

Mules,
Muleteers
and the
Malacca

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by
Wayne Clutterbuck
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The information contained within this document was compiled by Wayne Clutterbuck whilst undertaking research on his family tree. Where possible the information is based on documents obtained from government institutions as well as other resources such as newspapers. Further information was provided through genealogy forums.

This research is not finished and needs extensive work. Whilst most of the information has been validated by official documents there is some information that remains to be validated.

Wayne can be contacted by email at: wayne.clutterbuck@outlook.com

OTHER RESEARCHERS

It would be remiss of me not to mention that some of the research outcomes were the result of work by other researchers. Some names that I researched and confirmed as being Chilean or Uruguayan were the result of contact with others who provided those names, and I thank them for their assistance.

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The Story

Like most genealogy researchers I was frustrated at various times when I would find dead-end after dead-end after years of research. When I discovered that my maternal 2nd great grandfather was a Chilean who came to Australia as one of The English and Australian Copper Company muleteers and little was known about how he came to Australia, where from and how, my frustrations grew.

Despite numerous searches over many years I was unable to locate proof of my ancestor's entry into Australia and to date this fact is only supported by his Naturalisation Papers.

This lack of information led me to my current desire to determine who my ancestor was, how he got here and who accompanied him. Having determined that only 6 Uruguayans and 24 Chileans (20 males, 2 females and 2 children) came to South Australia as muleteers or family of muleteers I set on my quest to determine who they were and find out what happened to them.

Background

With the settlement by the British in 1788 the diversity of people and animals arriving in the various colonies, that made up what was to become the new country of Australia, grew over the subsequent decades. People from a range of countries settled in these colonies This included many people from Britain, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, but also Europeans from France, Italy, Norway and especially Germany. Come the 1850s more and more people moved to the colonies, many searching for gold in the goldfields. These included people from America, Canada and China.

Little known were the people from South America who also made the journey. People from Uruguay, Argentina and Chile. It is some of these people that this publication is interested in and will focus on, specifically those from Uruguay and Chile who came to South Australia as muleteers for The English and Australian Copper Company.

With the arrival of these people in the colonies, so were a diverse range of animals imported and introduced to the colonies. The expected farming animals of sheep, cattle, horses, ducks, chickens etc but also other animals for cartage such as bullocks, camels, and mules. Finally, animals for sport were introduced – the fox and rabbit. Of all these animals the one of most interest in this story were the mules that were imported from South America for The English and Australian Copper Company.

To fully understand the role the South America people had in South Australia we need to look at what brought them to South Australia in the first place. In the early 1850's The English and Australian Copper Company was in need of a reliable means of transporting coal from Port Wakefield to their mine at Burra some 110km away as well as transporting copper ore from the mine to Port Wakefield for shipping to England. It was decided to use mules for this task and thus the journey to import mules into South Australia begins.

The Mules

The English and Australian Copper Company initially transported its copper ore to Port Adelaide using bullock and horse teams. The same teams were used to cart coal back to the mines as fuel for the mining equipment. This was a long and arduous journey in excess of 160km over unmade roads in a harsh environment. The company eventually established what became known as the '*Gulf Road*' to Port Wakefield reducing the journey to about 100km and cutting about 6 days from the existing journey.

The company at the same time realised that using horses and bullocks as beasts of burden was unwise as they were unsuited to the harsh dry conditions found in outback South Australia. The roads, if any, were unmade, consisted of dry broken rock and thus made it difficult for the animals to reliably tread the surface whilst hauling heavy loads. Newspaper reports of the time reported that at times the road to and from Burra was littered with the corpses of these beast of burden who succumbed to the conditions.

To this end a decision was made to employ a beast of burden more suited to the conditions – the mule, as they were more adapted to the unmade roads and harsh environment. The mule could carry as much if not more than a horse and required less fodder. South America was a ready-made source for the mules as they were readily available, had been broken and trained in the haulage of heavy loads in harsh environments and over unmade or broken roads.

The English and Australian Copper Company initially sent an agent, Mr E. K. Horne, to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil to purchase mules and to engage muleteers to drive them. Unable to secure the required mules and hiring of muleteers Mr Horne moved his search to Montevideo in Uruguay where he successfully purchased 170 mules and engaged the employment of 6 muleteers.

Later, 2 voyages were made to Chile to purchase more mules and employ more muleteers. In all, over 3 journeys, a total of 480 mules were successfully imported into South Australia by The English and Australian Copper Company. Whilst not the first mules imported into the colonies, they are understood to be the first into South Australia.

It should be noted that mules were first imported into New South Wales, by the Australian Agricultural Company, in 1839. They imported thirty mules and contracted four muleteers from Chile.

Information about the company can be found at the State Library of New South Wales at:

<https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/australian-agricultural-and-rural-life/australian-agricultural-company>

Information on the importation of mules into New South Wales can be found at:

<https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Alderete-10>

The *Malacca*

The barque *Malacca* was an integral part of this story as it was the means by which the South American mules and muleteers came to South Australia. Of interest were the 6 Uruguayan and 24 Chileans who ventured to South Australia during the period 1853 to 1855 aboard the *Malacca*.

