

TRADE

~~(1) Early Pacific Trade (General)~~ (In File 18)

(2) Whaling.

~~(3) Sandalwood~~ (In File 17)

(4) Beche-de-mer.

(5) Pearling.

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Notes on

W H A L I N G

WHALING DISCOVERIES

Identification of Islands listed in Ch. XXI, "Modern Assorted Discoveries",
of Fanning's "Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas 1792-1832" 1924 ed.

all islands with positions placing them within the Central Pacific area (i.e. $4^{\circ}N. - 10^{\circ}S. =$ or for Line $7^{\circ}N. - 12^{\circ}S. =$ and $170^{\circ}E. - 150^{\circ}W.$) are easily identified on the appropriate Admiralty chart.

These identifications are as follows:-

- P. 316 (1) Mitchell's Group, discovered by Capt. Burnett in the "Independence" of Nantucket
= Nukulaelae $9^{\circ}18'S; 179^{\circ}45'E$ Inhabited
- (2) Rocky Island, discovered by Capt. Burnett of Nantucket = Nukulakita $10^{\circ}45'S; 179^{\circ}28'E$
- P. 317 (3) Gardner's Island, discovered by Capt. J. Coffin in the "Ganges" out of Nantucket
= Gardner $4^{\circ}30'S; 174^{\circ}22'W.$
- (4) Great Ganges Island, discovered by Capt. J. Coffin in the "Ganges" out of
Nantucket = Namikihi $10^{\circ}25'S; 160^{\circ}45'W.$ Inhabited
- (5) Little Ganges Island, discovered by Capt. J. Coffin in the "Ganges" out of
Nantucket = Rakahanga $10^{\circ}00'S; 161^{\circ}00'W.$ Inhabited
- (6) Unknown Island ($9^{\circ}55'S; 152^{\circ}40'W$), discovered by Capt. Coffin in 1828
= Starbuck (by description it would not be Holden) Uninhabited
- (7) Reaper Island, discovered by Capt. Coffin in 1828 = Vootok $9^{\circ}55'S; 152^{\circ}40'W$
- P. 318 (8) Smut-face Island, discovered by Capt. Plasket in the "Independence" of
Nantucket in 1828 = Niutao $6^{\circ}16'S; 177^{\circ}19'E$

WHALING DISCOVERIES

Identification of islands listed by Fanning, cont'd

- P. 318 (9) Parker's Island, discovered by Capt. Plasket in the "Independence" of Nantucket in 1828 = Tabiteneea. $1^{\circ}19'S$; $174^{\circ}30'E$
- (10) Chase's Island, discovered by Capt. Chase in the "Jofan" of Nantucket in 1827 or 1828 = Tanana. $2^{\circ}28'S$; $176^{\circ}00'E$.
- (11) Lincoln's Island, discovered by Capt. Chase in the "Jofan" of Nantucket in 1827 or 1828 = Onotoa. $1^{\circ}50'S$; $175^{\circ}00'E$.
- (12) Brind's Island, discovered by Capt. Chase in the "Jofan" of Nantucket in 1827 or 1828 = Abemama. $0^{\circ}20'N$; $174^{\circ}00'E$.
- (13) Dundas Island, discovered by Capt. Chase in the "Jofan" of Nantucket in 1827 or 1828 = Aranuka. $0^{\circ}10'N$; $174^{\circ}12'E$.
- P. 319 (14) Starbuck's Group, discovered by a Nantucket whale ship between 1820 and 1826 = Kuria and Aranuka (and Abemama?). $0^{\circ}00'$; $173^{\circ}30'E$
- (15) Loper's Island, discovered by a Nantucket whale ship between 1820 and 1826 = Muitao. $6^{\circ}7'S$; $177^{\circ}40'E$.
- (16) Dangerous reef ($5^{\circ}30'S$, $175^{\circ}W$), discovered by a Nantucket whale ship between 1820 and 1826 = Carondelet Reef.
- (17) Tracy's Island, discovered by a Nantucket whale ship between 1820 and 1826 = Vartupu. $7^{\circ}30'S$; $178^{\circ}45'E$.
- (18) New Nantucket, discovered by a Nantucket whale ship between 1820 and 1826 = Baker. $0^{\circ}11'N$; $176^{\circ}20'W$.
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Phoenix Islands: Discovery of

- (1) Carter (Navy, Swallow, Navy Balcourt): discovered independently by several ships, most of them American whalers, before 1820 (Byron, p. 46): discovered by the ship "Navy" (Perry, v. 2, p. 225). Named after whaling vessel "Carter" wrecked there in 1854.
- (2) Enderbury: discovered and named by Capt. James J. Coffin, of Nantucket, in command of the British whale ship "Transit" 1823. There is a misapprehension of Enderbury, London whaling merchant (Byron, p. 50).
- (3) Phoenix: discovered by American vessel "Phoenix" prior to 1828 (Byron, p. 54). Seen by Capt. Ernest? (Howde, p. 9).
- (4) Berrie: discovered and named by Capt. Ernest in 1823 - nothing known of discoverer on his vessel, not in list of whaling masters - probably called after Richard Berrie (1760-1832) (Byron, pp. 57-8). Perry quotes Ernest as discoverer (Perry, v. 2, p. 225).
- (5) McKean: discoverer unknown but named by Walker in 1840 (Byron, pp. 67-8). Unnamed island in position, probably discovered by Capt. Ernest, listed in Reynolds Report (Howde, p. 4).
- (6) Hull: discoverer unknown but named by Walker in 1840 (Byron, p. 64). Second Sydney listed in Reynolds Report is in position of Hull (Howde, p. 14).
- (7) Sydney: discovered and named by Capt. Ernest in 1823 (Byron, p. 61).
- (8) Gardner: discovered, about 1828, by Capt. Joshua Coffin, of the ship "George", of Nantucket, and named for Gideon Gardner, little known a captain for the vessel.

Ellie Islands: Discovery of.

There is no doubt or difficulty connected with the discovery of:-

- (i) Nanuwa (ii) Nanunaga (iii) Nue
(iv) Nubufetan (v) Nulaketa.

As regards the remainder, the evidence appears as follows:-

(i) Nuntuo. The same as:-

Smut-Face Island
is Nanunaga.

(a) Smut-face Island, discovered by Capt Plasket in the "Independence" of Nantucket in 1828 (Fanning, p. 318). N.Y. Times (33 1938) says "Captain Plasket... discovered and named Smut-Face Island in the Ellie Group in 1826" (quoted by Woodruff, p. 48).

(b) Loper's Island, discovered by a Nantucket whale ship between 1820 and 1826 (Fanning, p. 319). N.Y. Times (33 1938) says "Three years after his discovery of New Nantucket (Baker Island) (i.e. 1824), Captain Folger found, charted and named Starbuck Island, Loper Island and Tracy Island (Vantapu), also in the Ellie Group".

As the date of the discovery of Baker may be material, the following is a reference to it:-

"It was known as New Nantucket before 1821. One account states that this name was given to it by Captain Elisha Folger, of Nantucket, who visited it in the whaler 'Equator' in 1818." (Byron, p. 43)

Note also that there was a ship "Loper" (which called at Baker in 1826) (Byron, p. 44).

Hantz (p. 320) says that Nuntuo was discovered in 1820 and named Loper, Lynce, Nuntuo, Sjeider by Hudson in 1841.

Position of 177° 40' W given by Reynolds (p. 10) is obviously a transcription of 177° 40' E.

Ellice Islands: Discovery of, contd

(ii) Vaitupu. The same as:-

Tracy Island, discovered by a Dartmouth whale ship between 1820 and 1826 (Fanning, p. 319). N.Y. Times (33 1938) says "Three years after his discovery of New Dartmouth (Baker) (i.e. 1824), Captain Folger found, charted and named Starbuck Island, Loper Island and Tracy Island (Vaitupu), also in the Ellice Group".

See note under (i) Nintao as to the date of discovery of Baker.

(iii) Funafuti.

"Although at least one of the Ellice Islands had been discovered very early, it was long before there was any systematic exploration of the group. Captain Arct Schuyler De Peyster, an American - probably the son of a New York loyalist - who commanded the British brigantine 'Rebecca', discovered Funafuti and Nukunetau in 1819. He named the latter after himself, and called the group the Ellice Islands after a member of Parliament who was his friend and benefactor. Charles Walker, commander of the United States Exploring Expedition, refers to this group as the Depeyster Islands in 1841." (Nanson, p. 98).

Fudlay says the "Rebecca" was on a voyage from Nuku-hiva to the East Indies.

Ellie Islands: Discovery of, cont'd.

(iii) Fanning, cont'd.

Bryson calls the discoverer Captain de Peyster (not "De") and gives the date on which he made his discovery March 18, 1819 (Bryson, p. 152).

Note: see biography of Ellie, by Ida Leeson (ms 198 in file F/1).

(iv) Nukulaelae.

(i) "Captain George Bennett of the Tartar whaler 'Independence' discovered the two southernmost Ellie Islands, Nukulaelae and Nunakita, in 1821, and named the first after himself and the second, Mitchell Island after his owner" (Mason, p. 99).

(ii) Fanning, p. 316, says that Mitchell's Group was discovered by Capt Barnett in the "Independence" of Tartar. The position given makes it clear that Mitchell's Group is identical with Nukulaelae.

(iii) The "NY Times" for 3 3 1938 says that "In the Ellie Group, Mitchell Island and Rocky Island were discovered in 1821 by a Captain George Barnett".

Gardner Island: Discovery of.

"But to return to the unknown discoveries of the Phoenix Group:
Following the voyage of the "Lofer" there in 1823, the next whaler ship
to announce discovery was the "Ganges", of Nantucket, under Captain
Joshua Coffin 2nd. Late in 1825, the "Ganges", sailing south
from Honolulu, sighted a coral atoll which he placed in
latitude $4^{\circ} 30'$ south and longitude $174^{\circ} 22'$ west. This is only a
few minutes from its latest (U.S. Navy) position, and the name
Gardner Island (in honor of Gideon Gardner, owner of the ship),
is still retained by geographers.

Stackpole, p. 378

Whaling discrepancies

Material on captains and vessels

Gardner, Will. "Three bucks and three brothers. The story of the Portmouth
Whale-oil Merchant Joseph Starbuck". Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co.,
1945.

Pp 38
-39.

Joseph Starbuck after 1812 the old established firm of Thomas
Starbuck and Sons (whale oil merchants, carriage-shop and cooper-shop
owners, candle makers, stock rafters and general merchants) began to turn
into Joseph Starbuck and Company, as Thomas' son Joseph (the one
who stayed at home) began to take over more and more of the family
business, the other sons being whaling masters and bringing home the oil.
Thomas was then 70.

In 1819, Joseph set out his first ship under the firm name of Joseph
Starbuck & Co. This was the "Hero" (313 tons) which was sent to the Pacific.

P 40.

The "LOPER" One of Joseph Starbuck's 6 favorite ships was
"the "Loper", 316 tons, built at Rochester in 1821. She made 6
voyages and brought back 9000 barrels with an estimated
value of \$270,000."

Whaling discoveries, contd

P 43. The "Lofer", contd In 1835 the "Lofer" sank at sea on her way
home from the Pacific with over 1800 barrels of sperm oil in her hold.

P 45 She was one of Joseph Starbuck's favourite ships. He had bought her
in 1821, & in the eleven years he had owned her she had landed on
his wharf at Nantucket over 10,000 barrels of oil. In 3 Pacific
voyages, during 1827 to 1832, she brought in 6581 barrels of
oil in 62 months."

The ship's loss was one of the mystery stories of the whaling era, as
in Nov, 1833, without warning the ship was lifted with a violent
shock. "Whole or other big fish?" Ship secured all night until
19.5.35 when the water suddenly began to increase in her hold
and the ship settled. Crew took to boats.

Note The Gardner, Coffin and Folgers were all old Nantucket whaling
families frequently mentioned in the book. Joseph Starbuck married
Sally Gardner, Nathan Gardner's daughter. All these families appear to
have been Gardner and much inter-married.

There is a picture in the book of the "famous whaling captain, William
Planchett".

Whaling businesses, contd.

P 7. William ROTCH is mentioned with his brother Francis. It was from his counting house in 1772 that the captains of the ships "Dartmouth", "Eleanor" and "Beaver" came to receive their orders to sail for England with cargoes of Nantucket whale oil - "Rotch oil" - & bring back the cargoes of tea - which resulted in the famous "Boston tea party".

Whaling grounds in Pacific.

From: Beale, Thomas "The Natural History of the Sperm Whale". London, John Van Voorst, 1839.

Pp. 188-191

"The favorite places of his resort at the present day appear in the following list:-

New Guinea and parts adjacent - includes areas in Melanesia.

ROACH'S
King's Mill Group - Off any part of these islands, but more particularly off the south-west parts of Roach's Island, distant from the land thirty or forty miles; and off the south-west portion of Byron's Island.

Equatorial Line - From the longitude of 168° to 175° east.

Ellis's Group - Off the south side, distant from the land three or four miles.

Mitchell's Group - Off the south side, distant from the land three or four miles.

Rotumah - Off the south-east side, distant from the land fifteen to thirty miles.

New Holland - Off the eastern coast, from the latitude of 25° to 34° , and along the north-west coast.

New Zealand - From the east cape to north cape, the land dipping, and off the shore to the south-eastward, as far as Curtis's Island.

Tagetoloo - Off Middleburgh Island and isles adjacent.

Frizter Islands - South-west side of Tootoollak.

FENNING'S
From Fenning's to Christmas Island - situated on the line.

This is followed by a second and limited American Continent, which

circuits of (1) Peru (2) Galapagos Islands; and (3) Middleground (between the circuit & the Galapagos Islands).

Then follows:-

The Malacca Islands

Bouton

Tenor

Makel Island

Chili

Colofanea

Tofan

Berin Islands

China Sea

Red Sea

Peruvian Gulf

The equatorial line in the Atlantic.

See also the chapter on Whaling in the Walker Report.

Whaling: Chronology of.

- (i) First whaler to enter Pacific - "Anelia" (British, but manned by the Fortunate colonists of Milford Haven): 1788.
- (ii) She returned 1790 & word of the new grounds was sent to America.
- (iii) 5 ships sailed immediately for the coast of Chile (4 from Fortunate, 1 from New Bedford): 1791.
- (iv) The "Rebecca", which returned to New Bedford on the 23rd February, 1793, was the first American whaler to fall ship in the Pacific.

Whaling ships: Cycle of grounds

Whipple (H. 148-149).

"Even the seemingly aimless wanderings about the huge ocean took on a north-to-south pattern. The whaling skippers did not roam haphazardly looking for whatever whales might cross their paths; they went to the "grounds" where previous experience - and other skippers' logs - indicated the animals ought to be at certain times of the year. So in a general way the ships followed much the same course through the year - north of the Sandwich Islands in June and July, across to the waters "in Japan" for the autumn, until November, when they started the "great circle" course back across the Pacific to the coast of California. By spring they were touching at the Galapagos Islands for more turtles and by early summer they were off across the Pacific again, this time south of the Equator and in the general direction of the Marquesas or the Society Islands. This took until February or March, by which time they stood up to the Equator, then off west toward the Kerguel group (Gilbert Islands), where they cruised through the summer. By August they were pointed south again, toward the Ellice and the Navigator Islands (Samoa). In the autumn they were heading back east, working in the direction of the Societies, where they usually were by October. Then - after two and a half years of crossing and re-crossing the Pacific - west again, this time along the Line. By then, although the whalers did not use the

Whaling Grounds: Cycle of visiting

P. 102

"The wind was fair and the weather pleasant during our run to the Line we used up a couple of weeks or so making the passage, and struck the Line in about the Long. 165° West of Greenwich. The season for whaling on the Line is all the year round, so it does not matter much what time ships cruise there. Some ships cruise there the whole voyage, only leaving to go to the North or South for recruiting ship and giving the men a run or shore once a year. With ships that cruise in New Zealand and the Line also, May, June, July, August and September are the months chosen for the Line cruise, as these are the most stormy months in the Southern Grounds.

