

GENESIS OF THE AUSTRALIAN WHALING INDUSTRY

Its Development Up To 1850

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The title of this paper has been adopted advisedly. It would be impossible to deal with the subject in a lengthy paper other than in the form of notes; something in the nature of a skeletal structure upon which someone may see fit some day to place a further covering of well chosen words to give the definitive story of the Australian Whaling Industry during the period under review.

The Industrial Revolution in England resulted in an immense increase in the demand for oil, both for lubrication and illumination. Mineral oils were not yet used, whilst vegetable oils could not at that stage be refined sufficiently to meet the demands for an improved lubricant that the advances in machine technology brought in their wake.

The whale, it was found, could provide an oil which met both needs, i.e. for an illuminant and a lubricant. To be more specific, as there are at least nineteen species of whale, there are only two of the species that were then regarded as of real commercial value.

These are the—

(1) *Physeter catadon* or sperm whale. The distribution of this whale is generally sub-tropical in all oceans but it migrates into temperate waters in summer, when old males wander into the polar seas. Size—up to 60 feet.

(2) *Eubalaena glacialis*, or black right whale. The southern black right whale occurs in the temperate southern hemisphere and is known from Southern Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Chile, Argentina and South Georgia. It was formerly common off the Tasmanian coast and Southern Australia generally, but became very rare by the early twentieth century. Size—up to 60 feet.⁽¹⁾

Those who have read the narratives of the voyages of the 18th and 19th century navigators, and the works of the 19th century sea novelists, will probably recall the references to “right fish” and “right whales.” In 1867, an Admiral Smith published a “Sailors Word Book.” In this he defines a “Right Whale.” “It is the name applied to the whale with a very large head and no dorsal fin (*Enbalaena glacialis*), which



THE "FINAL FLURRY"

The death of a Right Whale off Twofold Bay, N.S.W., in the forties.

From the painting by O. W. Brierly in the National Art Gallery, Sydney.

yields the whalebone and train oil of commerce in opposition to finbacks or Rorquals, which are scarcely worth catching. There are several species found both in the Arctic and Southern Seas, but never in the Tropics.”⁽²⁾

USES OF WHALEBONE

Whalebone was an important side product of the industry. The whalebone whales have no teeth; in lieu they have horny plates attached to the upper jaw. The colour and width of these plates vary in the different species, being long, narrow and black in the right whale. The whalebone whales being plankton feeders, the whalebone plates act as strainers to permit of water being ejected before the plankton present are ingested.

The principal uses to which whalebone was put were in the manufacture of toilet articles and ornaments and not least important from the 18th and 19th century lady's viewpoint as the framework in what we now call foundation garments. When one reads of the iron contraptions within which the women of the seventeenth and earlier centuries constricted their forms, the light but strong whalebone must have come as a great relief.

During the 18th century, the American and European whalers fished extensively in North Atlantic waters and in course of time extended their activities to the South Atlantic where a considerable fishery was based on Brazil. Towards the end of the century the northern fishery was showing signs of exhaustion, and that in the South Atlantic was the scene of strong competition between the English, Americans and French.

WHALERS IN AUSTRALIAN WATERS

The need to extend the field of operations by opening up new fisheries was becoming pressing and it has been suggested, although no documentary evidence is known, that its potential value as a base for the whale fishery was one of the factors in the mind of the British Government in founding the penal settlement in New South Wales.⁽³⁾

Be that as it may, in 1788, the year of the arrival of the First Fleet at Botany Bay, the first British whaling ship, the *Emilia*, owned by Enderbys of London, entered the Pacific by way of Cape Horn and British whalers were soon active off the coasts of Chile and Peru.⁽⁴⁾

My own view is that even if there had been no discovery of the east coast of New Holland by Cook in 1770, American or British whalers would have made the discovery before the end of the 18th century. The (for those times) magnificently built and equipped whaling ships of the latter part of the

century strayed, in search of the whale, into the most remote corners of the world and made many discoveries ahead of the otherwise normal course of exploration.