The barque *Malacca* of note to this story was built in 1842 by Green, Wigram's and Green. It was a wooden, two deck, three masted barque of 491 tons with a length of 125 feet and breadth of 27 feet. It should be noted that during the early to mid-1850's there were at least three different ships/barques named *Malacca*:

- One was involved in the Crimean war and to my knowledge never came to Australia but was most often mentioned in newspaper articles of the period.
- The second was a largish (approx. 700-ton vessel) mastered by a C Woods which travelled to Australia during 1855 and later years. This travel was normally from Singapore, and the cargo was often passengers consisting mainly of Chinese immigrants.
- The third, and of most interest is the *Malacca* captained by Edward R Coleman, a three masted vessel of approx. 550 tons. This vessel was first captained by John Adams, then Edward R Coleman and lastly Daniel Matthew Le Geyt.

It is when it was captained by Edward R Coleman that is of most interest. Fortunately, many newspaper reports listed the captain/master for each vessel, which makes it easier to identify which *Malacca* is being reported.

The *Malacca* Voyages

The *Malacca* of most interest made 6 known voyages to or from Australia. Using newspaper reports from the time the following timeline for each voyage is detailed (Each voyage is referred to as being the year or years of the voyage - as shown in bold):

- 1. 1851/1852** - London, United Kingdom to Sydney, New South Wales and return - Mastered by John Adams
 - 20 Apr 1851 Departed London, United Kingdom
 - 11 Aug 1851 Arrived Sydney, New South Wales
 - 10 Sep 1851 Departed Sydney, New South Wales for Madras, India
 - Arrived Madras, India
 - Departed Madras, India for United Kingdom
 - 27 Apr 1852 Arrived Deal, United Kingdom
 - 3 Nov 1852 Listed for sale in London, United Kingdom
- 2. 1853** – London, United Kingdom to Brazil to Uruguay to Adelaide, South Australia - Mastered by Edward R. Coleman
 - 23 Jan 1853 Departed London, United Kingdom
 - 21 Mar 1853 Arrived Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
 - Departed Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
 - 19 May 1853 Arrived Montevideo, Uruguay
 - 23 May 1853 Departed Montevideo, Uruguay
 - 18 Jul 1853 Arrived Port Wakefield, South Australia
- 3. 1853/1854** - Port Wakefield, South Australia to Valparaiso, Chile and return - Mastered by Edward R. Coleman
 - 23 Aug 1853 Departed Port Wakefield, South Australia
 - 24 Aug 1853 Arrived Adelaide, South Australia
 - 26 Aug 1853 Departed Adelaide, South Australia
 - Nov 1853 Arrived Valparaiso, Chile
 - 19 Dec 1853 Departed Valparaiso, Chile
 - 12 Feb 1854 Arrived Tahiti (on return journey from Valparaiso, Chile)
 - 15 Feb 1854 Departed Tahiti (on return journey to Port Wakefield, South Australia)
 - 25 Mar 1854 Arrived Sydney, New South Wales
 - 01 Apr 1854 Departed Sydney, New South Wales
 - 11 Apr 1854 Arrived Port Wakefield, South Australia

4. **1854/1855** - Adelaide, South Australia to Valparaiso, Chile and return - Mastered by Edward R. Coleman
- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 18 May 1854 | Departed Adelaide, South Australia |
| 08 Jun 1854 | Arrived Auckland, New Zealand |
| 23 Jun 1854 | Departed Auckland, New Zealand (on forward journey to Valparaiso, Chile) |
| | Arrived Valparaiso, Chile |
| 08 Jan 1855 | Departed Valparaiso, Chile |
| 17 Feb 1855 | Arrived Adelaide, South Australia (on return journey from Valparaiso, Chile) |
| 19 Feb 1855 | Departed Adelaide, South Australia |
| 03 Mar 1855 | Arrived Port Wakefield, South Australia |
5. **1855** - Port Wakefield, South Australia to Gravesend, United Kingdom - Mastered by Edward R. Coleman
- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 02 Apr 1855 | Departed Port Wakefield, South Australia |
| 03 Apr 1855 | Arrived Adelaide, South Australia from Port Wakefield, South Australia |
| 19 May 1855 | Departed Port Adelaide, South Australia |
| 07 Nov 1855 | Arrived Gravesend, United Kingdom |
| 12 Dec 1855 | Listed for sale in London, United Kingdom |
6. **1856** – London, United Kingdom to Port Adelaide, South Australia to Madras, India – Mastered by Daniel Matthew Le Geyt
- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 18 Apr 1856 | Departed London, United Kingdom |
| 28 Jun 1856 | Arrived Simon's Bay, South Africa |
| 17 Jul 1856 | Departed Simon's Bay, South Africa |
| 25 Aug 1856 | Arrived Port Adelaide, South Australia |
| 01 Nov 1856 | Advertised for sale |
| 06 Nov 1856 | Under Repair |
| 19 Dec 1856 | Departed Port Adelaide for Madras, India |

Of these voyages the **1853**, **1853/1854** and **1854/1855** voyages were instrumental in the importation of mules into South Australia and the immigration of Uruguayan and Chilean muleteers. The result of these voyages was reported in newspapers of that time with the following general information:

1853 – London to Uruguay to Adelaide - Mastered by Edward R. Coleman

- 70 mules (sailed from Montevideo, Uruguay with 170 or 180 mules) and 6 muleteers

1853/1854 - Australia to Chile and return - Mastered by Edward R. Coleman

- 210 mules, 6 she-asses and 6 muleteers

1854/1855 - Australia to Chile and return - Mastered by Edward R. Coleman

- 200 mules, 16 horses and 14 Chilian (sic) natives (muleteers) plus 2 women and 2 children

Malacca Passenger Lists

One sort after item by researchers was the passenger list for a specific voyage, so that it could be determined if a certain individual was on board for that journey. After an extensive search I was able to locate the passenger list for two of the voyages of the *Malacca*. These were the 1851/1852 and 1853/1854 voyages.