Ships coming from the South try to strike the Equator as far to the East as they can on account of a strong current west always setting to the west; so much so, that ships cruising there keep short on the wind, which blows from the East, and, doing the best they can to work to the eastward are drifted to the West, sometimes 20 to 40 miles in each 24 hours. Those who cruise the voyage there, when carried by the current as far West as they care to go, stand out to the Lat. of from 5° to 7° North or South, generally North, then get into variable winds and work the ship to the East as far as wanted, then strike the Line, and go through the same process as long as the voyage continues." P.T.O.

term "forecastle hobby," most of them were.

From: Haley, Nelson Cole "Whale Hunt" London, Robert Hale Ltd.,

1950 P. 102

Whaling Grounds: Cycle of visiting

" At length the new pattern of the whaling voyages was established. Voyaging to the Hawaiian Group the ships recruited and then went on their several ways. The "Ganges" and "Independence" went "on Japan", thence south, through the Marshalls, Gilberts, Ellice and Fijis to New Zealand; the "Amora" and "Martha" went "on Japan" and returned; the "Polladium" and "Ploughboy" went to Japan, returned, thence sailed to the coast of California; the "Falcon" and "Lion" were on pioneering voyages through mid-Pacific island groups.

The "Lion" was wrecked on the rocky entrance to Fanning Island, Captain Albert Clark losing a new ship and his cargo of 1400 barrels of oil."

Stackpole, p. 304.

" The voyages to and from the Japan Grounds, up and down the islands of the eastern Pacific, followed the patterns set by those early whaling masters. Ships round Good Hope went up through the East Indies from Timor to Ternate, thence into the deep between the Philippines and Marianas, or through the Carolines. Returning the ships generally went through the Marshall, Gilbert and Ellice Groups, tacking either side of the Fijis, thence to New Zealand and Australia."

Stackpole, p. 373.

Whaling Masters

(1) Reynolds attributes discoveries in the Phoenix to a "Captain EMMETT" but there is no such name in the Directory of Whaling Masters (U.S.A. or Pa. "Whaling Masters")

(2) Capt. Elisha Folger is supposed to have discovered Baker Island in 1818. The Directory of Whaling Masters lists:-

Folger, Elisha 1818 Equator Nantucket, Mass.

(3) Re Howland, the Directory lists:-

Walt, George B. 1821 Peru Nantucket, Mass.

(4) Re Gardner, the Directory lists:-

Coffin, Joshua 1828 Georgia Nantucket, Mass.

(5) Re Bem, etc, the Directory lists no Master bearing the name of Clark

(6) The Captain Folger, said to have discovered Nantux and Vantupa, would appear to be Captain Obed Starbuck, of the "Loper", and the date 1825. The Directory gives:-

Starbuck, Obed 1824 Loper Nantucket, Mass.

(7) Captain George Bennett, said to have discovered Inhabelot, would appear to be Captain George Bennett. The Directory gives:-

Bennett, George 1819 Independence 2d Nantucket, Mass.

Whaling Masters, contd.

(8) Re Tanna, the Directory lists no master with the name of Brown
or vessel commanded by a Capt Brown called "Elyza Francis"

It was an English ship
see Bennett (Tom Gray, Sec 227)

ENDERBURY ISLAND

It has been often stated that Enderbury Island was called after the whaling firm of Enderby, and later corrupted.

It seems more probable, however, that it was called after Squire Enderborough, Paul's Wharf, London, the owner of the Amelia, which visited the Pacific in 1791-2, and presumably other whalers.

See the account of the Amelia's in:

Nicol, John. "The Life and Adventures of John Nicol, Mariner".
Edinburgh, William Blackwood, 1822;

(pp. 134-7/48) where, however, there is no mention of any islands being sighted during the voyage. Her fishing ground was between 18° and the line. But "upon the fishing ground we found the Venus, Capt. Coffin; she had taken out convicts to Port Jackson, and there was a convict on board at the time".

I have not checked, but this was, I believe, the first visit of a whaler to the South Seas.

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Neel, John "The Life and Adventures of John Neel, Sailor"

Enderburgh, William Blackwood, 1822

John Neel went to the South Seas first in the King George on which he served from 1785-1788. They engaged in the NW Coast fur trade and refueled several times in the Hawaiian Islands. He then came out to PT on a convict ship, the Lady Julian 1789-91, and on to China. His first visit was in a whaler, the Anelia, 1791-2, there being a fair amount of this voyage (20 islands visited).

Note Was this the first visit of a whaler to the South Seas? If so the account (pp 134-48) is important. The Anelia belonged to Square Enderborough, Paula's Wharf, London. Captain Shields was master and Neel cooper. The fishing ground was between lat 180 & the Line. But "upon the fishing ground we found the Venus, Capt Coffin; she had taken out convicts to Pat Jackson, and there was a convict on board at the time."

EBER BUNKER

Eber Bunker, Captain in the Merchant Marine and Gentleman, was born in 1762. He is believed to have had early experience of whaling in the Arctic and is thought to have left Nantucket for England in 1786. The Bunker family was a well-known family on the eastern seaboard of the United States.

On 16th November, 1786, he married Margaret Thompson, who was born on 10th April, 1768, and was the daughter of Henry Thompson, Post-Captain, R.N., first cousin to Admiral Lord Collingwood. Lord Collingwood served at the Battle of Bunker~~ne~~ Hill in 1777. They were married at St. George's in the East, Middlesex, by the Rev. Dr. Mayo. Their first child, Isabella, was born in Middlesex on 9th September, 1787.

Captain Bunker first arrived in Sydney from England, on 28th August, 1791, with the Third Fleet, as master of the William and Ann, a Southern whaler owned by Samuel Enderby. Chartered as a transport, she sailed with 188 convicts and a detachment of the New South Wales Corps. Seven convicts died during the voyage and Bunker was fined for assaulting and beating some of the soldiers during the passage. With another Enderby ship, Britannia, Thomas Melville, who had sighted "Sperm whales in great

plenty" near Sydney, Bunker sailed from Sydney on 24th October, to test the possibility of whaling off the coast of New South Wales. Next day seven whales were killed off Broken Bay, the first four by the Britannia. These were the first whales to be taken on the coast of New South Wales. A gale prevented further whaling and the ships were able to save only one whale each. Shortly afterwards, the two ships with three others left for the eastern Pacific as whaling was not permitted west of the 180th meridian until 1798. Bunker returned to England in 1792. His second daughter, Mary Ann Campbell, was born in Middlesex on 17th August, 1793.

In a new ship, Albion, 362 tons, owned by Messrs. Champion, he reached Sydney next on 29th June, 1799, from London, with 900 tierces of salt pork after a record passage of 3 months and 15 days. Whaling off the eastern Australian coast, where he saw an immense number of whales, he ran into Broken Bay in August, 1800, for wood and water, with 600 barrels of oil. He left Sydney in October, 1800, for Tahiti with presents and a letter from Governor King to Pomare, Chief of Otaheite. Arriving on 29th December, he sailed again on 3rd January with Pomare's reply and his ship well stocked with hogs, fowls and fruits. After whaling off the north-east coast of New Zealand he returned to Sydney with 155 tons of sperm oil, in June, 1801. He sailed for England on 26th August, where he arrived with 200 tons of oil. He went from

St. Helena a single ship, having been disappointed of a convoy. He took with him from Sydney, William Balmain, the principal Surgeon, and Lieut. Marshall.

It seems likely that, during this visit, he lived ashore at a house near the boundary fence encircling the cottages on the sandstone ledges above the Rocks on the west side of Sydney Cove. A map of 1840 shows "Bunker's Hill" in the vicinity of Gloucester St. Before he left Australia, he acquired Laing's farm on the Parramatta Road in Bulanaming, from the Rev. T.F. Palmer. He also became friendly with Thomas Moore, master boat builder who, in 1799, held grants of land totalling 470 acres. These were consolidated into one grant by Governor Hunter on 5th October, 1799.

Still in the Albion he returned to Sydney via New Zealand and Norfolk Island with 65 tons of spermaceti oil, on 6th July, 1803, with his crew in perfect health after 13 months at sea. He deposited a chart dated 17th April, 1803, showing the track of the Albion along the Queensland coast from Cape Capticorn to Point Danger. In latitude 24⁰5'S he discovered eight or nine islands now known as the Bunker Islands, 12 leagues from the mainland, abounding in green turtles, beche-le-mer and pearl oysters. (SG 16.11.1827 gives year~~z~~ as 1807). Soon after he arrived, Thomas Moore gave notice that, as great quantities of timber that would have been useful for naval purposes had been cut down on his own

and Captain Bunker's farm adjoining it, near Sydney, persons doing so would be prosecuted (SG 17.7.03).

Governor King, after arranging to send the Lady Nelson and HMS Porpoise to the Derwent to establish a new settlement, had to send HMS Porpoise to England with Lieut. Matthew Flinders. He was therefore glad to accept an offer by Bunker to land at the Derwent what the Lady Nelson could not take on board, in return for the supply of certain articles (HRA 1.4.394). Bunker sailed on 30th August and arrived on the 12th after spending three days in Oyster Bay with light airs from the southward. Three large sperm whales were taken within sight of Oyster Bay. Bunker ran up to within three miles of Risdon Cove and landed the stock successfully in two whaleboats lashed together. Leaving the Derwent on 20th September, it is said that he sailed round Southern Tasmania and into Bass Straits. He was off Sydney Heads on 6th October, where he sent letters ashore. In a letter dated 5th October he gave a favourable report of the Derwent District and said that he had taken up 50 acres of land there, out of 200 acres which Governor King had apparently promised him as recompense for undertaking the voyage. He applied for an additional 150 acres at the Hawkesbury.

The Albion is officially recorded as returning from Bass Strait on 4th July, 1804, but the Sydney Gazette

reported her arrival from Sandy Cape and New Zealand, with 1400 barrels of sperm oil. On 11th August, 1804, he received a grant of 400 acres of land at Bankstown, apparently in lieu of the 200 acres promised him. This land was on the west bank at the head of the tidal water in George's River, and was immediately to the south of the present Liverpool Railway Station. It comprised the area between the Hume Highway and the river between the town of Liverpool and the golf links. It adjoined Morrebank, owned by Thomas Moore.

Captain Bunker sailed for Norfolk Island and England on 21st August with oil and more than 13000 seal skins. Before he left Sydney he advertised his house in Pitt's Row on the southeast corner of the intersection with Hunter St., as being to let. His farm at Bullanaming had been advertised to let, by Thomas Moore, on 4th March. The Sydney Gazette, on 13th October, 1805, reported his safe arrival in England.

When the Albion left England again for Sydney she was owned by Robert Campbell, William Wilson & Co. Bunker was given command of the Elizabeth, 238 tons, owned by Campbell and Wilson and carrying a valuable cargo of merchandize. He reached Sydney via Rio de Janeiro and the Cape of Good Hope, on 5th August, 1806, a few days before the departure of Governor King. ~~Mrs. Bunker came with him with~~ ^{sketch} their ~~two~~ ^{five} children. ~~He then went whaling off the coast of New Zealand. Before he left, he presented Governor Bligh with~~

In addition to the two girls, there were James (born 1794-8?), who later became Captain of a whaler and died at sea in April, 1842 (SMH 5.9.42), Henry Edmund (born 1802?), who was said to have been lost at sea, and ~~his son~~, Charles Harris Bunker, born 24th November, 1805, who was baptized in St. Phillip's Sydney on 23rd September, 1806. None of these sons married. He then went whaling off the coast of New Zealand. Before he left, he presented Governor Bligh with a letter from Mr. Secretary Cooke saying that it was the intention of Lord Camden to give him a grant of land. The Elizabeth returned to Sydney on 8th April with 32 tons of sperm oil and sailed again for the Derwent on the 14th, taking with her 38160 lbs. of pork from the Government stores to help relieve the food shortage there. Bunker returned to Sydney on 16th September from the fishery with 60 tons of oil, and handed over the Elizabeth to Alexander Bodie, who left for England on 7th November, 1807. While he was away Mrs. Bunker, on 19th October, 1806, advertised from the house in Pitts Row for a saddle which had been stolen and, on 22nd March, 1807, warned persons against trespassing on the farm.

Bunker again saw the Governor (Bligh) about his Grant of land and a reminder was sent to London on 31st October. He was amongst the 833 persons who signed a dutiful Address which was presented to Governor Bligh on 1st January, 1808. This was not signed by any of the military officers, nor by a

number of persons prominent at the arrest of Governor Bligh on 26th January. At the time of the arrest, Bunker had apparently changed sides, as he was seen with the troops with Simeon Lord, Henry Kable, D'Arcy Wentworth and some others. On 31st January, a Government Order required Garnham Blaxcell, John Blaxland, Thomas Laycock, Thomas Moore, Captain Ebor Bunker and James Williamson, Acting Commissary to make an immediate survey of all stores and provisions in HM Stores. Bunker, also, promised £20 as a subscription to sending John McArthur to England, and to presenting a sword to Major Johnston and Plate to the officers comprising the Criminal Court of the trial of John McArthur. On 20th February, he sat as a member of a Court of Vice-Admiralty to try charges of piracy.

On 12th November, 1807, the Pegasus, Prize to HMS Cornwallis, was entered at Sydney. There she was purchased by Thomas Moore for the seal trade. Lieut.-Governor Johnston, seeking transport in which to send Governor Bligh to England, ordered her to be surveyed by the Commander of HMS Porpoise and four others, including Bunker. They furnished a favourable report, but Moore then refused to allow the Pegasus to go to England. Shortly after this, Mrs. Margaret Bunker died. She was buried at Sydney on 29th March. Her youngest child, Ernest, born in 1808, died an infant.

* On 15th May, 1808, Bunker advertised for six or eight

seamen and twelve sealers for the Pegasus. That evening, the Harrington, lying at anchor in Port Jackson was piratically seized by Robert Stewart and about 40 other convicts. The Pegasus was hastily armed and sailed in pursuit, on 18th May. On board were Capt. Symonds (HMS Porpoise), Capt. Eber Bunker and his first and second officers, Capt. Graham, Capt. Campbell, Mr. Fisk and part of the Harrington's crew, and a detachment of the NSW Corps. They visited the Bay of Islands, Tongataboo and New Caledonia, and returned to Sydney on 22nd July, 1808, without finding the Harrington, which was eventually forced ashore, near Manila by HMS Dedaigieuse in March, 1809. Capt. Bunker finally left Sydney for his sealing voyage to Foveaux Strait, on 14th August, returning on 15th March, 1809 with 12,600 seal skins and a chart of Foveaux Strait.

On his return he found that Lord Castlereagh had, on 31st December, 1807, approved of the grant to him of 500 acres of land. A grant of 500 acres of land at Cabramatta was made to him by Lieut.-Governor Foveaux on 20th April, 1809. This included his original farm, known as Collingwood Dale. He was issued with 18 head of cattle to be paid for by instalments. In the same year, he was granted a town lease of 60 rods. On 28th May, Bunker advertised his house for sale as he was leaving for England.

Severe flooding of the Hawkesbury River in May, 1809, made it necessary for Lieut.-Governor Paterson to authorize a

contract with J.C. Burton, a Bengal merchant then in Sydney, for the supply of 200 tons of wheat. On 18th June, 1809, Burton and Bunker announced their departure in the Antipode, a 58 ton schooner managed by Simeon Lord, but the arrival of the Experiment on 25th June made it possible for them to go with her.