FIRST RECORD IN 1790

The first recorded reference to a whale in Australian waters that I have been able to find occurs in a letter written by Phillip on 24 July 1790 to Evan Nepean, Under Secretary of State in the Home Department. Phillip says

“I am this moment informed of the following accident; a boat which had been down the harbour fishing was, on its return, pursued by a whale, who overset the boat, by which accident a mid-shipman, Mr. John (James) Ferguson and two marines were drowned.”⁽⁵⁾

David Collins writes—

“About the latter end of this month (July 1790) a spermaceti whale was seen in the harbour, and some boats from the transports went after it with harpoons; but, from the ignorance of the people in the use of them, the fish escaped unhurt . . .”⁽⁶⁾

On 7 September 1790 occurred the incident of the spearing of Phillip by natives at Manly Cove. The reason for the congregation of natives in large numbers was a dead whale which had been cast up on the shore of the Cove and which was providing a feast for the indigines.⁽⁷⁾ Tench considers the whale responsible for the boating tragedy was the same as the one which lay dead on the shores of Manly Cove.⁽⁸⁾

FIVE WHALERS IN THIRD FLEET

In 1791, between 9 July and 16 October, the Third Fleet consisting of *H.M.S. Gorgon* (Captain John Parker) and ten transports arrived in Port Jackson. The ten transports included five whaling ships, bound eventually for the Peru and Chile grounds. Between South Cape (Tasmania) and Port Jackson large schools of whales were seen.⁽⁹⁾ The *Gorgon* itself passed through a shoal of 50 whales, King informed the Marquis of Buckingham in his letter of 24 October 1791. He also states: “Most of the whalers destined for the West coast of America have altered their plans and are now going to fish on this coast.” He mentions also that more whales had been seen between South Cape and Port Jackson than had been seen in six years on the Brazil Coast. He thinks that a whale fishery on the New South Wales coast will succeed.⁽¹⁰⁾

On 5 November 1791 Phillip wrote to Lord Grenville and advised that from reports made by masters of the different ships in the Third Fleet he had reason to hope that a whale fishery may be established on this coast and “several

of those ships intended for the north-west part of America are gone to the southward in search of fish. The master of the *Britannia* has declared that he saw more spermaceti whales between the South Cape and this harbour than he saw in six years on the Brazil coast.”⁽¹¹⁾

Writing in similar vein to Secretary Stephens on 16 November 1791 Phillip also refers to Lieutenant Bowen’s discovery of a good harbour in latitude 35° 06’.⁽¹²⁾ Tench, in referring to this discovery, differs slightly from the Governor as regards the latitude. He says:

“The *Atlantic* under the direction of Lieutenant Bowen, a naval agent, ran into a harbour between Van Diemen’s Land and Port Jackson, in latitude 35° 12’ south; longitude 151° east; to which in honour of Sir John Jervis, Knight of the Bath, Mr. Bowen gave the name of Port Jervis.”

Tench also refers to a second discovery made by Captain Weatherhead, of the *Matilda* transport, “in 42° 15’ south by observation and in 148½ east by reckoning.”⁽¹³⁾ The former is, of course, Jervis Bay, whilst it is said of the latter, called Matilda Bay by Tench, that it seems to correspond closely with Thouin or Wine Glass Bay, on Freycinet Peninsula, which had been taken for an island by Tasman and Furneaux.⁽¹⁴⁾

PIONEER WHALING SHIPS

It is appropriate at this stage to list the pioneer ships of the Australian Whaling Industry in order of their arrival at Port Jackson with their cargoes of convicts and stores:

Date of arrival 9 July 1791; ship, *Mary Ann*; master, Mark Monro; *deaths on voyage, 3/151.

Date of arrival, 1 August 1791; ship, *Matilda*; master, Weatherhead; *deaths on voyage, 26/253.

Date of arrival, 21 August 1791; ship, *Salamander*; master, Nichols; *deaths on voyage, 5/160.