Whilst the 1851/1852 voyage was not of interest to this research it did however help understand what was included in a passenger list or ships record. Of note was that the cabin passengers were listed by name whilst steerage passengers were listed as the number of men, women and children. In this instance the Master was listed but the crew were not individually listed.

The 1853/1854 voyage was slightly different in that the master and crew were listed individually (also included age). Passengers were listed by name except children who were shown just as a child(ren). In this voyage the Chilean muleteers were shown like steerage passengers. That is, they are just shown as several passengers. In this case they were referred to as "*Six Muleteers Natives of South America*". Unfortunately, no names.

This passenger list also had a cryptic list shown to one side. After much checking and deliberation, it is suspected that the list could be deciphered as:

T	590	T = <u>Tonnage</u>	590
C	23	C = Crew	23
M	7	M = Males	7
F	2	F = Females	2
C	5	C = Children	5
			14

What is shown as 7 males would be the 6 muleteers and the one named male passenger.

Unfortunately, the passenger lists for the 1853 or 1854/1855 voyages have not been located but given the lack of detail relating to steerage passengers or muleteers shown on the two passenger lists discovered little hope is held that the actual passenger lists would be of much help.

What was noted was that the newspapers of the day often did a reasonable job listing the passengers, etc for a specific ship and journey. In this case the newspapers listed the 6 Uruguayan muleteers on the 1853 journey by name:

- Bilart
- Grasan
- Hurtley
- Lambert
- Moiraran, and
- Puire

The 1854/1855 journey, whilst listing passenger names, only indicated that there were "*14 Chilean natives plus 2 women and 2 children*" on board. No names were listed.

As the newspapers most probably obtained their information from the passenger lists/ships records I suspect that even with those records the research situation would not be better off as names were unlikely to be listed.

Mules and Muleteers in Burra

Having obtained what appeared to be all the information that was available through passenger lists and newspaper reports the data was analysed with the following results/conclusions.

Uruguayan Muleteers

An extensive search of Australia records and newspapers has only revealed information on 2 of the 6 muleteers by the recorded spelling or variations of such. On this basis it is now assumed that 4 Uruguayans returned to Montevideo after a set period. This would not be unusual if they were under a contract to serve for a period after which they would be able to return home to Uruguay. It is suspected that these types of contracts were common and may have been the case for the 4 Uruguayans and would explain why they do not appear in any Australian records. Refer to side-bar 'Muleteer Contracts' on page 10.

In the following news report extract there is no mention of the original 6 muleteers from Uruguay, and thus it is suspected that by this time all 6 Uruguayan muleteers had completed their employment contracts and were no longer in the employ of The English and Australian Copper Company.

Burra Burra Mines Muleteers

A report on page 2 of the South Australian Register of Wednesday 21 March 1855 stated:

"THE BURRA BURRA MINES AND SMELTING WORKS

.....

There is a 35-stall stable, but the beasts of burden, now principally used are mules, of which the Smelting Company has at present a stud of 470. These are chiefly worked in shift, and 10 of them are able in eight days to carry three tons of copper to Port Wakefield, and to return with a similar quantity of coal.

.....

Two hundred of the mules arrived lately by the Malacca, from South America, and all are in perfect working order.

.....

Sixteen Chilian labourers have lately arrived, making in all twenty-two. These with a few women and children, form a very happy-looking little community."

Chilean Muleteers

The above newspaper report gives us a total of 22 Chilean labourers after the third trip of the Malacca. However, most newspaper reports at the time indicated that 14 native Chileans, 2 women and 2 children had arrived. Discounting the Uruguayans this would make a total of 6 + 14 males, 2 females and 2 children.

Discounting the Uruguayans that makes a total of 6 + 14 + 2 = 22 Chileans (male and female, but not counting the children), which agrees with the above newspaper report of a community of 22 Chileans, and no mention of the Uruguayans.

The Muleteers

Having established that 6 Uruguayans and 20 male, 2 female and 2 children Chileans came to Australia on the *Malacca* in 1853, 1853/1854 and 1854/1855, and with only the names of the 6 Uruguayans, and the names of the Chileans not available on any passenger list, ships report or newspaper article about the journeys, it seemed that these people would remain unknown.

But having a defined number of Uruguayans and Chileans to identify I went on a quest to do exactly that – I wanted to identify as many of the Uruguayans and Chileans as possible and to try and determine what happened to them. A daunting task.

Fortunately, I had a starting point with my own ancestor José “Joseph” PIZARRO, who had indicated on his Naturalisation papers that he arrived in Australia in 1855 aboard the *Malacca*. I also used his marriage certificate and identified two more names who were witnesses at his marriage. They were Jacob DEIS and Cecilia ORTEGA.

DEIS is a Spanish name and would most likely be one of the missing Chileans, so too was ORTEGA, but Cecilia could be either a Spanish or English name, and with no evidence of a marriage certificate in Australia, it was assumed that she may have been 1 of the 2 Chilean women aboard the 1854/1855 journey. I now had 1 definite and 2 possible names out of 24 Chileans.

A search of newspaper records of the late 1850s and early 1860s revealed some more names as did responses to queries on several on-line genealogy forums where I was given several names where the researcher believed that they were possible Chilean muleteers.

After researching the provided names, a few more names were identified from marriage certificates where a person was a witness at the marriage of one of the Chilean muleteers. It was assumed that given the small size of the community that this would have been a common practice.