Before they left, Bunker's daughter Isabella, on 1st June, 1809, married Lieut. Thomas Laycock at St. Phillip's, Sydney. He was granted 520 acres in the Cabramatta District by Lieut.-Governor Paterson on 12th November, 1809, but the grant was not confirmed by Governor Macquarie.

As the marriage ceremony was not performed by an ordained minister, they repeated the ceremony again on 21st March, 1810.

In Bengal, Burton purchased the Venus, a fine ship of 350 tons, and in her, with Bunker as Captain, they reached Sydney on 27th February, 1810, with wheat and spirits and several passengers, including Mrs. Margaret Bunker, the widow of Capt. Macfarlane, an Indian officer. At the house in Pitt's Row, next to that of Joseph Inch, Capt. and Mrs. Bunker offered for sale a variety of goods brought in the Venus.

On 19th March, 1810, Eber Bunker surrendered his grant of 500 acres at Cabramatta and his town lease. They were both renewed by Governor Macquarie from 1st January, 1810. On 14th ~~July, he~~

July, he announced his intention of leaving the Colony, apparently in the Antipode, of which Sawyer was mate, and, on 28th July, cautioned all persons against trespassing on his farm at George's River, excepting Messrs. Thorley and Guise who had special permission. However, the Antipode sailed on 28th July for Bengal, under command of Sawyer.

Alexander Bodie, who had taken the Elizabeth to England, arrived on 20th October, 1810, in the Frederick, owned by Wilson and others. As Bodie was severely indisposed Bunker took command, and left for the sperm fishery on 29th October. Before he left, with C. Throsby, he cautioned the public against trespass on their farms, particularly those who did not possess any ground in the neighbourhood, situated on the upper part of George's River. He reached Norfolk Island in March with 25 tons of sperm oil. On his return to Sydney in August, 1811 with 55 tons of sperm oil, he reported several very dangerous shoals 90 miles NW to WNW off Macauley's Island lying in the track of the Port Jackson traders to Otaheite. He then returned the vessel to Bodie.

HKAI. 7. 400.

During his absence, Governor Macquarie, in a Government and General Order of 15th December, 1810, issued after a tour of inspection through the various Districts of the Colony, commencing on 6th November, 1810, ~~that he~~ deemed it expedient to mark out the situation for a township on the west side (or left bank) of the George's River, in the District of

Minto, to which he had given the name of Liverpool.

"The situation of this Town is admirably calculated for Trade and Navigation, being immediately on the Bank of the River where the depth of water is sufficient to float vessels of very considerable burthen. At this town it is intended very soon to erect a Church, a School-house, a Gaol, a Guard-House, etc. Leases of Commodious and adequate allotments for Houses and Gardens will be given to suit free Mechanics and Tradesmen as may feel disposed to form a permanent residence there, on their giving regular and due security for their building comfortable and substantial houses, conformably to a plan that will be shewn to them on application to Thomas Moore, Esq're, the Chief Magistrate in that District. Good Tradesmen and Mechanics settling at Liverpool will have the liberty of a large and contiguous common for grazing cattle, which is assigned for the Benefit of the Township, and those persons who have not milch cows will be supplied with one cow each to such person from the Government herds for payment on advantageous conditions."

387

Gov. Macquarie proposed to construct a turnpike road from Sydney to the new Town of Liverpool, a distance of about 20 miles. In the vicinity of Liverpool he had lately made a considerable number of grants of land to small settlers, "who prove very industrious and I trust will be highly beneficial to the Colony by clearing and cultivating forest lands."

Within three weeks of going ashore from the Frederick, Capt. Bunker, on 14.9.1811, advertised, from his Pitt St. address for five or six able seamen, two landsmen and two boys as apprentices for the new ship Lachlan bound to the Derwent on a four or five months' voyage. When the ship was registered she was, however, given the name of Governor Macquarie. Captain Bunker was joint owner with William Broughton and William and James Jenkins, all of Sydney. The Bonds were given to the Naval Officer on 31st October, Messrs. Simeon Lord and Richard Jones being additional bondsmen. On 16th November, 1811, he was advertising that a servant, James Sidebotham, had absconded from the farm at George's River. On 21st November, the Governor Macquarie sailed for the Derwent with Bunker as master, J. Townson as a passenger, and a mixed cargo. Proceeding thence to New Zealand, he obtained a cargo of spars and arrived at Sydney on 10th March, 1812. Later in the month he was advertising for a stray horse. During his absence, Mary Ann Campbell Bunker, on 27th January, 1812, married Captain Arnold Fisk of the Favourite.

He was son of Judge Fisk of Rhode Island, U.S.A. They had a large family. She died 5th June, 1852.

On 19 December, 1812, Thomas Moore, Sam. Laycock, E. Bunker, Huon de Kerrilleau, J. Knight, J. Gowen, and W. Mitchell addressed a letter to the Provost Marshal, Wm. Gore, requesting him to convene a meeting of the Inhabitants of Liverpool and neighbouring districts, to consider the propriety of an Address to the Governor, on the Anniversary of his taking command of the Colony. At the end of December, meetings held at Sydney, Windsor, Parramatta and Liverpool resolved unanimously that Addresses should be presented. That from Liverpool was to be presented by Thomas Moore and Eber Bunker, Esquires.

On 29 January, 1813, a Commemoration Dinner was held at No.11 George Street. The seventeen stewards for the Dinner included many well-known men interested in maritime affairs in Sydney, amongst whom was Bunker. In March, Bunker contributed £1.1.0. towards the cost of extending a carriage road to the Heads of Botany Bay, into which flowed the George's River.

Mr. Henry Bunker, intending shortly to quit the Colony, on 26 June, asked that all claims be presented to his father, at his residence in Parramatta. Henry died unmarried and is said to have been lost at sea.

Towards the end of the year, his own straying stock were added to Captain Bunker's worries. On 12 March, 1814 he was able to request all persons holding his promissory notes to present them to Mr. R. Jenkins of George Street, On 4th June, he found it necessary once again to caution all persons against cutting down or taking away timber without his permission from his farm near Liverpool.

Returning from Calcutta as a passenger in the brig Campbell Macquarie, Joseph Underwood fell in with the Seringapatam. The Seringapatam, had been captured by an American warship and retaken at the Marquesas Islands by 14 English prisoners of war, none of whom could navigate a ship. Underwood supplied their wants and then stood by the Seringapatam until she reached Sydney on 30 June, 1814. On 26 July, the Governor and Mrs. Macquarie, after having breakfast with Mr. and Mrs. Moore at Moore Park (~~Moorebank~~) went up the river by boat to visit Mr. and Mrs. Bunker and then the Drummonds on their return from the Bunkers. They returned to Sydney from Liverpool in the carriage during the afternoon, taking two hours.

On 13 August, Captain Bunker notified his departure from the Colony, and on 20 August, advertised for fourteen or sixteen able hands for the Seringapatam. Application was to be made to him on board, or to Mr. Joseph Underwood in George St. Bunker was then living at Mair's Buildings, Castlereagh Street. In September, his name appeared in the Sydney Gazette as a supplier of 3000 lbs. of meat at Liverpool on 24th September, 1814 to the Government stores. The Seringapatam sailed on 16 October, 1814, carrying a despatch from Governor Macquarie, some freight and a number of passengers. Governor Macquarie, who had directed Captain Bunker to wait upon Earl Bathurst immediately after arrival with his despatch described him in his despatch as a very able and expert seaman, well qualified as a master mariner and of a most respectable character, who from his long residence in New South Wales, was well qualified to give his Lordship any information about the State of the Colony that might be required. He had appointed him to the command of the Seringapatam at the instance and solicitation of the crew, none of whom felt equal to taking the command. No specific wages were promised to Captain Bunker who was perfectly satisfied to leave the amount to be determined on arrival.

Bunker returned to Sydney in the Mary Ann, which arrived on 19 January, 1816 with 101 female prisoners. In his absence, 4000 lbs. of meat was supplied at Liverpool to the Government stores on 14 October, 1815 by his agent. Bunker

supplied 1000 lbs. in Liverpool on 2 November, and similar quantities in October and December, 1816. However, an Abraham Bunker supplied 1000 lbs. at Liverpool on 8 March, 1817. On that day, Captain and Mrs. Laycock reached Sydney from London in the Fame, with a son, Thomas William Eber Laycock, born in Canada where the Laycocks had been transferred with the 102nd Regiment. They took up land near Moorebank. Mrs. Laycock died at Dr. Harris' Ultimo House, 13 May, 1817, leaving two children, Thomas and Margaret.

On 29 March, 1817, Bunker announced his intention of leaving Sydney in the American sealing ship Enterprize, Rufus Coffin, master, owned by T. Roach and Company of Philadelphia. After touching at the Isle of France, (Mauritius) she had been sealing amongst the islands to the southward and eastward of Australia, and had left a gang on one. She had come to Sydney to refresh. She left for the fishery without obtaining a clearance on 9 April, 1817. Bunker's reason for leaving by her is not known.

In October and December, Mrs. Bunker's tender for the supply at Liverpool of 4000 and 2000 lbs. of meat respectively, was accepted. In November, she advertised the loss of 40 stray cattle at Liverpool, where she then was, and on 28 March, 1818, supplied another 500lbs. of meat.

Captain Bunker left Bengal for Sydney as a passenger in the brig Dragon on 2 June, 1818, arriving at Sydney on 2 October. On 19 November, he joined with many other leading citizens, in signing a memorial addressed to the Governor by the mercantile and other inhabitants of the Colony, protesting against the prohibition of importations on convict ships and asking that ships of 150 tons and upwards be allowed to trade with the Colony. John Drummond also signed this petition.

Thomas Bunker, on 19 December, 1818, supplied 2000lbs. of meat to the Government stores at Sydney.

The habit of different persons of cutting timber,

ringbarking trees and otherwise trespassing on his farm at George's River caused Bunker to publish another threat of prosecution on 30 October, 1819.

His subscription to the Auxiliary Bible Society of 10s.0d was acknowledged on 15 July, 1820.

The Liverpool and District Historical Society's records contain a statement that, which I have been unable to verify, Captain Bunker, on 27th February, 1821, in pursuance of Government and General Order of 25 November, 1820, obtained a permit to proceed to the country to the south and west of Bargo with 100 cattle and 2 servants. There is a "Bunker's Hill" in Kangaroo Valley in the area indicated, but it is not certain whether it is associated with Capt. Bunker's activities.

On 14 April, 1821, he notified that he was leaving the Colony and asked that all claims be presented and debts settled. The Surveyor-General's Office, on 28 April, published a list of names of New Settlers who were to receive grants of land, and old settlers, including Eber Bunker, who were to receive additional grants of land.

A Mr. Bunker returned to Sydney on 7 November, 1821, by the Royal George ship which also brought Sir Thomas Brisbane and his family.

Bunker now made arrangements to go to England. On 13 October, he published a notice in the Sydney Gazette saying that his farm at Cabramatta Creek was to let. Ten days later, Mrs. Margaret Bunker, after an illness of only four days, died

on 23 October 1821 at her residence in Upper Pitt Street, at the age of 41.

On 15 December 1821 the advertisement that the 500 acre farm near Liverpool was to let, was repeated.

Captain Bunker left England as a passenger in the brig Wellington, which he appears to have purchased, on 10 May 1822. She called at Corunna, Rio de Janeiro and Hobart, reaching Sydney on 20 December 1823. Three days later a meeting was held in the Sydney Gazette Office, at which was established the Sydney Bethel Union Society in order to promote the procurement of a commodious place of worship for seamen, on their own element. The meeting was chaired by the Reverend Cowper and it is likely that Captain Bunker was present, as he was shown in the Sydney Gazette of 27 May 1824 as a subscriber to the Union. The Union decided in May 1823 (SG15.5.23) to buy a floating chapel.

On 23 January 1823 Captain Bunker advertised that 2/3rds of the brig Wellington were available for sale or charter. The Wellington sailed for Macquarie Island on 1 April, her owner being shown as Joseph Underwood.

Miss Charlotte Bunker arrived in Sydney by the John Bull from Hobart on 23 April 1823, in time to attend the marriage of her father to Mrs Ann Minchin, aged 49, widow of the late

Captain William Minchin of the New South Wales Corps (102nd Regiment). Minchin had come to Sydney as an Ensign in the New South Wales Corps on 2 March 1797. He died at the age of 47 years on 26 March 1821 at his residence, Elizabeth Street, Sydney. He was at one time Superintendent of Police at Sydney. Mrs Minchin had come to Sydney as a free woman in the Isabella in 1818. In October 1821 Governor Macquarie had said that 800 acres would be granted in the name of the late Captain Minchin (A7/4 p238a-c). This grant was duly made to Mrs Minchin (SG15.5.23).

On Monday 28 April 1823 Captain Eber Bunker of the Merchant Service was married to Mrs Minchin by Special Licence by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, Principal Chaplain in to the Territory (SG15.5.23).

In an enclosure to a despatch by Governor Brisbane of 23 July 1824 summarizing land cleared in 1823-1824, Bunker is shown as the owner of cleared land. The Sydney Gazette (20.5.24) described his ~~land~~ farm as adjoining Liverpool and bounded by George's River. Bunker was also shown in a list of persons holding land in the Melville District in 1824 (A767 p.39).

1826?

On 7 November 1823 Captain Thomas Laycock died at Bringelly NSW. His wife Isabella had died in 18187.

At the age of 62 Captain Bunker made his final whaling voyage, sailing in the ship Alfred, of the house of Jones and Walker, with a crew of 26, for the South Sea Sperm Fishery. The records show that he sailed on 15 October 1824, but on his return on 11 May from the Santa Cruz Islands (Southernmost group in the Solomon Islands) with 1000 barrels of sperm oil the Sydney Gazette commented that he had only been absent from Sydney since ~~the~~ 9 December. The ship was in distress, having lost her rudder and all her topmasts in a severe hurricane. She had nine feet of water in her hold. Next day Captain Bunker advertised, as was customary, that he would not be responsible for the debts of the crew. The Alfred sailed again on 30 July for the sperm fishery under the command of Captain Edwards.

On 6 October 1825 Captain Bunker once again cautioned "all persons who have been in the habit of removing wood and otherwise trespassing on the farm at Liverpool, called Collingwood Dale" that if they continued to trespass without permission, they would "be prosecuted with the utmost rigour of the law".

In December it became necessary for Bunker "to obtain speedily" Letters of Administration of Captain Thomas Laycock's Estate. He was appointed Administrator with Mr J. Connell.

Mrs Ann Bunker, in April 1826, received a payment from the estate of the late Matthew Pear and, in August, she charged her servant, Thomas Hughes, with robbing her of wheat. He received fifty lashes and was returned to her custody.

On 4 July 1826 with John Wood (Foreman); J.J. Moore; J.O. Hassall; John Drummond; David Johnstone; Hamilton Hume; A.H. Hume; and seven others, he signed the Liverpool Grand Jury Presentment. The Jury, for the Town of Liverpool and adjoining Districts, in pursuance of their duties, had visited HM Gaol, the Watchhouse and the Hospital, and reported favourably upon them.

A five year old gelding was found straying in his paddocks at Liverpool in October (SG28.10.26).

A double wedding was celebrated at St. John's Church, Parramatta, on 1 December 1826, by the Reverend Samuel Marsden, Senior Chaplain to the Colony. His daughter Charlotte, was married to Mr George Blackett, and Mr Henry Gowen to Miss Minchin, daughter of the late W. Minchin, Esquire. (SG6.12.26,3/1).

