:4, pp.263–266.
19. ‘Dearlove’ Diary / SS Great Britain Trust.
20. *The Barbadian* 17.12.36.
21. NSW State Archives and Records, Convicts Index 1791–1873, Citation: [4/4169; Reel 946] , cited in https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Jones-112965#_note-NSW.
22. *Bells Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer* 5.4.1851.
23. Ibid.
24. *Sydney Morning Herald* 11.12.58.
25. “Jamaica, Church of England Parish Register Transcripts, 1664–1880, St. Thomas in the East”, [Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, 1817–1834] accessed via <https://familysearch.org>.
26. A copy of the passenger list is held by the SS Great Britain Trust.
27. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/21905>.
28. <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/20735>.
29. “Jamaica Births and Baptisms 1752–1920” [Baptisms in the Parish of Manchester, Jamaica] accessed via <https://familysearch.org>.
30. “England & Wales Census, 1891” database with images accessed via <https://familysearch.org>; also available The National Archives, Kew, PRO RG 12, Monmouthshire County, Sub-district.
31. Customs Bill of Entry 10591, 12475, 12555, 12784, 12987, 13172, 13764, 14175, 14349, 14534, 15098, 15450, 15979, 17111, 17294, 17492, Liverpool Record Office [copies available at SS Great Britain Trust].
32. Customs Bills of Entry, 10591 Liverpool Record Office [copy available at SS Great Britain Trust].
33. John Wright, ‘Turbulent Times: Political Transformations in the North and East, 1760s–1830s’ in Carolyn Hamilton, Bernard K. Mbenga, Robert Ross, eds., *The Cambridge History of South Africa, Vol.1 – From Early Times to 1885* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p.214.
34. Customs Bill of Entry 10591, Liverpool Record Office [copy available at SS Great Britain Trust].

FURTHER READING

The SS Great Britain Trust has a huge amount of material about the ship. On site there is a library and research centre where objects and records are held that we were able to access. This includes boxes that contain material for each voyage the ship made, artefacts, diaries, and books.

You can explore here:

<https://www.ssgreatbritain.org/collections-and-research/>

I found the following useful:

DOCUMENTS

Voyage Box 9: Liverpool to Melbourne and back, 1852

Voyage Box 14: Cork to Bombay, 1857

OBJECTS & IMAGES

BRSG 2014.0001 – Deck shot of Crew to San Francisco

BRSG 2014.0390 – Poster

BRSG 2012.01507.1 – Gold Coin

BRSG 2012.01507.2 – Gold Nugget

The Global Stories database was also key to my research, as well as Family Search.org

I also found useful:

Ray Costello, *Black Salt: Seafarers of African Descent on British Ships* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014)

<http://www.vaeai.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/Koorie-Perspectives-from-the-Goldfields.pdf>