To date 1 Uruguayan and 13 Chilean names have probably been identified. These names needed to be researched further and need to be established as having been one of the 6 Uruguayans or 24 Chileans that came to Australia aboard the *Malacca*.

Muleteer Contracts

Muleteers first emigrated to Australia from Chile, under a contract with the Australian Agricultural Company in 1839. There were four muleteers employed on 3-year contracts.

The muleteers signed a contract which guaranteed their return to Chile after 3 years if they wished. Three of the muleteers: Agustin ALDERETE, Santo CRINA(CRENA/CREANOR) and Bernardo RIPA (REEVES) remained in Australia at the end of the contract whilst the fourth unnamed muleteer returned to Chile.

More information on this can be viewed at <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Alderete-10>

What is of most interest is the contract that the muleteers were employed under. It could be surmised that similar contracts could have been employed for the English and Australian Copper Company muleteers, both Uruguayan and Chilean.

A translation of the contract for Agustin ALDERETE is: *Agreement. Dn Juan Bernard with Agustin Alderete. Notarial Registers of Santiago, Volume 126 page 307v-308 In the city of Santiago de Chile in nineteen days of the month of November eight hundred and thirty-nine years, before me the clerk and witness seemed, on the one hand, Don Juan Bernard as attorney of Don Felipe King, and with person personality, Augustine was conformed Alderete, which has for the other, which I bear witness to and wallpaper: that they have entered into an agreement for which the second to serve is required which represents the first in New Holland for the term of three years that will begin run and count on this date, in what time to obey punctually in everything that the order and cannot stop doing it. King under any pretext until the time for which he was convinced or establish by his own account; Forcing Don Juan to give a name of his account in exchange for ten Chilean pesos per month or the equivalent of this currency, giving him more of the necessary food and a house in which he owns. It is necessary that the purchase agreement be made after three years. It will be sent to the client's account so that the payment is made in New Holland. that the ten pesos of the salary is at the beginning of this date, which is a job to keep in mind that it occupies it from itself, warning of having received my presence and that of the witnesses, the first advance salary of which I attest. To their firmness and compliance both grantors were forced with their present and future assets, renounced the demand for their favor and submitted fairly to the causes and courts of the state that their causes. This was granted and signed by witnesses Benito Carmen del Villar and José María Guzmán. (firms) A request from Agustín Alderete - Benito Carmen del Villar Juan Bernard In front of me José Camilo Gallardo*

The Muleteers – a ‘naming’ problem

As many researchers have discovered, names, spelling and name changes is problematic. As the Uruguayans and Chileans predominately had Spanish or Portuguese names, were most probably illiterate, relied on the various scribes in Australia to write down, spell and define their name. In many cases a name was anglicised either by the Uruguayan/Chilean or the scribe. Thus, many of the Uruguayans and Chileans ended up with English type names (both forename and surname).

Additionally, if the Spanish or Portuguese name was retained there were often many variations on the spelling of the name – this also occurred on numerous occasions with English names, but even more so with the Spanish or Portuguese names.

There are even slight differences between a Spanish name and a Portuguese name. For example, PÉREZ is a common Spanish surname however in Portuguese it is spelt PERES (no acute on the E and an S in lieu of the Z). Likewise, DEIS is Spanish whilst in Portuguese it is spelt DIAS. These slight variations to spelling, and maybe pronunciation can be the cause of confusion about the correct spelling of a name when it is being written down by a scribe from a different country.

It is these variations to the spelling of a name combined with misinterpretation of handwriting by modern transcribers that make the life of a genealogy researcher difficult. Many an hour can be spent trying to identify an individual using different spellings of both forenames and surnames.

If life was not difficult enough, it was common practice for foreigners (non-English) people to adopt an anglicised version of their forename or surname. Thus, Juan became John, Arturo became Arthur, Jorge became George. Often an individual would adopt a forename that was not even remotely like their native Spanish or Portuguese name. For example, someone named Juan could adopt the name “Simon”.

The Uruguayans, whilst officially Spanish speaking were influenced by not just Spanish but also Portuguese as Argentina to the south was Spanish speaking whereas Brazil to the north was Portuguese speaking, so it is understandable that the Uruguayan names could be one or the other or even a mix. Combined with the fact that by the 1850s Uruguay was a very multi-cultural society with many European influences, names for the Uruguayan muleteers may be very difficult to determine.

The Chileans were from a predominantly Spanish speaking society, and as such did not suffer from the Portuguese influence but was still affected by a European influence as Chile like Uruguay was also a very multi-cultural society with a large European influence.

To be true to the Uruguayans and Chileans I have tried to identify their Spanish or Portuguese name based on current Spanish or Portuguese names for both forename and surname. However, if a person adopted a new name for whatever reason that is also noted. Generally, an adopted name that is used is that name that the person was using upon their death and that is the name that they obviously preferred and used throughout their life.

All Uruguayans and Chileans will be shown with both Spanish/Portuguese and English names.

Researchers of a specific individual can contact the author for more information on specific names, spellings and adoption of anglicised names.

Juan Arturo HEURTLEY (John Arthur HEARTLEY) - rated as PROBABLE

Juan's surname HEURTLEY had several different spellings: HURTLEY, HEARTLEY, HARTLEY and as such it is not known which spelling is correct. As HEARTLEY is used on his marriage and death certificates it will be the name he was mostly known by.