Cuthbert (Lord) Collingwood married at Newcastle on Tyne, on 16 June 1791, Sarah, daughter of John Erasmus Blackett of that city. There were two daughters of the marriage, Sarah, born 1792, and Mary Patience, born 1793. George Blackett may have been some relation of the above

There may also be a link with Blakett, the architect of the Sydney University in the middle of the century.

On 6 December 1826 applications were invited to rent "on a clearing lease, a beautiful farm on the Cabramatta Creek, containing 350 acres, eight of which are clear without a stump, and the land extremely rich, in consequence of its being formerly a stockyard of the Crown. There are 200 acres already fallen, and ready to be burned off and stumped. The whole of the farm is newly fenced around, and the eight acres, above described, are also distinctly fenced, wherein are planted a great number of the choicest fruit trees. Application to be made to Mr Drummond, at Captain Bunker's, Liverpool.

On the same day a farm was advertised to let at Bunker's Hill, Camden..

In consequence of services rendered by him while following the occupation of Master of a Merchant Vessel, Bunker, in 1827 and 1828 applied to General Darling for a grant of 2560 acres of land (four square miles). (HRA1.18.600). Darling, however, recorded that he was not sufficiently acquainted with the applicant to grant his demand (A1276 p.503-4)

The Female School of Industry, on 12 May 1828, had much pleasure in acknowledging the donations of cattle made by a number of persons, including Captain Bunker, of Melville District (1 Cow).

In the Sydney Gazette of 30 June 1828, Mrs Ann Bunker, who was then residing on the property, advertised to let for three or five years from 1 October 1828, the Estate of Minchinbury on the Western Road, 26 miles from Sydney, containing 1200 acres of rich land, 400 of which were cleared and 150 in cultivation with three acres of orchard ground in full bearing. The whole was divided into eleven convenient paddocks, with an eight roomed dwelling house and every other building requisite for a large farming and dairy establishment. Applications were to be made to Mrs Bunker, or to Henry Steel, Esq., Sydney, one of the Trustees for the proprietor.

On 22 September 1828 Captain Bunker was one of 154 subscribing members of the Agricultural Society

In accordance with Regulations brought into force on 16 October 1828, the Colonial Secretary's Office, on 22 April 1829, notified that a number of persons were permitted to depasture their livestock on the lands adjoining their properties, at a rent of 2s 6d p.a. for every 100 acres, subject to one month's notice of termination of permission. In Argyle Mrs Ann Bunker was allotted the use of 1500 acres on Bridalbane Plains (to the south of Goulburn), bounded on the north by her own land, and on the west by Captain Currie's land; including a village reserve and part of a Church and school reserve.

In the 1828 Census Bunker is shown as aged 64, and as the holder of 1600 acres of land at Liverpool of which 340 had been cleared and six cultivated. He had 3 horses and 500 head of cattle.

Bunker's Hill, Cumberland Street, Sydney, was advertised in the Sydney Gazette of 21 January 1834 as being for sale, and, on 21 March 1834, the sale of ten allotments of land on Bunker's Hill, was the property of R. Campbell, Esq., M.C., was reported in the same paper. On 13 September 1836 two recently finished Messuages on Bunker's Hill, at the north end of Cumberland Street, adjoining the property of Captain Blaxland, and overlooking Sydney Cove and Darling Harbour, were advertised for sale by auction on 16 September.

In the same month Captain Bunker prepared a memorial asking for a secondary grant of land. This was forwarded by the Governor on 23 November 1836, but Captain Bunker had died on 27 September 1836, at his residence, Collingwood (Sydney Monitor) 3 October 36 3/2). He was aged 74 years, one of the oldest inhabitants in the Colony "much and justly regretted by his friends and family." He was buried in the old Church of England Cemetery at Liverpool, a few feet from the Hume Highway, on 1 October 1836. Were he able to see the condition of the Cemetery today he doubtless would once again contribute to the cost of fencing it.

With him are buried three of his grandchildren:

Frances Aird Blackett, died 17 August 1833, aged 3 years 10 months

Margaret Cath. Blackett, " 11 November 1835 " 19 "

James Richard Blackett " 2 November 1838 " 6 months 14 days.

George Blackett now became owner of Collingwood, and, on 1 May 1839, A. Polack, Auctioneer, offered for sale about 350 acres of the late Captain Bunker's grant, situate about a mile from the town of Liverpool, being bounded on the east by the Great South Road, fronting the estate of George Muckle, Esquire; on the north by Collingwood; on the west by Dr Hill's Estate and the Liverpool Common; and on the south by the Grant of the late Mr Guise adjoining the estate of Charles Throsby, Esquire. The 350 acres had been divided into 36 valuable agricultural farms and grazing paddocks.

Each proprietor was to have easy and independent access to the common and main road and a right of cartway to the fresh water of George's River, distant about a quarter of a mile.

On 8 February 1838, the reply of the Secretary of State to Bunker's application was received. He instructed that, as General Darling had not been induced to grant his demand, which was at variance with the existing land regulations, the grant should not be made.

J. E. Philp, in Whaling Ways of Hobart Town, describes Bunker as the father of Australian Whaling, and recalls the old whalers' shibboleth: "Lay me on, Captain Bunker! Lay me on! I'm Hell on a long dart!" In those days whips and vessels were 'laid on' for a named port. The dart was the thrust of the harpoon. Philp thinks that this cry may have had an American origin, but in Hobart it is associated with Eber Bunker.

Route: Attack on whaler "Charles W. Morgan"

1851

- (1) Whipple, A. B. C. "Yankee Whalers in the South Seas" London, Victor Gollancz, Ltd, 1954

This book has the dramatic story of the gradual drifting of the whaler "Charles W. Morgan" on to the reef at Porouiti in one of the calms characteristic of the doldrums. She was attacked by the natives while drifting but this was repulsed, the natives therefore waiting for her to strike the reef. When less than a ship's length from it, the backwash from the current (in the dead calm) carried her safely past and into open sea (pp 70-84).

- (2) The account is repeated, though less forcefully and with real dramatic effect, in -

Blond, Georges "The Great Whale Game" London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1954. (pp 109-124).

- (3) The origin of the account was the personal journal of a Nelson Cole Haley, who sailed aboard the "Charles W. Morgan", in the Whaling Museum at Mystic. This has since been brought out as a book:-

HALEY Haley, Nelson Cole (ed. by Carl Cutler). "Whale Hunt" London, Robert Hale, 1950

This is said to be one of the best single accounts written about a whaling
PTO

Whaling vessels: contacts with

Kureia - 1840

Blun - 1840

"The conduct of foreigners who visit these islands is sometimes of a most outrageous character. Instances of this kind are daily occurring, a number of which came to my knowledge; and the following occurrence it seems to me is of a character that ought to be made public, in order to bring such conduct, and the persons who are guilty of it, to the notice of their own nation.

Some four or five months before the Peaseck's visit (which was in April, 1841 Blun), Kerby states that one Leasonby, master of the whale-ship "Offley", of London, and whose mate was an American, named Lake, landed six young gulls on this island (Kureia Blun), whom he had obtained at Penn, or Francis Island. After having kept them on board several days, he brought them here to save himself the trouble of beating his vessel up to the island to which they belonged.

These young gulls were extremely good-looking, and are now slaves to the chief of this island, and made to labour and satisfy his lusts. They were landed on Kureia, in despite of their entreaties and tears. These people are in the habit of killing all strangers from islands not connected with their immediate group; but the lines of these gulls were spared, and they were retained in bondage. Two of them were brought off to the ship, who entreated most earnestly

crusade, and one of the most exciting. The "Charles W. Morgan" is the
whaling ship preserved in her hull at the Marine Historical Association
in Mystic, Conn., embedded in concrete. She had completed 37 voyages.

to be kept on board, and to be carried to their home. The engraving on
the preceding page is made from Mr. Agate's drawing of one of them."

From Walker's Report, Vol. V, pp. 67-68.

Whaling "Post Office"

Waffle (p. 136). "To make the most of this thin line of communication, the whalers had a "Post Office" of their own in the Pacific, a mailbox nailed to a tree on Charles Island, one of the 44 Galapagos group. Here nearly every whaler stopped on his way out, to leave letters from home and to stock up on the islands' gigantic, edible turtles. And here whalers put in again, on route home, to pick up the letters to wives, children, and sweethearts. These were properly addressed, but the ones coming out usually bore such directions as "John Smith, Boatsteerer, Ship Musawa, Pacific Ocean."

Williams (p. 8) Few letters, however, were received - as one might expect. One wife said she had written 100 letters to her husband during his last voyage, of which he received 6. The rule was to write 3 every ship that left port for the Pacific. Yet sometimes a ship returned with those on board not having once heard from their families.

Whaling Captains - Religion of

Whipple (p. 126) "Many of the skippers, especially the Fantiwheters, were Quakers; despite the rough life and behavior of the crew these skippers never used profanity (although it was said that some kept specially picked notes to swear for them). They "kept the Lord's Day," mustering the crew and reading to them from the Bible every Sunday. But it was then considered opinion that the land furnished them with the whales they sought and caught. Some of these religious whaling skippers observed the Sabbath by not working the ship or catching whales. The less religious crewmen retorted, however, that when one of these captains sighted a whale on Sunday, he managed to keep it in sight until Monday. Religion was part of the lines of many of these captains; whaling was all of it."

"Late in the year 1824, the "Tofur", under Captain Shubael Chase, fell in with a canoe containing a number of natives from the Kinginilla. Being many miles at sea, blown from the land, the natives could only point toward the general direction from which they came. Captain Chase took them aboard with their canoe, and steered on the course indicated. To the unmistakable joy of the natives, an island finally appeared in the horizon. Soon they were returned to their home. In going ashore, the islanders gathered around Captain Chase in great numbers, conducting him to the house of their chief, and loading his boat with fresh provisions."

Stockpole, p. 386.

Notes - Visit to

Pt 383-4 "Much mystery was attached to those islands which like Pitcairn were isolated from the groups. One such island was known as Pleasant Island, just below the equator but far to the west of the Gilberts. Its original discoverer is thought to have been a Captain John Fearn in 1798, who saw it while in the British trader "Hunter", bound to the Sandwich Islands from Australia.

On January 3, 1801, the "Diana", of New Bedford, under Captain Jared Gardner, bound to the east along the equator, sighted an island 'from a five leagues distant ... rather high in the middle, the ends sloping down to the water. It appeared to be about 4 leagues (12 miles) from the north to the south. We saw smoke in 2 or 3 places, which gave us reason to believe it was inhabited.' Captain Gardner placed it in 'longitude $167^{\circ} 13'$ east and latitude $00^{\circ} 17'$ south,' and called it Rodman's Island."

Stackpole, Pt. 383-4.

Norun Island: Visit to in 1825

Captain Prince B. Moores of the "Spartan", of Dartmouth, sighted Norun
in long. $161^{\circ} 35'$ east, just below the equator, in 1825.

Stockfile, p. 372

"Triton" Rescued in

" In 1847 the ship Triton, of New Bedford, put into Sydney's Island (one of the King's Hill group), to recruit. While the captain with his boat's crew were ashore procuring a fluke-chair, the schooner, visited by a renegade Steward, attacked and captured the ship, killing one of the mates and several of the crew. The second mate with his men escaped in a boat. The ship washed off shore and the schooner left her. She was afterwards carried into Papeete, (one of the Society Islands). The United States and Alabama, both of Nantucket, touched at the King's Hill group and succeeded in recovering the survivors. In all, five were killed and seven ^{wounded} ~~wounded~~.

From: Starbuck, "History of the Whaling Industry", p. 131

wreck of Carter see p. 140.

Whaling: Effect of the Revolution on

The Revolutionary war had the effect of driving the American whaling fleet temporarily off the seas and giving to the English whale fishery an importance it had not held since the 17th century.

England's Greenland fleet increased from 1782 (38), 1784 (89), 1785 (140) to 1790 (200). Reuser says that 134 out of 150 Nantucket ships were captured early in the war, and every whaler given choice between prison or continuing whaling under British flag. Since they did not have to fight against their country, most agreed to continue.

Beale says (p. 143) that the first British ships to start open whaling went to the South Seas in 1775, 10 of them being captured American whalers.

Hussey and Robinson, in "A Catalogue of Nantucket Whalers" (Nantucket, 1876) lists 149 Nantucket captains who commanded British whalers before 1812. Large nos of Nantucketers were persuaded to emigrate and established a whaling colony called Dartmouth, in Nova Scotia, and at Milford Haven in England.

The British fleet achieved its greatest prosperity in 1815 - 164 whalers on the ocean (a say 225 in all). After 1830 their fleet rapidly diminished - in 1852 only 4 ships at sea.

From: Ashley, Clifford W. "The Yankee Whaler". London, George Routledge & Sons, 2^d ed. p. 26.

Whaling: Recommended reading and reference works on

- (1) Stockpole, Edward A. "The Sea-Hunters" Luffenolt, 1953.
"The most complete and scholarly history of American whaling, bar none" since
Starbuck (Whiffle)
- (2) Starbuck, Alexander. "History of the American Whale Fishery" 1878
- (3) "Whaling Masters". Old Dartmouth Historical Society. a Federal Writers
Project funded by the Reynolds Printing Company, New Bedford.
"Reynolds is a specialist in books about whaling; ask them for their list
of publications and try to resist ordering them all" (Whiffle).
- (4) Colby, Barnard L. "New London Whaling Captains"
originally a series of articles in the New London "Day", now brought out in
book form by the Naval Historical Association at Mystic (Whiffle).
- (5) Bulletin of the New York Zoological Society, vol. 34, no. 6, November -
December, 1931.
contains an excellent description of the whaling grounds (Whiffle).
- (6) The Nantucket "Inquirer and Mirror"
so often quoted, in island discourses, by Stockpole.

Whaling books checked through and notes taken

- (1) Blend, Georges "The Great Whale Game" London, Wendenfeld and Nicholson, 1954.
- (2) Gardner, W. E. "Three books and three brothers" Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1945.
- (3) Whipple, A. B. C. "Yankee Whalers in the South Seas" London, Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1954. (get)
- (4) Williams, Capt. E. C. "Life in the South Seas. History of the whale fisheries. Habits of the whale. Pearls of the chase and method of capture" New York, Putnam's & de Vries, 1860.
- (5) Haley, Nelson Cole "Whale Hunt" London, Robert Hale Ltd, 1950. (get)
- (6) Holman, Elmer Paul "The American Whaler" New York, Lothrop, Green Co., 1928
- (7) Stuckpole, Edouard A. "The Sea-Hunters" Lippincott, 1953. (get)
- (8) Ashley, Clifford W. "The Yankee Whaler" London, George Routledge & Sons, n.d.
- (9) Beale, Thomas "The Natural History of the Sperm Whale" London, Jan Van Voorst, 1839.
- (10) "Whaling Masters" Old Dartmouth Historical Society - a Federal Writers Project printed by the Reynolds Printing Company, New Bedford.
- (11) Sturbeck, Alexander "History of the American Whale Fisheries" 1878.

Whitely: Quotation for beginning of chapter.

From Melville, Herman "Moby Dick" and beginning: -

"Let America add Mexico to Texas, and pile Cuba upon Canada;
let the English overswarm all India, and hang out their blazing
banner from the sun; two-thirds of this tempestuous globe
are the Masturbators'. For the sea"

Check and add to card index of quotations.

Whitely: Miscellaneous notes.

(1) "Then two men, James Young in Scotland and Samuel Kier in Tarentum,
Pennsylvania, almost simultaneously discovered how to refine petroleum
Whitely continued for a few more years, but the great industry was
finished" Whipple, "Yankee Whales in the South Seas".

South Sea 1785 - 1809.