BDM details are:

- Born about 1825 (based on age at marriage)
- Married on 5 Sep 1854 to Helen BEACH at St Mark's Church Penwortham, South Australia (SA Reg No: 20/114)
Name shown as John A HEARTLEY
Ages: John HEARTLEY – 29; Helen BEACH - 30
- Died unknown

Juan HEURTLEY 's name was identified in the following newspaper reports:

- Adelaide Times for Friday 23 January 1857, on page 4,
South Australian Register for Friday 23 January 1857, on page 4 and
Adelaide Observer for Saturday 24 January 1857, on page 4 stated:
" . . . seek the honour of nominating you as a Candidate. . . J.A. Heurtley. . . "
- Gippsland Guardian for Friday 3 September 1858, on page 3 and
Ovens and Murray Advertiser for Thursday 9 September 1858, on page 3 stated:
" . . . John Arthur Heurtley, Argentine by birth, and residing with Mr Dexter, Sale . . . "
- Argus for Tuesday 2 August 1859, on page 1 and
Argus for Wednesday 3 August 1859, on page 3 stated:
"If Mr J., A. HEURTLEY of Gipps Land applies to . . . he will receive a letter."

Other details of note are:

- Research identified 1 possible child.
- Lived in Victoria in 1858 and 1859.

It is not known but suspected that Juan may have been estranged from his wife as he was not living with her whilst he was in Victoria.

The Chilean Muleteers

Following are the presumed Chilean names and possible/real anglicised alternatives for the identified Chileans who came to Australia aboard the *Malacca* in 1853/1854 and 1854/1855:

1. Pascual BENITO	maybe Pascual BENNETT
2. Juan Ricardo CORNEJO	aka Simon CORNIGO
3. Juan DIAZ	aka John DAY
4. Martino ERINDORFF	aka Martin ERINDORFF
5. Martino HERRERA	aka Martin HERRERA
6. Juan IFAZETTA	aka John IFAZETTA
7. Santiago OLIVARES	aka James OLIVARES
8. Cecilia ORTAGO	aka Cecilia ORTAGO or ORTEGA or ARTEGA
9. Juan ORTAGO	aka John ORTAGO or ORTEGA
10. Juan PÉREZ	aka John PEREZ, Manuel or Emanuel Perez or John PERRY
11. Sancia PÉREZ	maybe Lancia/Luciana PEREZ or PERRY or PERCY
12. José PIZARRO	aka Joseph PIZARRO or PIZARO
13. Clement VERALLA	aka Clement BRALLA

Each of the Chilean's named were researched to validate that that person was one of the original 24 Chileans. I have allocated a rating to each person that indicates their validity as one of the Chilean 24 –MAYBE, PROBABLE, DEFINITE. An attempt was also made to try and identify which journey the individual was on – 1853/1854 or 1854/1855

Pascual BENITO - rated as PROBABLE

Very little information was obtained on Pascual. Only two newspaper reports were identified where he was mentioned:

- The South Australia Register for Wednesday 16 May 1855, on page 3 stated:
“ . . . Pascual Benito, a muleteer in the service of the Patent Copper Company. . . ”
- The South Australia Register for Friday 3 August 1855, on page 2 stated:
“Juan Ortago and Pascual Benito were charged . . .”

Other details of note are:

- Given that the two newspaper reports were dated May and August 1855 it was possible that Pascual BENITO could have emigrated to Australia on either the 1853/1854 or 1854/1855 journeys.
- He seems to have associated with Juan ORTAGO.
- Pascual's surname may have been anglicised to BENNETT.

Given that Pascual was identified in a newspaper report as being a muleteer for The English and Australian Copper Company tends to indicate that he was one of the Malacca muleteers. As his name is not one of the Uruguayan names it is suggested that he was one of the Chileans.

An extensive search of newspapers and genealogy records, using numerous spellings, has failed to find any further details on Pascual apart from the two listed newspaper articles. Given this lack of information leads to the belief that Pascual may have returned to Chile at the end of a contract of employment.

Juan Ricardo CORNEJO (Simon CORNIGO) - rated as PROBABLE

Juan Ricardo's surname CORNEJO had several different spellings: CORNIGO, CORNEGO, CORINGO and as such it is not known which name is correct. As CORNIGO is used on his death certificate it will be what is shown in this article as his English name. Obviously, Simon is not a Spanish name and other researchers have somehow identified his Spanish forenames as Juan Ricardo.

BDM details are:

- Born about 1827 possibly in Chile (based on age shown on marriage certificate)
- Married 25 Sep 1858 to (Carolyn) Margaret McGLINN(MacGLINN) at St Mary's Church Kooringa, South Australia. (McGLINN is the correct spelling as Mc is Irish whilst Mac is Scottish)
(SA Reg No: 35/5);
Witnesses: Santiago OLIVARES; Mr Thomas CARFORD (schoolmaster of Kooringa school)
Ages: Juan CORNEJO – 31; Carolyn Margaret McGLINN – 26
- Died on 8 Feb 1897 in Bruce, South Australia
(SA Reg No: 334/241)

Other details of note are:

- Research identified 7 children and 42 grandchildren.
Names and details of these individuals is available on request.
- Given that the first mention of Juan was dated in 1858 it was possible that Juan Ricardo CORNEJO could have migrated to Australia on either the 1853/1854 or 1854/1855 journeys.

Juan DIAZ (John DAY) - rated as DEFINITE

A search of Spanish surnames revealed that the Spanish equivalent of DAY is DIAZ. Often Diaz is spelt either Dias, Dies or Diez. DIAZ is also noted to be one of the most popular names in Chile. For the purposes of this article the Name DIAZ is used as that is the most likely Spanish equivalent of DAY. Likewise, Juan's forename Spanish equivalent to John is Juan. However, throughout his life Juan's name as used on government BDM documents was recorded as either John or Jacob. As John is what was recorded on his death certificate that is what will be used in the article.

BDM details are:

- Born in Aug 1827 in Valparaiso, Chile
Naturalisation papers indicate date and place of birth.
- Married on 27 Jun 1858 to Catherine RYAN at St Aloysius Chapel, Sevenhill, South Australia
(SA Reg 34/198)
Name shown as John DAI
Ages: Juan DIAZ – 27; Catherine RYAN – 17
- Died in 1910 in Broken Hill, New South Wales.
(NSW Reg 8595/1910)

Other details of note are:

- Juan's naturalisation papers verified that he came to Australia aboard the *Malacca* on the 1853/1854 journey.
- Juan is shown as a witness to the marriage of José PIZARRO to Mary Jane BEER on 1 Jan 1858.
- Research identified 5 children and 8 grandchildren.
Names and details of these individuals is available on request.

Martino ERINDORFF - rated as PROBABLE

Whilst Martino is a Spanish/Portuguese forename, ERINDORFF is obviously not and it has not been possible to identify any person with that name. The only clue is that it maybe of German origin. Given that no person anywhere could be identified by that name it can only be assumed that the name maybe incorrect, and Martino's name is something else. I have not been able to determine what it could be.

Very little information was obtained on Martino. Only three newspaper reports were identified where he was mentioned:

- South Australian Register, Thursday 28 September 1854, Page 3
- Adelaide Times, Thursday 28 September 1854, Page 3
- Adelaide Observer, Saturday 7 October 1854, Page 4

These reports were each about a court appearance where he was described as:

" . . . a Martino Erindorff, a Portuguese muleteer in the employ of the Patent Copper Company. . ."

Other details of note are:

- Given that the first mention of Martino was dated in September 1854 it was most likely that Martino ERINDORFF emigrated to Australia on the 1853/1854 journey.

An extensive search of newspapers and genealogy records, using numerous spellings, has failed to find any further details on Martino apart from the three listed newspaper articles. Given this lack of information leads to the belief that Martino may have returned to Chile at the end of a contract of employment.

Martino HERRERA (Martin HERRERA) - rated as PROBABLE

Some information was obtained on Martino. This included a newspaper article and BDM information. Martino was included as he was identified as one of the witnesses to John DAY's marriage. Given that the Chilean community was small it is not beyond reason for a witness to a marriage to come from within that community. It was also identified that HERRERA is a common Spanish surname especially in Chile.

BDM details are:

- Born about 1825 in Chile (based on age on marriage certificate)
- Married 3 Dec 1855 to Margareta DUNN at Sod Hut near Burra, South Australia (SA Reg 24/143)
Ages: Martino HERRERA – 30; Margareta DUNN – 21
- Margaret DUNN remarried on 1 Sep 1860 thus it is suspected that Martin died prior to that date.

Only one newspaper report was identified where he was mentioned:

- The South Australia Register for Friday 23 Jan 1857, on page 3 stated:
"ASSAULT – Martin Herrara was fined £1 and costs for assaulting Edward Wilks."

Other details of note are:

- Martino's wife is shown as a witness to the marriage of Juan DIAZ and Catherine RYAN on 27 Jun 1858.
- Research identified 1 child and 2 grandchildren.
Names and details of these individuals is available on request.
- Given that the first mention of Martino was dated in Dec 1855 it was most likely that Martino HERRERA migrated to Australia on either the 1853/1854 or 1854/1855 journeys.

It was noted that Martin's only son died in a fire on 5 Sep 1887 at Broken Hill, New South Wales. A subsequent death notice indicated that Martin was deceased at this stage. That is, he was referred to as the *"Late Martin Herrara"*. I have been unable to find actual evidence of his death other than this death notice. Given this death notice I have presumed that Martino did not return to Chile.

Juan IFAZETTA (John IFAZETTA) – rated as PROBABLE

Whilst Juan is a Spanish/Portuguese forename, IFAZETTA could not be identified. In fact, no name of this type could be found anywhere. My guess is that it is a transcription error or an error in translation between Juan and the scribe. My belief is that it is not the correct spelling of the name and that it could very well be something very different. A viewing of the original (not transcribed) marriage certificates for both Juan IFAZETTA and Juan PÉREZ may reveal more information.

Juan IFAZETTA's name was identified as being a witness to Juan PÉREZ's marriage and subsequent searches identified a marriage certificate for his marriage as being:

- Born about 1815 (based on age on marriage certificate)
- Married in 25 Dec 1855 to Lancia PÉREZ at St Aloysius, Sevenhill, South Australia (SA Reg No: 24/148)
Ages: Juan IFAZETTA – 40; Sancia PÉREZ – 20
Witnessed by John SCHREINER and Margarita DUNN
(Margarita DUNN later married Martino HERRERA)

Other details of note are:

- Juan IFAZETTA's name was identified as a witness to Juan PÉREZ's and Hanna PHILLIPS marriage on 8 Nov 1857.
- Given that the first mention of Juan was dated in December 1855 it was most likely that Juan IFAZETTA could have emigrated to Australia on either the 1853/1854 or 1854/1855 journeys.

An extensive search of newspapers and genealogy records, using numerous spellings, has failed to find any further details on Juan apart from the marriage certificates. Given this lack of information leads to the belief that Juan may have returned to Chile at the end of a contract of employment.