A.322

[A Collection of original letters, official papers, documents,
etc., bearing the number Phillipps MS 17500]

Returns from whaling and sealing industry in Greenland and
South Seas, 1786-1803.

[Banks Papers - Brobournne Collection, vol. 4, Australia,
1801-1820, pp.102-3]

A.78-3

1831 Nov. 5. Success of N.S.W. whalers in 1831 [John Thompson
to J.W. Thompson, Nov. 5 1831].

At44

1803 Sept. 18. Report by S. Enderby on results of his firm's
whaling vessels calling at N.S.W. Sept. 18, 1803.

(Bonwick Transcripts - Biography, vol. 1, p.9)

A2000-1

1803-5 Notes by Sir J. Bickerson (?) S.S. Fisheries. Statement
of the Southern Whale Fishery for 1803-05 from Mr. Enderby.

(Banks Papers - Brobournne Collection, vol. 4, Australia,
1801-20, pp.226-9).

A78-3

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WHALING RECORDS

The journals of the southern whalers were delivered to the East India Company (who may still have them?).

NEW SOUTH WALES UNDER GOVERNOR KING

Michael Roe

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of
Arts in the University of Melbourne,
April 1955.

An Extract from Chapter III - Maritime Industries:
Whaling and Sealing; Trepang; Sandalwood

1. Whaling and Sealing

From the 1780s the English whaling industry had been encouraged by successive Governments, to the point of being treated as an interest of national importance.¹ The Southern Whale Fishery, so termed because vessels sailed south from England to reach their destination, had commenced in 1775. However as it depended very largely on American seamen and ports (especially Nantucket) the War of Independence drastically retarded its progress. However from 1785 Lord Hawkesbury,² then and for many years after President of the Committee for Trade and Plantations fostered a renaissance of the industry. Real prosperity began for the various companies - chief among which was Enderby & Sons, followed by Champions', Mathers', and St Barbes' - when the rich seas off the Brazil coast were exploited.³ Samuel Enderby jnr. used Hawkesbury's patronage to the full. Almost certainly he studiously kept his ear to the ground when the proposals for establishing N.S.W. were advanced, and the first documentary evidence of his interest is in a letter dated January 1789 wherein he urges that his firm should be granted "an unlimited right of Fishing in all the Seas"; and assures his correspondent (George Chalmers, secretary to the Board of Trade) that if this were allowed "the settlements of New Holland would

be often visited as there are many whales in those Seas ...".⁴

Action soon followed these words. In 1790 the Emilia, Captain Shields, became the first whaler to enter the South Pacific Ocean. "From her accounts", wrote Enderby, "the Mines of the South Pacific Ocean are likely to be most profitable".⁵ To facilitate further investigation Enderby arranged that five transports of the Third Fleet be whalers which, having unloaded the convicts, turned to the fisheries.⁶ Phillip welcomed the move, and was optimistic for its success.⁷ However inclement weather and unknown currents hindered attempts to procure both whales and seals. Nevertheless the report Enderby received was not wholly damning:⁸ the whales were certainly there to be caught.

But so long as South American waters could be fished there was little reason to spend money and equipment in testing hazardous and distant fields. Moreover the sea-otter furs of North America were more easily gathered than the seal skins of the Antarctic.⁹ Thus until 1795-6 only an occasional transport or store-ship followed the wake of the five Third Fleet whalers.¹⁰ However when war was declared between Spain and England in 1796 the South Whalers immediately lost port facilities on the South American coast. "It is impossible", lamented Enderby, "[that] a Vessel can go there and return without going into some Port to refresh". So he requested that the experiment of the Third Fleet be repeated.¹¹ So,

between 1797 and 1800 the whalers Britannia, Albion,
Walker, and Speedy,¹² sailed to Port Jackson bearing con-
 victs and stores.

Simultaneously the whaling interests challenged the
 limitations put on their movement by the East India
 Company charter. Technically (excepting the insignificant
 rights given the South Sea Company) the Company had monopoly
 rights over all trade from the Cape of Good Hope to the
 Straits of Magellan.¹³ Thus the very foundation of N.S.W.
 had been regarded with suspicion and hostility by the
 Company.¹⁴ All Governors up to Macquarie were instructed
 to prohibit the development of any trade between colonists
 and the Indies or China;¹⁵ and until 1812 at least virtually
 all vessels employed in servicing N.S.W. (which normally
 ran from Sydney to Canton, Bombay or Calcutta to pick up
 cargo) were either owned by the East India shipping interest,
 or were compulsorily licensed by the Company.¹⁶

Any expansion of whaling activity into the Pacific
 was, originally, an infringement of the monopoly. How-
 ever a series of Acts, apparently not objected to by the
 Company, had legalised whalers' sailing east of Africa to
 51 degrees E, and west of Cape Horn to 180 degrees;
 provided that the Equator was not crossed at any point.¹⁷
 But when the South American crisis prompted the whaling
 interests to urge the complete removal of these restrictions,¹⁸

a request which was favourably endorsed by the Board of Trade, the Company stood firm and the subsequent Act fell considerably short of the whalers' request. Only the seas between 51 degrees E and 180 degrees as far as 15 degrees S were opened;¹⁹ and licences had still to be obtained from the Company. The Act could barely have become law when several whalers were directed to "New Holland" in lieu of South America - the Cornwall anchored in Port Jackson July 1798, and by February 1800 she had been followed by at least four others.²⁰ Some of these merely used Port Jackson as a base whence to fish the South American waters (encouraged by the hope of capturing prizes there),²¹ but this was a dangerous business, and not likely to be fostered.²²

Thus with some areas still prohibited by the East India charter, and others held by a hostile sea-power, the fields off the Australian coast became increasingly significant. Hence it was particularly important that the reports brought back by the various whalers at the end of the 1790s were considerably more enthusiastic than those of the Third Fleet vessels. In August 1800 Enderby declared to Lord Hawkesbury that "After many years of Fruitless and expensive attempts we have at length succeeded in ascertaining that there is a valuable spermacetti Whale Fishery on the Coast of N.S.W."²³ The next month, of course, saw King take office as Governor: a significant fact in the history of the exploitation of the

whale fields. King had long been a close friend of the
 Enderby family; ²⁴ in 1791, at Port Jackson, he had gone
 out of his way to assist the Britannia's exploratory
 voyage; ²⁵ and six years later had advised the Enderbys
 of the appropriate moment at which to offer a whaler to
 serve as a transport. ²⁶ It is interesting that his first
 despatch should refer, enthusiastically, to the industry. ²⁷

Commercial, as well as personal relations, bound
 Governor King and the Enderbys; ²⁸ and these become very
 significant when we examine a proposal made by that firm
 (in conjunction with Champions') in the correspondence of
 August 1800. ²⁹ They suggested that their whalers be
 allowed to take out general merchandise to N.S.W. which
 could there be sold - at a profit, of course, but not an
 unreasonable one. Thus the costs of the arduous voyage
 to the whale-fields would be diminished, and the monopolists
 of N.S.W. vanquished. The whole scheme is very similar to
 King's concept of a public store and I consider originated
 in the same brain. ³⁰ Indeed, just a few short weeks after
 the Enderby proposals had been submitted, King made the
 suggestion in a despatch that whalers should be encouraged
 to bring out merchandise. ³¹ Moreover King himself had a
 one-third interest in the first cargo that was eventually
 sent out under the plan, and this must have been arranged
 before he left England. ³² For the scheme was supported by

the Administration: Under-secretary John King believed that it would be more effective than the public store, and discounted the possibility that the East India Company monopoly would be affected in any way by this trade.³³

Approval once obtained, the plan was put into practice with vigour, and within a few months the Britannia, Greenwich, and Venus embarked. Having unloaded their merchandise at Sydney they went in search of whales. Their efforts were successful, and in the following years many British whalers sailed from Port Jackson in their path. To list all the statistics and the shipping would be tedious, and so this matter has been gathered in Appendices I and IV. A glance thereat proves that something of a boom developed.

It is necessary at this stage to discuss a subject which is related to the history of whaling, but which does need to be distinguished,³⁴ namely the discovery and exploitation of the seal and sea elephant fisheries of Bass Strait. The Third Fleeters had sought seals, and the Britannia, Captain Raven, had taken a load at Dusky Sound in 1791-2.³⁵ George Bass had, early in 1798, remarked³⁶ on the presence of seals in the southward islands. But the crucial date in the history of the industry is May 14th, 1798 when the brig Nautilus, Charles Bishop master, put

into Port Jackson. When Bishop had left Macao in May 1797 he had intended to procure sea-otters from the North American coast for the Canton market. Dogged by bad weather he had sheltered at Tahiti, and thence sailed to Sydney to refit and repair.³⁷ There he learnt³⁸ of the multitude of seals among the Furneaux Islands. Bishop planned accordingly: "It is our intention to proceed for those parts with a strong crew of 25 men and two whale boats to kill and dry skins for China, and boil out seal oil for this [the local] markett, proposing first to leave the ship in a good Harbour and then divide the People in Seperate Parties to the different Islands under the command of myself and officers keeping a few of the Crew boiling oil ...". This technique, which was to become the established mode, was duly employed. Successfully, too, - over 9000 skins and several tons of oil were secured.

Perhaps Bishop deliberately understated the wealth of the fisheries for Surgeon Thompson referred to the venture in rather luke warm tones when writing home to England.³⁹ However such secrets would be hard to keep, and within a few months the first colonial-owned vessel to engage in sealing, the Martha of 30½ tons, set sail. The enterprise brought rich returns: 14,000 skins and 30 tierces of oil.⁴⁰ The Martha was owned by a group of men of extraordinary

interest - William Reid, one of the sailors settled by Phillip following the wreck of the Sirius; the 'Scottish Martyr', T.F. Palmer; his long-devoted friend, James Ellis; and John Boston, a free migrant originally sent out by Government to exercise his skill as a fish-curer, but who had speedily found more lucrative paths to follow.⁴¹ Their speculation in sealing was the natural consequence of the commercial interests they had already established, which included the catching and sale of fish, the construction of the Martha to conduct a trade with Norfolk Island, and illicit distillation.⁴² Boston and Ellis were among those who petitioned Hunter for permission to retail the Minerva cargo.⁴³ Their later exploits in the Pacific will be referred to below.

The next venture into the sealing industry was also sponsored by men of most considerable ability, namely Henry Kable and James Underwood.⁴⁴ These men, both of whom were former convicts, were in nebulous partnership with the great Simson Lord, and first sent their sloop Diana southward in July 1800.⁴⁵ There is no precise record of the catch, but the subsequent intensifying of colonial interest in the market suggests that it was considerable.

Appendices I, II and III demonstrate the highly vigorous participation in the fisheries by colonists who had as their

chief competitors American, not British interests. The latter kept chiefly to whaling.

This demarcation - whaling off Australian coasts in the hands of the British, and sealing in those of the colonists and Americans - is firm but not absolute. Especially after 1804-05 British whalers paid some attention to sealing; and the American vessels, General Boyd, Favorite, and Brothers, fished for whales. Moreover colonial capital was invested in whaling. Robert Campbell apparently backed some of the British whalers, and sent his own Sophia to engage in bay-whaling off the Derwent. Lord, Kable, and Underwood put their finest vessel, the King George, to a similar task.⁴⁶

The impression given by the statistics in the Appendices that the sealing industry was of considerable moment, is confirmed by the comments of contemporary observers. The Sydney Gazette found the subject conducive to optimism and moralising, even, indeed, the expression of an incipient colonial nationalism.⁴⁷ Not only local residents,⁴⁸ but visitors such as Peron, Flinders, and Tuckey added their praises.⁴⁹ Beyond doubt, sealing and to a lesser degree whaling played a vital part in the colonial economy. The former indeed was justly described as Australia's first "natural staple".⁵⁰ As shown in the

previous chapter, the mere cultivation of grain was a dead-end. However the fisheries provided employment for more than 200 men; competition for labour was so vigorous as to lead to hostility between the major employers; and wages consequently rose.⁵¹ The building of vessels of up to 175 tons provided opportunity for "the increasing numerous youth ... acquiring trades to prevent them pursuing the same paths their unfortunate parents have trod in", and incentive to the use of colonial timbers, especially Newcastle cedar.⁵² Oil storage casks were built from local oak.⁵³ The importance of oil was demonstrated and increased by its recognised use as currency.⁵⁴ Appendix V to this chapter - the account book of a British whaler - proves the very considerable fillip given to local commerce and skills by the requirements of visiting ships.⁵⁵

During these years vessels operating from Sydney discovered and fished all the fields indicated in the subjoined map (Appendix VI). Following the settlement at Hobart the Derwent was found to be a very suitable base for bay-whaling,⁵⁶ and it became common practice for vessels to run hither at the end of their season in the open seas.⁵⁷ Enderby vessels explored southward beyond 50 degrees.⁵⁸ Even more important was the expansion westward, to New Zealand and the Antipodes Islands,⁵⁹ where, said Peron, "is the principal seat of the wealth of the

colony ... never was a fishery so lucrative and so
 easy." ⁶⁰ The ever-increasing significance of New
 Zealand has been well described by Robert McNab: after
 1808 sealers fished these waters to the almost total
 exclusion of Bass Strait, where resources had been
⁶¹
 drastically lessened.

The men who worked in these industries led a hard,
⁶²
 tough life. After several instances of gangs being
 left to starve among the islands had occurred, King
 required all employers to enter bonds guaranteeing against
⁶³
 such negligence. Rival gangs often fought savagely
 among themselves, the two best-known incidents being
⁶⁴
 clashes between Kable and Underwood gangs and Americans.
 Another flared up in November 1805 when two groups, one
 employed by John Palmer, one by Kable and Underwood,
 were simultaneously landed on the Antipodes. It was
 subsequently alleged that the leader of the former group
 claimed that his followers "were the stronger party, were
 all free men, and out of the Jurisdiction of the
 Governor of N.S.W.". Truly, the laws of brute force, not
 gubernatorial decree, ruled in in the fisheries. Not
⁶⁶
 only were men still left stranded and foodless, but the
 Bass Strait rookeries had already become a refuge for
⁶⁷
 convicts escaped from V.D.L.; contact by whalers with

natives of the Pacific had already led to violence and outrages.⁶⁸ Another way in which "the perplexing and unwarranted conduct of the Owners in the South Fishery" added to the Governor's judicial tasks was the practice of employing men who found this an easy way of escaping their domestic and financial responsibilities. To counter this, King required that the departure of all men for the southward be advertised in the Sydney Gazette; and that provision be made for the maintenance of their families.⁶⁹ Nevertheless grievances and quarrels originating in the fisheries continued to figure prominently in the law-courts. Kable and Underwood, for example, disputed in turn with three of their executive officers.⁷⁰

In the various ways suggested above, sealing and whaling were not particularly suitable industries for a penal colony. It would have been quite logical for King to have retarded their development. However, although he did (as we have seen) try to impose some restrictions, the Governor was fundamentally a staunch supporter, as I will now attempt to show.