Santiago OLIVARES (James OLIVARES) - rated as PROBABLE

Some documents show Santiago's name as being spelt Santrajo, however that is not a recognised Spanish forename and it was thought that it was a misspelt Santiago. Santiago can be translated to the English Jacob or James as used by Santiago. The correct spelling of the surname in Spanish is OLIVARES. It is spelt with an S and not a Z. On this basis I have referred to Santiago as Santiago OLIVARES (James OLIVARES).

Santiago OLIVARES 's name was identified as a witness to Juan Ricardo CORNEGO's (Simon CORNIGO) marriage and subsequent searches identified the following BDM information:

- Born about 1835 in Chile (based on age on marriage certificate)
- Married on 5 Apr 1857 to Mary Ann HALAGAN in St Marys Church, Kooringa, South Australia (SA Reg No: 30/208)
Ages: Santiago OLIVAREZ – 27; Mary Ann HALAGAN - 22
- Died 26 Nov 1896 at Port Augusta, South Australia
(SA Reg No: unknown)

Other details of note are:

- Santiago OLIVARES 's name was identified as a witness to Juan Ricardo CORNEGO (Simon CORNIGO) marriage on 25 Sep 1958.
- Research identified 4 children and 6 grandchildren.
Names and details of these individuals is available on request.
- Given that the first mention of Santiago was dated in Apr 1857 it was most likely that Santiago OLIVARES migrated to Australia on either the 1853/1854 or 1854/1855 journeys.

Juan ORTAGO (John ORTAGO) and Cecilia ORTAGO - rated as PROBABLE

The name Juan could have been anglicised to John. On this basis I have referred to Juan as Juan ORTAGO (John ORTAGO). The forename Cecilia is a recognised English and Spanish forename. Some documents show Cecilia's surname as being spelt ARTEGA, however that is not a recognised Spanish surname and it was thought that it was a misspelt ORTAGO. On this basis I have referred to Cecilia as Cecilia ORTAGO.

Juan ORTAGO 's name was identified in a newspaper report:

- The South Australia Register for Friday 3 August 1855, on page 2 stated:
"Juan Ortago and Pascual Benito were charged . . ."

Given that Juan ORTAGO has been identified as a Malacca Muleteer it was thought that Cecilia was his wife. As no BDM information could be found for either individual it was possible, they were married in Chile and emigrated to Australia as husband and wife and may even have had 2 children with them.

Other details of note are:

- Cecilia ORTAGO 's name was identified as a witness of José PIZARRO marriage on 1 Jan 1858.
- Given that the first mention of an ORTAGO was dated in Aug 1855 it was most likely that Juan ORTAGO and Cecilia ORTAGO migrated to Australia on the 1854/1855 journey as it included females.

An extensive search of newspapers and genealogy records, using numerous spellings, has failed to find any further details on Cecilia or Juan apart from José PIZARRO's marriage certificate, and a newspaper report on Juan. Given this lack of information leads to the belief that Cecilia and Juan may have returned to Chile at the end of a contract of employment. Possibly with 2 children

Juan 'Manuel' PÉREZ (Joseph/John/Emanuel/Manuel PERRY) - rated as PROBABLE

Whilst Juan's Spanish surname is PÉREZ, he has at some stage anglicised it to PERRY and used that surname throughout his life. Likewise, Juan's forename is Spanish, and the English equivalent is John. However, throughout his life Juan's name as used on government BDM documents was recorded as either Joseph, John, Manuel or Emmanuel. As Joseph Emanuel is what was recorded on his death certificate that is what will be used in the article. Whilst there is no direct evidence that he came to Australia aboard the *Malacca*, it is considered quite probable that he was one of the *Malacca* Muleteers.

Research identified the following BDM details

- Born about 1829 in Valparaiso, Chile (based on information on marriage certificate)
- Married 8 Nov 1857 to Hanna PHILLIPS at St Joseph's Church, Kooringa, South Australia (SA Reg 32/373)
Ages: Juan PÉREZ – 27; Hanna PHILLIPS – 18; Witnessed by Juan IFAZETTA and Margaret HARRARA
- Died on 16 Mar 1872 at Menindee, New South Wales. (NSW Reg 4896/1872)

Juan PÉREZ and his wife were mentioned in the following newspaper reports:

- mentioned in Adelaide Observer Saturday, 23 August 1856, Page 4
" . . . Manuel Peres (a Spaniard) was fined £5 and £1 costs for. . ."
- Mrs Perez mentioned in South Australia Advertiser, Friday 3 Jun 1859, Page 3, and South Australia Weekly Chronicle, Saturday, 4 Jun 1859, Page 7
"MCDOWAL V PEREZ – Mrs Perez, wife of a Chilian mule driver. . ."

Other details of note are:

- Research identified 8 children and 39 grandchildren.
Names and details of these individuals is available on request.
- Given that the first mention of Juan was dated in 1856, and that Sancia PÉREZ was possibly his sister it was possible that Juan 'Manuel' PÉREZ (Joseph/John/Emanuel/Manuel PERRY) could have migrated to Australia on the 1854/1855 journey.

Sancia PÉREZ - rated as PROBABLE

Little could be found on Sancia. It is thought that her forename may be Lancia or Luciana. Sancia is thought to be one of the 2 female Chileans on the 1854/1855 voyage. It is possible that she is related to Juan PÉREZ, maybe a brother-sister relationship.