The Governor's relations with the Enderbys, and his connection with the proposal to send out merchandise in the whalers, have already been outlined. When the Britannia and Greenwich arrived in Sydney the local market

for most goods was glutted. However King ordered the Commissary to sell their cargoes through the public stores at a price considerably higher above cost than the Government stores sent out on the Earl Cornwallis⁷¹ and Royal Admiral. The reason King gave for allowing these indulgences was that he believed the whalers should be given every encouragement:⁷² whether or not his motive was quite so altruistic as this (remember his part-ownership of the Britannia investment) the result certainly was to save the Enderbys from what may have been a financial disaster. The Venus investment received no such favour, and left Port Jackson with considerable merchandise left unsold; and thereafter whalers only brought out small, select cargoes, if any at all.⁷³ King's later suggestion that whalers be regularly used as store-ships may have been an additional attempt to provide the British firms with a means of reducing their costs.⁷⁴

Early in 1802 King submitted a questionnaire to the respective masters of three South Sea whalers.⁷⁵ They testified that the discovery and use of Bass Strait had markedly lessened wear and tear; and that the vagaries of the climate had been mastered. A most interesting feature is King's leading question - "Do you think any advantage would attend the fishery by being allowed to go as far to

the northward of this side of the Pacific as you are permitted to go on the east side?" Naturally, the answers are emphatically affirmative. The answers were duly submitted to the Colonial Office, and later in the year King himself specifically advocated that the northward limits be liberalised.⁷⁶ Again King's efforts coincided with the Enderbys': at this very time they renewed their agitation against the East India Company's charter.⁷⁷ The Governor certainly supported with deeds his protestations to Banks that Sir Joseph should use all his influence to help the whalers.⁷⁸

King recognised the whalers' essential need for supply stations. His opposition to the proposal to abandon Norfolk Island was partly based on this consideration.⁷⁹ Similarly the kindness and attention (not forgetting the fruit trees and breeding stock) he gave to Tip-pa-he, Maori chief of the Bay of Islands district, was consciously aimed at ensuring supplies and welcome for the many whalers who harboured there.⁸⁰

The important Harrington case⁸¹ further demonstrates King's concern for the welfare of the industry. This ship brought to Port Jackson two Spanish prizes from the South American coast at a time when official advice that England was at war with Spain had not been received. King

straightaway sent a mission of appeasement to Valparaiso. Certainly his chief apprehension was lest the incident might lead to war, and therefore his own censure; but also he wished to avoid any retaliatory action against the British whale fishery in those waters.⁸² To prevent such dangerous lawlessness as that allegedly practised by the Harrington, King suggested that two or three war sloops be sent to the colony.⁸³

I do not wish to suggest that King urged the cause of whaling merely because he was a good friend and a business associate of the Enderbys. Quite independent of this, he saw the industry as "a rising Nursery for Seamen";⁸³ and was doubtless thinking along these lines when he wrote to Piper that the fisheries "ought to be confined to those of our own Nation, particularly during the time of War".⁸⁴ The Governor certainly did his best to thwart American enterprise, again repeating a theme continually stressed by British interests.⁸⁵ However, as said above, the Americans competed more with colonial sealers than with British whalers, so this subject provides a suitable bridge on which to pass to King's encouragement of local enterprise.

As it happened King's first request for instructions explaining how he should deal with foreign sealers was prompted by the arrival of a French, not an American ship.⁸⁶

The master of the schooner Surprise had harboured at Sydney and asked permission to fish for seals in waters under King's jurisdiction. The answer was luke-warm and evasive, even untruthful. ⁸⁷ The Surprise cocked her snoot, and sailed whither the seals were thickest: there is some grim pleasure in King's account of her fate - "The French schooner ... was lost among the Cape Barren Islands, which may stop any more adventurers from that quarter." ⁸⁸ This particular hope was realised; but American competition strengthened. "I respectfully request", ran a despatch of August '04, "being informed how far the Governor of this territory would be justifiable in preventing this intrusion and intercourse ... which is not only pernicious to the public interests, but highly disadvantageous to the adventuring colonists ...". ⁸⁹ A delicate point, and King's repeated enquiries ⁹⁰ were never answered. The Colonial Office passed the question on to the Board of Trade, which body hastily returned the burden. ⁹¹

The Governor's acerbity sharpened when he learnt of Simeon Lord's intention to combine with an American sealing vessel to collect Fijian sandalwood - a move which would have roused the anger of the East India Company and therefore quite likely to discredit King. Immediately he promulgated an Order requiring all foreign vessels cleared from Port

Jackson to sail only to another port of discharge.⁹² That is, Sydney was not to be used as a trading depot. But how could such an order be enforced? Just 18 days later the Pilgrim cleared from port openly declaring her destination to be "Bass's Straits". She returned, and in October (1804) sailed again for the same destination. To add injury to insult this second trip was marked by a clash with a colonial sealing gang. Little wonder that King took sides against Delano of the Pilgrim in the subsequent proceedings.⁹³

Attempts to thwart the Americans continued. They were forbidden to build ships without permission;⁹⁴ or to employ any British subject.⁹⁵ One of the particular functions of the armed vessels King asked for would be to check on American misbehaviour.⁹⁶ The effectiveness of all these measures is doubtful, but the fact that they were attempted serves to emphasise the sympathy felt by King for the colonists who engaged in the industry.

This sympathy was expressed in several other ways. Most dramatically of all, perhaps, in the reasons he gave for the establishment of settlements in Van Dieman's Land.⁹⁷ No less important were King's efforts to break away from the clause in his Instructions which forbade the building of vessels large enough to trade with the Indies and China. King, as did Hunter, freely allowed the building

of colonial vessels (mainly intended for the fisheries) and both men realised that they were open to criticism on this point, if their Instructions were strictly interpreted.⁹⁸ The question became more real when vessels above 100 tons were constructed: in such cases King required that the owners sign a bond not to sail outside territorial waters.⁹⁹ In encouraging colonists to engage in sealing King did not make the mistake of discriminating against ex-convicts. Thus Campbell's request for a monopoly was sharply dis-¹⁰⁰ allowed; and, even at a time when their relations were very strained, King co-operated with Simeon Lord by allowing a Government vessel to load back from Hobart a quantity of the latter's oil.¹⁰¹ The constant (and ultimately justified) prophecies that excessive slaughter would denude the southward islands of seals promoted King to consider the desirability of declaring a closed season for fishing.¹⁰² Unfortunately he did not implement this idea.

The Governor appreciated the need to find a market for the colonists' seal-skins and oil. Theoretically the East India Company charter forbade the import of colonial produce into England by any ship not specifically licensed. However this rule was apparently not observed; in any case, it was easier for the visiting ships to which the colonists sold their produce to dispose of it at the Canton market.¹⁰³ However from 1802 this outlet became rather over-stocked, while in England demand for skins was rising - largely

because of the development of a technique for dressing
 the fur. ¹⁰⁴ Thus Campbell and Lord applied for permission
 to send oil and skins to England by H.M.S. Glatton, the
 captain of which had been expressly ordered to load back
 timber and other colonial produce. King realised that
 the Home Government did not visualise private merchants
 using a ship of the Royal Navy as a cargo boat, but
 nevertheless allowed the application. ¹⁰⁵ An even more

radical proposal came from the Governor's pen in August
 1804. Could not ships built in the colony, he asked, be
 allowed to trade local products direct with both China and
 England? It was a bold request, flung straight in the
 face of the sacred rights of John Company, and King must
 have drawn a very large breath as he wrote that despatch.
 It is noticeable that when he repeated the proposal some
 time later his tone is far more timid. ¹⁰⁶

Anyway, the immediate problem of dealing with
 accumulating stocks had to be dealt with. Probably
 because there had been no repercussions from the Glatton
 venture, King gladly gave permission for the Albion and
 the Alexander to carry similar cargoes to England. ¹⁰⁷ Then
 Campbell requested that he (King) guarantee the untroubled
 admission into Britain of the Lady Barlow. Here was a
 problem: for she was India-built and registered, and there-
 fore was not recognised by the Company. Campbell was told

that no absolute assurance could be given, but that his case would be favourably presented to the relevant authorities. Campbell ultimately decided to take the risk; ¹⁰⁸ and King kept his promise. Letters emphasising the perishable nature of the cargo and Campbell's bond not to trade with the Indies were sent to the Colonial Office, the Board of Trade, the East India Company, ¹⁰⁹ and Sir Joseph Banks. ¹¹⁰

Everyone concerned apparently was confident that all would be well, and towards the end of 1805 Campbell's agent in N.S.W. (John Palmer) commenced loading the Sydney, ¹¹¹ which was situated identically to the Lady Barlow. The Governor again co-operated - by writing to the Naval Commissioners with the request that they reduce the freight charges payable on the colonial timbers with which (by King's own wish) the Sydney was ballasted. ¹¹² But this voyage was never to be made: to understand why we must now review the activities in England of the South whaling interests since 1800.

The sympathy in high places for the welfare of the industry had continued. Portland, for example, had particularly recommended exploration of Bass Strait because of the advantage which an exact knowledge of those seas would constitute for the whalers. ¹¹³ John King's

hearty approval of the whalers-as-merchantmen scheme,¹¹⁴
 and Portland's readiness to use whalers as storeships
 further illustrate the Administration's co-operative
 attitude. Lord Pelham even suggested that whalers be
 regularly used as transports.¹¹⁵ Enderby found further
 "very friendly attention to our concerns" in George
 Chalmers, secretary to the Board of Trade, and Captain
 Schanck, Commissioner of the Navy.¹¹⁶

The whaling firms were still irked by their exclusion
 from the Northern Pacific. 1802 saw a renewal of their
 agitation on this point,¹¹⁷ and by a subsequent Act, 43
 Geo. III c. 90 the northward limit was raised considerably.¹¹⁸
 It should be emphasised that the East India Company does
 not appear to have objected to this extension: indeed
 there is from 1797 to 1811 no evidence of any animosity
 between the two interests. As we shall see this is an
 important point, but it has not been appreciated.¹¹⁹

The Colonial Office files for 1803 contain two letters
 which attest the close contact between the Enderbys and the
 Administration. The first relates to the merchandise sent
 out by the whalers, and is a rather extraordinary document.
 As already indicated King had facilitated the sale of these
 cargoes by ordering that they be sold through the public
 stores at 50% advance. But the Enderbys apparently did not

understand his action and lengthily protested to Hobart¹²⁰ that this was insufficient profit to justify the high costs and risks involved. Hobart accepted the argument and subsequently reprimanded King for interfering in the retail of these goods.¹²¹ Both he and the Enderbys completely failed to realise that King had helped, not hindered the investments' success.¹²²

The second letter written by Enderby to the Colonial Office in 1803 is an informal note referring to recent news from the colony: "the Master of our Ship Greenwich ... concludes his Letter with saying Governor King and Family were well. If I receive any further Information respecting the Colony I shall communicate it in Person or by Letter."¹²³

Another letter received about this time was from one John Prinseps, a merchant trader. He wrote: "The employment of our Shipping in the transport of Convicts to N.S.W. having given my Partners & myself considerable Insight into the natural Productions, & other Commodities of that extensive Country we are become so fully confident ... that we have determined to undertake the establishment of a regular trade with the Colony ... provided no political objection arises."¹²⁴ Timber, wool, oil, seal hair and fur were the articles specifically mentioned.

No political objection did arise. At Hobart's request¹²⁵

the Board of Trade tested the East India Company's attitude to the proposal, and found it acquiescent. The subsequent free entry of the Glatton, Alexander, and Albion cargoes confirms the impression then formed by John Sullivan that "the East India Company have abandoned all claim to Jurisdiction there".¹²⁶

Prinseps particularly asked that the customs payable on N.S.W. products be the same as for goods produced in the British South American settlements, and not as for foreign goods (which case prevailed). To meet his requests a Bill was prepared which threw open the trade to all British merchants;¹²⁷ and the Treasury Commissioners officially declared that for customs purposes the colony was to rank with the American plantations.¹²⁸ For some reason the Bill was never introduced and (whether as a cause or effect I do not know) Prinseps did not continue with his plans.

Subsequent events incline me to suspect that the British whaling interests may have been responsible for this ultimate discouragement of an attempt to foster colonial exports. The next occasion when the power of those interests became openly apparent was in mid-1805. A Bill sponsored by the Government, which had the general purpose of regularising the whale fishery, contemplated

the renewal of a policy, begun in 1795, of encouraging skilled American whalers to settle in Britain, at Milford Sound. The Enderbys decided that this scheme had outlived its former usefulness. They protested accordingly, and the Board of Trade agreed to the omission of the pertinent clauses. ¹²⁹ For some reason, however, this was not done; and it was left to a decision of the House of Commons to excise these provisions. During the debate members spoke warmly of "our great nursery for seamen", and "the important naval objects therewith connected"; "the skill and adventure of our own seamen", and "the spirit of our own merchants". ¹³⁰

That debate was held on July 5th, 1805. Thirteen days later the Lady Barlow, laden with Campbell's skins and oil, made port. The Enderbys (jointly with Mathers) immediately wrote the Board of Trade: "a fishery is established by the Colonists of N.S.W. which threatens the destruction of the Southern Whale Fishery." ¹³¹ Therefore, they urged, some restriction should be placed on the Lady Barlow. The Board, paying no attention at all to King's pleas and guarantees, quickly decided "that the importation appears to be against both the rights of the East India Company and the Laws of Navigation". ¹³² A warrant was issued by the Company; the cargo of the

Lady Barlow was seized; and, although ultimately allowed to sell it for export, Campbell's nett loss was £7150.¹³³

The chief villains in this extraordinarily unjust proceeding were the Enderbys. They grotesquely exaggerated the significance of the Lady Barlow importation: as Banks said, the effect of receiving so much official support had "intoxicated" them.¹³⁴ The East India Company were certainly accessories to the deed. This, I consider was because King's proposal (see above) that colonial built shipping be allowed to trade direct with China, had really angered the Company.¹³⁵ Therefore they blindly retaliated not only by refuting that proposal, but also by impeding the Lady Barlow.

Later developments confirm this interpretation. The immediate consequence of the seizure was to set up some reaction against the South Whalers. Sir Joseph Banks argued that the colony should be granted a Navigation Act to prevent any repetition of the incident.¹³⁶ Partly due to his efforts the East India Company provisionally agreed to the entry of the Sydney (which was falsely believed to be en route) in spite of the British whalers' protests.¹³⁷ It would seem that the episode had the ultimate effect of prompting the administration to realise that the colonial fishing industry might reduce colonial expenses.¹³⁸

Therefore they made a brief effort to assist the industry. The Bill originally prepared to meet Prinseps' application was revived. Favourable duties would be imposed on colonial owned seal produce; the building in N.S.W. of ships intended for the fisheries would be explicitly validated.¹³⁹ The East India Company tentatively supported the measure,¹⁴⁰ and there is evidence of the Board of Trade continuing the necessary arrangements even after the change of office of March, 1807. But again, the plan was stillborn.

Why? The one strong voice raised in protest was that of Samuel Enderby,¹⁴¹ and it was surely he who caused the Bill to be abandoned. So his victory over the colonial sealing industry was near-complete. Not quite, however, for the East India Company continued to allow the importation of colonial-owned oil, etc. in British shipping.¹⁴² The British whalers destroyed this refuge in 1809 when a highly discriminatory tariff was imposed on colonial-owned produce.¹⁴³ It is certain that this measure struck a near-lethal blow at colonial interest in the fisheries.¹⁴⁴

There is some little reason behind the Enderbys' apparently delirious actions. They had spent some £12,000 on seeking new sealing grounds.¹⁴⁵ Costs, they claimed were ever increasing; supplies becoming more scarce; the market

was in danger of being over-stocked; colonial whaling had become a reality and could ultimately threaten British interests.¹⁴⁶ (Anyway, it was impossible to distinguish seal from whale oil.) The shipping returns certainly do suggest that by 1806 the peak of the whaling industry had passed.

Some record of the decline of local interest in the Australian fisheries from 1805 onward is necessary to complete this account. News of the Lady Barlow seizure came just as the Sydney was about to sail, and John Palmer, Campbell's Agent, decided to unload. The Governor provided convict labour to assist him, and then employed the Sydney¹⁴⁷ on an official task. Palmer's decision was logical, but unfortunate: as stated above, tentative permission had in fact been obtained for the Sydney to unload in England. Crowning stroke - the Sydney was lost on the voyage she now undertook!¹⁴⁸ The Lady Barlow episode also caused some anguish for Lord, Kable and Underwood. They had just purchased a vessel, Commerce, which they had intended to load with seal produce for the English market. Hopefully, they urged King to guarantee that this cargo would be admitted, their argument being that as British citizens they were not in the same position as the Anglo-Indian, Campbell. King refused to endorse the argument, so the Commerce was sold (possibly this was a mere 'ghost' transaction)

149

to her British master, James Birnie. Under this ownership the Commerce (as had the Honduras some months previously) carried the combine's oil and skins to England, to which the East India Company, as we have seen, did not object. Campbell, Blaxland, and Macarthur all employed their own ships in securing and carrying the produce of the fisheries. Even this was not disallowed by the Company despite the fact that the licences granted the respective vessels nominally prohibited the practice. True, the three men named took the precaution of registering the vessels as owned or part-owned by British residents,¹⁵⁰ but this made the violation of the licence no less obvious.

However the Company had positively rejected King's proposal that the colonists be allowed to trade direct with China.¹⁵¹ It was, I consider, this limitation and the heavy duties of 1809, rather than the implications of the Lady Barlow affair, which restricted the industry's growth. Sealing, of course, could not possibly have been maintained at the tempo of the boom years - there simply were not enough animals for this.¹⁵² Nevertheless even sealing, if properly encouraged, could certainly have remained more than the furtive and ugly concern it was when Bigge examined it.¹⁵³ More important, the wealthy entrepreneurs could have been inspired to engage in whaling - perhaps to

have anticipated the achievements of the American whalers of the 1830s and 40s. But this was not to be: colonial progress had clashed with powerful British interests, and therefore was deliberately repressed.

2. Trepang and Sandalwood

The history of these trades is far less considerable, and has been more accurately expounded than that of whaling and sealing.¹⁵⁴ Therefore my emphasis will be on the administrative problems raised by the exploitation of these commodities rather than the actual story of that exploitation.

The one happy result of Flinder's being wrecked off the Queensland coast early in 1804 was his discovery that 'Wreck Reef' abounded with trepang - a species of sea slug¹⁵⁵ highly favoured by the Chinese. The arrival of this news in Sydney coincided with the entry of an adventurer, the Fair American,¹⁵⁶ carrying one Oliver Slater, who, years before had been shipwrecked on the Fiji islands which, he discovered,¹⁵⁷ were rich in sandalwood. This news he had doubtless reported to his rescuers - none other than T.F. Palmer and friends, who had sailed from Sydney in January 1801 in the El Plumier on a speculative cruise of the Pacific en route to England. A fellow passenger of

Slaters on the Fair American was Palmer's old crony, John Boston, and a justifiable inference is that the two had the definite intention of engaging in the sandalwood trade.

Both men were at once employed by Simeon Lord. Slater joined the Marcia, captained and part-owned by James Aitken, who in September 1804 sailed in successful search of both trepang and sandalwood. ¹⁵⁸ Boston was appointed Lord's agent on the Union, an American with which Lord had contracted to gather sandalwood, sell it at Canton, and return with a China cargo to Sydney. Boston was massacred by natives at Tongataboo; after returning to Sydney the Union re-started, but was totally ¹⁵⁹ wrecked soon after.

King had warmly supported the Marcia expedition. Therefore when he urged the Colonial Office that colonial shipping should be allowed to trade direct with China, he coupled these commodities with seal produce as likely ¹⁶⁰ exports. But his attitude changed when he learnt of ¹⁶¹ the Lord-Union scheme. King, rightly, considered that this amounted to a direct violation of the Company's charter, and although he had himself requested a modification of that charter, he was certainly not prepared to risk official displeasure (and disobey his Instructions)

by permitting Lord's trade. Moreover he was outraged by the opening given to the Americans to speculate in the industry.¹⁶² It was these events which led directly to the regulations of August 1804 which aimed at preventing the Americans using Port Jackson as a trading base.¹⁶³

King clashed head-on with the Aitken-Lord combination in 1805.¹⁶⁴ The former had duly returned in the Marcia and then arranged to sail back to the sandalwood islands in the Harrington. The delay of that vessel because of its alleged privateering thwarted this scheme, so Aitken planned to sail by the American, Criterion. The Governor objected: he was sympathetic to the sandalwood trade, but would not countenance this further infringement of the Company's monopoly. Aitken denied King's jurisdiction, and argued that obstruction to him would leave the field open for the Fair American. Ultimately he defied King's orders and the Criterion sailed to the islands, thence to China, thence (with a cargo of teas, spices, etc.) to Sydney. King believed, but could not prove, that the whole venture was financed by Lord. The ex-convict merchant had defied the mighty East India Company.

John Macarthur also interested himself in these commodities. In answer to his petition that his ship Elizabeth be allowed to sail to the islands King replied: "as a great part of my interest and efforts have been to

promote the Rising Commerce of the Colony without encouraging any infringement of the Hble. E.I. Company's rights ... I cannot but afford permission". That, I consider, is a fair statement of his policy.

On King's retirement, Lord petitioned Bligh for permission to trade direct with China. Following a refusal, the particular ship concerned, the King George, sailed for the Fijis, whence she returned to Port Jackson with 20 tons of sandalwood. At about this time (mid-'07) Lord hired the General Wellesley, David Dalrymple master, to seek trepang and sandalwood. This vessel, which was India-owned (a circumstance which may have validated the contract) gathered 300 tons of sandalwood.

The third great man of property in N.S.W., Robert Campbell, joined Lord and Macarthur in participating in this trade. A vessel belonging to him left Calcutta early in 1807 and gathered 65 tons on its way to Sydney.

Thus the trade flourished mildly. Bligh commented favourably upon the trade, and bothered to impose an import duty on sandalwood. Years later Bigge enquired into the history of the trade. However the industry never expanded greatly. One substantial reason for this was, undoubtedly, the obstacles put in the way of the colonists marketing their goods. True, they could be and were sold

to visiting ships which then sailed to China but this need to act through a middle-man reduced profits. King's proposals for a direct trade would, if agreed to, have solved this problem. I have shown above that the fishing industry was crippled by the South Whalers rather than the East India Company. However the Company's reiterated objections to direct colonial trade with the monopoly area ¹⁷⁴ was a most considerable factor in stultifying the sandalwood and trepang industries. Once again established British interests had caused residents of N.S.W. to be deprived of the protection and support their welfare required.

FOOTNOTES

1. The most interesting illustration of the significance of the industry is provided by the recently published volume edited by Harlow and Madden. The Fisheries are listed first in the Section headed "The Promotion of Certain Staples".
2. Hawkesbury (Charles Jenkinson) became 1st Lord Liverpool in May 1796. He was the first Chairman of the reconstituted Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations. In the subsequent text this committee shall be referred to as the Board of Trade or the Trade Committee.
3. The early history of the Fishery is dealt with in an Oxford D.Phil. thesis by C.B. Ferguson on Hawkesbury (publication proposed). References available in Australia include the works by Charles Enderby and Thomas Beale; Documents III, 60 and 62 in Harlow and Madden; and Enderby/Chalmers, 17/1/89, A 322.

The Samuel Enderby who will be constantly referred to in this chapter was the son of the founder of the firm. He conducted the business in conjunction with his two brothers, Charles and George.
4. A 322.
5. Ibid., Enderby/Chalmers, n.d.
6. C.O. 201/5; lists of shipping A 322 and Collins op.cit., p.129.
7. Collins, op.cit., 133; HRA I, 307-8, 312.
8. Melville/Enderby, 22/11/91, published Dakin op.cit., pp.8-10.
9. For outline of sea-otter trade see Wilbur, op.cit., p.341 seq., and Harlow and Madden, Docs. I, 15-25.
10. As shipping lists were not compiled before 1800, it is difficult to determine which ships that came to the colony were owned by whaling interests. However, beyond the five third fleeters, the Speedy (store-ship) and Salamander (transport) definitely come into this category. Both arrived 1794. The Britannia, Captain Raven (1792) and the Chesterfield (1792) are said by Collins (pp.157 and 167 respectively)

10 (contd.)

- to be whalers, but they are not listed in A 322. The Indispensable (1794) and Resolution (1794) transport and store-ship respectively may have been identical with ships of those names which sought for whales later in the decade. Information from HRA I and II; Collins, op.cit., passim; and A 322.
11. Enderby/Chalmers, 14/11/97. A 322.
 12. Information from Collins, op.cit., 413, 431-3, HRA II, 571-72. In addition, the Hillsborough (1799) is listed in A 322, but there is no evidence that she operated in the fisheries.
 13. The East India Company was created and given the monopoly by 9 and 10 Gul. III, cap.44. The South Sea Company was established by 9 Annæ cap.21 and after many years obsolescence was repealed by 47 Geo. III, cap.23.
 14. Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer to the Company published a pamphlet entitled "A Serious Admonition to the Publick on the Intended Thief Colony at Botany Bay" in 1786. See further the article by Shepherd, op.cit.
 15. HRA I, 15-16, 524; III, 395; VI, 12.
 16. The granting of licences to the ships of the first fleet is recorded at C.O.201/2 folio 324. See also C.O.201/7, Wm. Richardson/Evan Nepean, 20/11/92, "The Directors of the East India Coy. on my application to them to Charter home the Two Ships now fitting to convey Convicts from Ireland - have informed me that it is necessary to have a Letter from Government to inform them of their having engaged those Ships for that service, previous to their entering into an engagement to Load them home from India ...". Cf. HRA IV, 131, Campbell/King re transports and storeships "their great object is the Ship being chartered by the East India Company to load Teas and other goods for Europe".

16 (contd.)

There are some references to the procedure adopted in the Minutes of the East India Coy. 1786-1798, pp.303, 387, A 2038.

Further references: Furber, op.cit., p.302; Parkinson, op.cit., ch.XII; HRA I, 354; evidence of Mc.Leay, 1812 Committee on Transportation. Exceptions to the rule are the whaling ships; and HMS Glatton and Calcutta. All the whalers may have been licensed by the Company as was the Britannia, Captain Raven, (Collins, op.cit., 157), but probably not all, thus causing the Company to issue a warning, on 26/2/94, B.T.58.

17. The four Acts which modified the Charter to permit this expansion are outlined by Ward, op.cit., pp.18-19.
18. Harlow and Madden, op.cit., Doc.III, 63.
19. 38 Geo. III, cap.57. It is interesting that at the same time the Company should have been reluctant to grant the usual licence for a transport (the Minerva) to load back a cargo. This is the first recorded instance of any such difficulties being raised. H.O.30/1, and p.387, A 2038. The whale fields are shown in the map which constitutes Appendix VI, photographed from the end-paper in Thompson, op.cit.
20. Cornwall, Eliza, Sally, Indispensable, Betsey. (Collins, op.cit., pp.380, 384, 437.) A list in A 322 and a newspaper extract (HRNSW III, 741) suggests that two further vessels were also sent, but evidently they did not make Sydney.
21. The capturing of prizes will be described in chapter IV. For the capturing of a prize by the Cornwall and Sally after making Port Jackson; and by the Betsey before, see HRA II, 730-31 (note 136), and 735-36 (note 171); Collins, op.cit., p.411, 437; HRNSW III, 71-7.

22. One report says that fifteen whalers had been captured up to 1799, HRNSW III, 741.
23. Enderbys and Champions/Lord Liverpool, 1/8/00, HRA III, 1-2. See also Hunter/Portland, 4/7/99, HRA II, 369; Quedsted/Enderby, 25/9/00, A 322; King/Portland, 28/9/00, HRA II, 612.
24. Cf. King/Enderby, 20/7/94, C 188, p.82. King's daughter, Maria, visited the Enderbys while her father was Governor of N.S.W., HRNSW V, 477-78.
25. Melville's letter, loc.cit. Cf. King/Marquis of Rockingham, 24/10/91, HRNSW I, ii, 528.
26. Enderby/Chalmers, 14/11/97, A 322.
27. HRA II, 612.
28. In 1794 he was "indepted a small sum to the Enderby's". C 188, p.89. See further below.
29. HRA III, 1-3.
30. C.O.201/27 and below.
31. HRA II, 613.
32. p.243, C 189. The ship was the Britannia which must have left England by October 1800 (see Appendix II).
33. HRA III, 3. There is no evidence that the Company raised any objection.
34. Virtually all the works listed in the Bibliography fail to make the distinction clear. Even Churchward, who himself points out the confusion, does not completely avoid it.
35. For third-fleet whalers see above; for Raven at Dusky Sound, McNab, Murihiku, ch.VIII.
36. HRNSW III, 325-26.

37. Information from C 193. See Bowden, op.cit., ch.XV.
38. From the survivors of the wreck of the Sydney Cove, sent on speculation (his first in the colony) by Robert Campbell. The narrative of the Sydney Cove is published HRNSW III, Appendix A.
39. Thompson/Schanck, 8/9/99, ibid., 717.
40. HRA II, 571.
41. HRA I, 278-79.
The owners are cited in the official returns as "Boston & Coy.". The evidence for linking Palmer with Boston is conclusive; and for supposing that the Marcia is the vessel referred to by Hunter, HRA II, 399, virtually so (see chapter VIII). For Boston's earlier history see HRA I, 464, 466; HRA II, 30. Palmer considered him "remarkably intelligent". Cf. Palmer/Rutt, 12/3/94, Monthly Repository, XII, 1817 (B.T.38).
42. Cf. HRA II, 399, and ch.VIII.
43. HRA II, 439. See also ch.I.
44. These men will be further discussed below, especially in ch.X.
45. S.C. Papers, Bundle 21, 7/00. It is probable that King is referring to this incident at HRNSW IV, 354-55.
46. See Appendices I, II, and III for these facts.
47. e.g., 22/7/04, 5/1/06. The latter refers to set-backs recently suffered by other than colonial sealers, and comments "These disappointments, however illiberal and even unfeeling to exult in, must nevertheless eventually secure to us a right which propinquity would seem to give us, and of which in the infant state of our commerce, it would be almost as unfeeling to deprive us."

48. Apart from the Governor, Surgeon J. Thompson (HRNSW V, 387), and Lt. Grant (HRA III, 168) spoke of the industry with favour.
49. Peron's Report to Decaen, loc.cit. Flinders, op.cit., II, 280; Tuckey, op.cit., p.5-6.
50. King/Hobart, 20/12/04, HRA V, 202.
51. For high wages generally see chapters II and X; HRA V, 571, says that 216 men were employed and comments on the competition for labour. Advertisements for labourers for the industry are common in the S.G., e.g., 30/9/04; 16/12/04. See also King/Hobart, 1/11/05, HRA V, 717; and his attempts to prevent Americans securing colonial labour (below).
52. All the vessels listed in Appendix III (b) were colonial built; the quotation is from King/Hobart, HRA V, 203. Kable and Underwood had already advertised for shipwright apprentices, e.g., S.G. 4/11/04. Ship-building is frequently referred to in the Gazette, e.g., 1/4/04, 29/4/04, 27/5/04, 25/11/04. The same people who were active in the sealing industry were the leading ship-builders. Of course, not all the ships built in the colony were used for sealing (see ch.IV).
53. S.G. 24/2/05.
54. A 2019, p.132; HRA Series III, I, 369.
55. Cf. the list of Bills belonging to Captain Foster of the American Policy MS Books vol.35 S.C.P. The total amount is some £50,000 and a considerable part of this must have circulated within the colony.
56. Rhodes' statement S.G. 16/12/04; Dunbabin, op.cit.; HRA Series III, I, 276 seq., 305, 310, 316, 362, 539. In Bay-whaling the killing parties operated from a shore base.
57. Cf. HRA Series III, I, 404.
58. p.329. A 83.