BDM details are:

- Born about 1835 (based on age shown on marriage certificate)
- Married on 25 Dec 1855 to Juan IFAZETTA at St Aloysius, Sevenhill, Kooringa, South Australia (SA Reg No: 24/148)
Ages: John IFAZETTA - 40; Sancia PÉREZ - 20;
Witnessed by John SCHREINER and Margarita DUNN
(Margarita DUNN later married Martino HERRERA)

Other details of note are:

- Given that the first mention of Lancia was dated in December 1855, and she is female, it was most likely that Sancia PÉREZ migrated to Australia on the 1854/1855 journey.
- Given that Sancia has the same surname as Juan PÉREZ, and her husband, Juan IFAZETTA, was a witness at his marriage suggests that there maybe some relationship between the two – maybe brother and sister.

An extensive search of newspapers and genealogy records, using numerous spellings, has failed to find any further details on Sancia PÉREZ apart from her marriage certificate. Given this lack of information leads to the belief that she may have returned to Chile with Juan IFAZETTA at the end of a contract of employment.

José PIZARRO (Joseph PIZARRO) - rated as DEFINITE

José's naturalisation papers verified that he came to Australia aboard the *Malacca* on the 1854/1855 journey. It was also identified that he was married in South Australia and died in Victoria.

BDM details are:

- Born on 15 Aug 1836 (Court papers)
- Married on 1 Jan 1858 to Mary Jane BEER at St Joseph's Church, Kooringa, South Australia (SA Reg No:75/1858)
Witnessed by Juan DEIS and Cecilia ARTEGA.
Ages: Joseph PIZARRO – 22; Mary Jane BEER - 16
- Died on 12 Jun 1913 at Ballarat, Victoria (VIC Reg No: 4297)

Other details of note are:

- Research identified 14 children and 64 grandchildren.
- The researcher has a substantial amount of information, documents, photographs etc on this muleteer. Names and details of these individuals is available on request.

Clement VERALA (Clement BRALLA) - rated as DEFINITE

Clement's surname BRALLA could not be identified as being Spanish and it is thought that it was an adaptation of the Spanish surname VARELA. Whilst Clement is not a Spanish forename it is of Latin origin and would most probably be his real forename.

Clement's naturalisation papers verified that he came to Australia aboard the *Malacca* on the 1853/1854 journey.

BDM details are:

- Born 24 Oct 1839 at Copiaco, Atacana, Chile (unconfirmed)
- Married 29 Dec 1861 to Johanna BALEYS in St Mary Church, Wallaroo Mine, Clare, South Australia (SA Reg No: 48/380)
Ages: Clement BRALLA – 19; Johanna BALEYS - 15
- Married 1891 to Martha DEDMAN in Church of England Farina, South Australia (SA Reg No:166/34)
Ages: Clement BRALLA – 50; Martha DEDMAN - 19
- Died on 4 Jun 1918 at Port Augusta, South Australia (SA Reg No:419/82)
Buried at Port Augusta Cemetery on 6 Jun 1918 – Block 21/Grave 12.

Other details of note are:

- Research identified 11 children and 23 grandchildren.
Names and details of these individuals is available on request.

The Muleteers – False Leads

Over time I have found some names that appeared to be possible *Malacca* Muleteers only to have them refuted through research. So that other researchers are not misled, like I was originally, I am providing a couple of examples.

I was given the name Agustin ALDERETE, and initial research indicated that he could be a possible *Malacca* muleteer. He was Chilean and he was a muleteer. Research soon indicated that he came to Australia 5 or 6 years earlier than the *Malacca* voyages. In fact, the research indicated that he went to NSW not SA and that he worked for the Australian Agricultural Company. (Refer to sidebar on page 10).

Another name that I came across was Michael Ambrose PÉREZ. He was listed as the father for a Catherine ROBERTS on her marriage certificate. Initial thoughts were that he was a possible *Malacca* muleteer, but research could find nothing about him. During the research I found a death notice for Catherine McNally (nee ROBERTS) where it stated that her father was Professor M. A. Pearce from Ireland. It was the forename initials, and the similar sounding surname that made me realise that this was the father mentioned on Catherine's marriage certificate – another dead end.

One lesson to be learnt from this was that you cannot believe transcriptions or even originals, as names are not always deciphered or written correctly because of difficulties through accents and illiteracy, and in general mistakes made when transcribing.

The Research – Now and the Future

Currently 3 of the Chilean muleteers have been identified as having migrated to Australia aboard the *Malacca* – DIAZ, PIZARRO & VERALA. These three also remained in Australia as evidenced by their deaths. Another 4 possibilities remained in Australia as evidenced by their deaths – CORNEJO, HERRARA, OLIVARES and Juan PÉREZ. The remaining 8 Chileans (including children) are thought to have returned to Chile at the end of a contract of employment.

The unknown 9 Chilean muleteers are also suspected of having returned to Chile at the end of a contract of employment, without having made any recorded impact in Australia.

Of the 6 Uruguayan muleteers who immigrated to Australia aboard the *Malacca*, 1 possibility has been identified as having stayed in Australia as evidenced by his death – HEURTLEY. The remaining 5 are suspected of having returned to Uruguay at the end of a contract of employment, without having made any recorded impact in Australia.

Whilst not finished the research has been successful in being able to establish a substantial amount of information on what at first seemed an impossible task. It is proposed to continue the research as there may be much more information still available in the historical records and it just waits to be found.

Others are encouraged to contribute to the research and if anyone has information that they want to contribute are requested to contact the author. No matter how small the information may seem, it could still be a valuable contribution. Likewise, if anyone would like further information on any of the Uruguayan or Chilean's mentioned please contact the author as only a summary of everyone's information has been presented.

Full details on sources of information, with transcriptions and scanned copies, is available on request from the author.