59. This group, 430 miles south-east of the extremity of New Zealand, is sometimes called the Penantipodes. Fanning, op.cit., p.319, says they were "re-discovered" by the Union in 1804.
60. Loc.cit.
61. Murihiku, chs.XI-XIV. The failure of the Bass Strait Islands will be discussed below.
62. This theme is stressed by nearly all the works listed in the bibliography, and is therefore only briefly reviewed here.
63. G.O. 5/9/05, HRA V, 572 seq.
64. Described best by Greenwood, op.cit., p.87 seq.
65. Bundle 13, 15/3/06, S.C.P. See also ibid. Bundle 10, 18/7/06.
66. See note 63 above. One of the incidents there referred to is described in S.C. Papers, Bundle 23, 30/7/05. The men lived on fish and "Kanguaroos" until "being at length reduced to the utmost distress determined to make for this Settlement [Hobart] in an open Boat ...".
67. Ibid., 15/3/06. This use of the Strait's Islands became much more prevalent in later years, S.C. Papers, Bundle 22, 29/5/26.
68. Cf. HRA V, 323, 659.
69. See note 63 above.
70. Oliphant, Edwards, and Voce, MS Book 2, 13/9/05, Book 3, 2/6/06, 5/6/06, S.C.P.
71. For the state of the market and the history of the public store, see chapter I. For sale of whalers' investments at 50-80% above cost, compared with Royal Admiral and Earl Cornwallis cargoes at 20-30%, HRA III, 132-33, 163-64.

72. HRA IV, 488-89. See ch.XI for discussion of King's personal interest in the Britannia cargo.
73. See Appendix I for cargoes, etc.
74. HRA III, 67.
75. Ibid., 514 seq.
76. Ibid., 635.
77. See below.
78. HRNSW IV, 785.
79. HRA V, 321, 645-6.
80. Ibid., 631, 658 seq.
81. The Harrington incident is excellently described by Greenwood, op.cit., pp.99-104.
82. HRA V, 324.
83. HRA IV, 248.
84. HRA V, 331.
85. Cf. HRA III, 2.
86. HRA III, 636.
87. King said that he had granted monopoly rights to certain deserving parties (ibid., 642-3); a statement which conflicts with his report to the Colonial Office that no such preference had been granted (HRA V, 202).
88. HRA IV, 145.
89. HRA V, 7-8.
90. Ibid., 169, 322, 719.
91. B of T 6/88: Marginal note to relevant extract from King's despatch, and note on letter Shee/Fawkner, 14/8/06, asking whether a decision had been made.

92. HRA V, 119; G.O. 11/8/04, ibid., 92-3.
93. The opinion that King took sides is affirmed by Greenwood, loc.cit. Delano, op.cit., p.463, charges King with bias. For Pilgrim's movements see shipping lists.
94. Proclamation 26/5/04, HRA V, 83-4. Cf. King/Collins, 14/8/04, ibid., 23.
95. G.O. 11/8/04, ibid., 92-3.
96. Ibid., 324.
97. See ch.IV.
98. HRA II, 399; IV, 491.
99. Cf. idem; HRA V, 771, 846 (note 234).
100. Ibid., 202.
101. HRA Series III, I, 369. For strained relations between King and Lord see chapters I and X.
102. HRA IV, 145, 249. The earliest extant record expressing this fear is a letter from J. Thompson, 8/12/02, HRNSW V, 8. See below for the eventual result.
103. HRA III, 432, 635; HRNSW V, 387-8.
104. Cf. Petition of Thomas Chapman, 21/5/98, A5. Notes on "The Case of Thomas Chapman ..." p.233, A 78-3. "The Case" was published in several editions (cf. J.A. Ferguson, op.cit.). Chapman claimed that he had developed the method of making pseudo-beaver hats from seal-skins; others had profited from it, but himself not at all.
105. HRA IV, 259-61.
106. HRA V, 7-9, 203.
107. Ibid., 106, 119. The cargo on the Albion is stated to have belonged to Campbell; and it is therefore probable that the Alexander load belonged to Lord (acting on behalf of himself, Kable and Underwood).

108. Ibid., 60 seq., 230 seq. Campbell apparently believed that his status was that of a non-British subject, and therefore that he would be exempted from the Charter's provisions.
109. Ibid., 243, 244, 245.
110. p.243, A 78-3.
111. HRA V, 504-5, 545.
112. Ibid., 569.
113. HRA II, 499.
114. HRA III, 799.
115. HRNSW IV, 518-19. The Transport Commissioners rather sharply rejected the proposal (ibid., p.523) as if there were something revolutionary about it, but as we have seen the practice was initiated in the 1790s.
116. Cf. Enderby/Chalmers, 29/5/01, A 322.
117. Ward, op.cit., p.20, HRNSW IV, 630; letter quoted in preceding note.
118. Between 51°E and 115°, the limit was 8°S; thence to 180°E, 1°N. Henceforth no licences were required for ships sailing via South Africa.
119. Ward and Greenwood both give the impression that there was a struggle between the two interests. For the 1811 friction, and the gradual extinction of the monopoly see Ward, op.cit., p.20 seq.
120. C.O. 201/27 f. 53 seq.
121. HRA IV, 39.
122. Cf. C.O. 202/6 f. 174, where there is a note that the whole question was totally misunderstood "in Lord Hobart's time".
- 123.. C.O. 201/28.
124. C.O. 201/28. Prinseps/Sullivan, 2/11/03.

125. Cooke/Cotterell (who had succeeded Chalmers at the Trade Committee), 7/11/03, C.O. 324/112.
126. Relevant documents appended to Prinseps' application, loc.cit. Also B.T. 58 (minutes of E.I. Coy Directors, 7/3/04, 16/3/04).
127. Hurry/Sullivan, 2/5/04, B.T. II, 37; Cotterell/Directors of E.I. Coy, 33/3/04, B.T. 58.
128. B of T 6/88; memo n.d., not signed (1807?).
129. The original Act was 35 Geo. III, cap.92. The Act also permitted Foreigners to import oil on the same duties as British subjects. Although the Enderbys had originally supported this move (A 322 passim), they now protested against this, also. However, it was not until the Act of 1809 (see below) that preferential duties were imposed. B.T. II, 48, minutes of Trade Committee, 18/5/05, 24/6/05.
130. Cobbett's Parliamentary Debates, vol.V, col.771 seq., Mr Rose, and Sir Charles Price.
131. B of T 6/88, 18/7/05.
132. Minutes of Trade Committee, 18/7/05, B.T. II, 48. There are copious extracts and notes on the proceeds at p.226, A 78-3.
133. Wilson/Banks, 27/6/06, HRNSW VI, 100 seq.
134. p.242, A 78-3. Banks was infuriated by the incident, and used his influence to secure permission to sell the cargo for export.
135. The proposal was submitted to the Trade Committee 15/3/05, and then submitted to the Company Directors (B of T 6/88) whose reply is at HRNSW V, 644, dated 6/6/05.
136. See note 134 and NRNSW VI, 86 seq.

137. Enderbys' and Mathers' protests, dated 6/1/06 and 22/5/06, and Ramsey/Fawkner, 21/7/06 agreeing (on behalf of the Company) to the Trade Committee's request that the Sydney be admitted (30/6/06, HRNSW VI, 102). B of T 6/88. For evidence of Banks' part in securing the licence A 78-3, p.266, letter from Wm. Wilson.
138. Trade Committee/E.I. Coy, 30/6/06, HRNSW VI, 104.
139. The Bill is published HRNSW VI,241. The unsigned memo at B of T 6/88 is partly concerned with this proposal.
140. See the comments by Elphinstone and Parry, HRNSW VI, 240-41. The reason for their looking at the Bill with some favour is that it appeared to the Company that if a regular trade were established, transports could be refused permission to load home cargoes from India or China. Acting on this logic, the Company was most reluctant to grant a licence to the Lady Sinclair. (C.O. 201.45 f. 168 seq.)
141. Enderby/?, 2/6/07, B of T 6/88. The letter is clearly an answer to a letter which raises the possibility of a re-introduction of the Bill.
142. Details of these shipments are given in the text below.
143. 49 Geo. III, cap.98 37 and 38. The duty on blubber was £14 as against 3/6d. per ton, train (black whale) oil £21 to 5/3d., Spermacetti oil £22.1.0 to 5/3d. In addition there was a temporary war duty of 33½%. Wentworth, op.cit., p.292, states as a certain fact that the British interests were behind this Act.
144. Evidence of Robert Campbell, 1812 Committee; Evidence of Alexander Riley, 1819 Committee; Charles Hooke/Bigge, C.O. 201/129; Bigge's Report, Agriculture and Trade, p.57.
145. Enderby/Banks, A 78-3, p.329.

146. Enderby/Chalmers, 30/4/05, and 19/3/09, A 322.
Enderby/?, 2/6/07, B of T 6/88.
147. HRA V, 696; S.G. 20/3/06.
148. Cf. Memorial of Robert Campbell, March 1812,
Sutro Banks papers.
149. p.55, C.S. 3.
150. Appendix III.
151. HRNSW V, 644-45.
152. Apart from Thompson's letter already quoted,
comments on the gradual extinction of seals in
Bass Strait are found in S.G. 29/5/03, and Af
48 Doc.2. As said above, the focus of activity
later transferred to New Zealand.
153. Bigge, Agriculture and Trade, III 56.
154. Especially by Shepherd, Greenwood, and Im Thurn,
op.cit.
155. King/Banks, 14/8/04, HRNSW V, 449.
156. Shipping lists, HRA V, 120. Entered 28/5/04.
157. Im Thurn, op.cit., xlvii seq.
158. Aitken's movements. HRA V, 719 seq.
159. Movements of Union, HRA V, 167 and note 50;
Fanning, op.cit., p.319 seq.
160. HRA V, 8.
161. HRA V, 119, 203 seq.
162. Cf. King/Banks, 20/5/05, HRNSW V, 627, "strange to
say every means is taking to throw that object
into the hands of the Americans".
163. See above.

164. HRA V, 719 seq. Greenwood, op.cit., p.135, gives an adequate secondary account.
165. p.69. CS 3, King/MacArthur, 14/6/06. See further ch.V.
166. Ibid., p.37 seq.
167. Bundle 29, documents dated 9/9/09 and 26/9/09, S.C.P.
168. Bundle 10, document dated 16/4/07, S.C.P. Shipping lists HRA VI, 193.
169. I have been unable to solve all the intricacies of the Company's rights.
170. S.G. 6/8/09.
171. Shipping lists HRA VI, 618.
172. Ibid., 152, 681 seq.
173. Evidence of Charles Hooke, loc.cit.
174. See above and especially HRNSW V, 644.

WHALING.

COOK ISLANDS.

98. Royle, Aitutaki, 9.5.43.

Large numbers of traders at Aitutaki; 35 whalers in port during last 12 months, and some captains unprincipled.

101. Pitman, Raro., 3.7.43.

Dysentery now bad among people: it was brought from Aitutaki on whaling ship.

Pop. still on decrease.

234. Krause, Raro., 25.1.61.

Usually have 40 to 60 whaling ships a year for trading purposes, but in 1860 there were but 3 to Avarua and 7 on whole island. Whaling has fallen off, half of the fleets being recalled to New Bedford. This source of income will dwindle to nothing, and to offset this Krause has advised planting of coffee.(which was a complete failure!)

243. Krause, 30.10.62.

Only one whaler so far in 1862.

19 people from Tongareva had been taken to an uninhabited island to collect shell and slugs and salvage from a wrecked whaler; they were left there for 7 months, and returned to Rarotonga, not Penrhyn.

Lance, William. "Address to the owners of ships engaged in South Sea [whale] fishery, and to capitalists generally, on the decline of the fishery ~~industry~~ trade, recommending the formation of a Company." By a member of Lloyds. London, pr. by G. M'Kewan, 1844. 16pp.

Boston Public Library. No.3 in 5904.28.

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P.1. "... the monetary distresses in the Australian Colonies has caused the almost total annihilation of the Whaling Trade in that quarter of the globe; which at one time was carried on with a success, that bid fair to supersede the London fishery, but from the want of greater command of capital than possessed, it has been found impossible to retain. Thus, in the year ~~1835~~ 1835, Sydney alone had 45 ships engaged, and by the latest dates received, March 1844, only 20, many of which must be withdrawn upon their arrival. ~~///~~

P.2. South Sea fishery first carried out from London about 1775; encouraged by bounties to 1821. In 1823, oil was first imported from the Australian Colonies. In 1836, upon the introduction of the imperial measure, the total imports of Sperm Oil exceeded 6,000 ~~tuns~~ Tuns.

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It is essential to copy the whole pamphlet (16pp), which gives a list of ships by name engaged in the industry from 1825-1840, together with statistics on prices, costs, losses, amount of oil obtained per ship and other valuable economic information.

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Seward, p.3. At close of French Revolutionary wars of 1789 British had 146 vessels in Northern and 56 in Southern Whale Fishery. Americans now re-entered the field. British became discouraged, and withdrew their bounties; and in

1842 had only 18 vessels in Northern and in 1845 not one British whaler appeared in the South Seas.

<u>1847</u>	800 vessels - United States.
40	" - France.
20	" - Bremen & other North European ports.
20	" - New Holland & other British Polynesian Colonies.

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WHALINGBANKS PAPERS - MITCHELL LIBRARY

- (1) The case of Thomas Chapman of Crosby Row, Long Lane, Southwark, 180-?, re process discovered by him for profitably utilizing the seal skins from the SWF. 4 pp. Banks Papers - Brabourne Coll., vol.4, pp.233-6; also vol.4, pp.242-4. A 78⁻³
- (2) Remarks on legal meaning of words Fishery, Territory, Settlement, Plantation, Colony, Possession. Ditto, vol.4, p.267.
- (3) Notes on whale and seal fisheries in South Seas, 1805. Ditto, vol.4, pp.226, 228, 230, 233-36.
- (4) 5.1.1790. To Lord Hawkesbury (draft) re origin of ambergris. (Banks, Sir J. - Correspondence, 1778-1819, pp.37-40). Indexed under Earl of Liverpool. C 181
- (5) 29.3.1803. To B.G.E. Lacepede. Directs attention to diagram and remarks on spermaceti whale in Colnett's Voyage to the South Atlantic. 2 pp. (Sir J. Banks - autograph letters, pp.1-2). A 300
- (6) 3.12.1791. From Gov. Phillip: information re whaling. Banks Papers, vol.18, pp.33-44.
- (7) 21.7.09. From S. Enderby re discoveries by whalers in Antarctic, 1806-08. Ditto, vol.20, pp.329-33.
- (8) 1805 & 1806. Whale and seal fisheries and Sir Joseph Banks' remarks. (no reference).
- (9) 3.10.1804. W. Paterson introducing Robert Campbell, mentions whale-oil and seal skins sent to England by the Lady Barlow and the Albion. (no reference).
- (10) 1805-6. Sir J. Banks' remarks on whale and seal fisheries (no reference).
- (11) 1805-6. Statement of the SWF for 1803-1805 (no reference).

Notes (1): see also under Southern Whale Fishery, Whaling, Sealing, Whales, Colnett, Capt.

(2): all marked (no reference) are in vols.3-4.

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See List of Banks Papers in File No 21.

- (1) Bligh to Banks, Cape of Good Hope, 7.11.1791. Banks Papers, vol.5, p.160.

"I send this by a whaler - Paul, Master - His going on the Fishery makes his arrival in England very uncertain. He is now going to sea."

- (2) Bligh to Banks, Cape of Good Hope, 24.11.1791. Banks Papers, vol.5, p.163.

"Captain Blanket (Blasket?) sailed from hence the first of October - No English ships have been here since, except the Whale Fishers."

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