Date of arrival, 28 August 1791; ship, *William and Ann*; master, Eben Bunker; *deaths on voyage, 7/187.

Date of arrival, 14 October 1791; ship, *Britannia*; master, Thomas Melville; *deaths on voyage, 21/129.

*The total of deaths in the ten transports for the voyage was 199.62 in the whalers and 137 in the other five ships.⁽¹⁵⁾

The above figures show how much better suited were the whaling ships for long voyages than the floating charnel houses that had made up the Second Fleet. In fairness to Captain Weatherhead and his ship, it should be stated that his convict cargo consisted of aged and infirm persons, and Collins says “It was therefore not to be wondered at that

they had buried 25 on the passage. One soldier also died. Twenty were brought in sick, and were immediately landed at the hospital."

Similar considerations apparently applied to *Britannia*.⁽¹⁶⁾ Of the other transports of the Third Fleet, namely *Queen*, *Atlantic*, *Active*, *Albemarle*, and *Admiral Barrington*, Tench has to say "The state of the convicts whom they brought out, though infinitely preferable to what the fleet of last year had landed, was not unexceptionable." However, he singles out *Salamander* and *William and Ann* only for honourable mention, so his strictures may conceivably apply to the other three whalers.⁽¹⁷⁾

I think Tench held Captain Monro in some disfavour for his failure to bring news or newspapers with him as first arrival of the Third Fleet.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, as the poor man was "but a few weeks from Greenland before he sailed for this country," it is not to be wondered at, that in the turmoil of refitting and reprovisioning after a whaling voyage for an immediate departure to the other end of the world he had obtained neither news nor newspapers to bring with him.⁽¹⁹⁾

On 18 November 1791 Phillip wrote to both Nepean and Stephens. He says:

"The *Britannia* has returned after having been out fifteen days. The master says he saw a great number of fish and had many in sight for nine days during which time the badness of the weather prevented his putting a boat into the water. The day after he left his harbour in company with the *William and Ann*, seven fish were killed by the two ships, but a gale of wind then coming on, only one fish was saved by each."⁽²⁰⁾

UNSUCCESSFUL VOYAGES

The final chapter of Tench's "*Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*" is entitled "*Facts relating to the Probability of establishing a Whale Fishery on the coast of New South Wales—With Thoughts on the same.*" Although not published until 1793, the *Complete Account* takes us up to the date of Tench's embarkation for England on 18 December 1791. He refers to all five whalers putting to sea before the end of October 1791. Captain Melville brought *Britannia* back to port on 10 November after being out for fourteen days. In that time he had seen more spermaceti whales, than in all his former life. Bad weather only had prevented him getting a full ship; as it was, although seven were killed in company (with *William and Ann*), one only could be secured in which both ships shared. (Phillip's report would lead one to believe that each ship secured a whale.) Melville approved highly of the quality of the oil and head matter of the fish secured. He had not gone further south than 37° and described latitude 35° to be the place where the

whales most abounded on the edge of soundings (or what we now call the continental shelf). On 11 November, Captain Monro brought *Mary Ann* in after being out for 16 days. He had been as far south as 41°, had met appalling weather and seen no whales. Captain Bunker kept *William and Ann* out until 22 November, but apart from the fish shared with *Britannia* had met with no further success. He had seen several immense shoals of whales, but could do nothing about them on account of the gales of wind. Despite this, however, he had come to the important conclusion that the whales were not “fish of passage” but on a frequented feeding ground. Melville agreed with this. *Mary Ann* returned again on 3 December. She had killed nine whales off Port Jervis, but the gale winds had permitted her to get part of five only on board—enough for an estimated 30 barrels of oil. Captain Monro said the whales were the least shy of any he had ever seen. Captain Weatherhead had taken *Matilda* northward and also returned on 3 December having seen no whales but a few fin-backs (Rorquals).

After another trip out all four ships returned on 16 and 17 December, having experienced continuous bad weather and having seen very few fish. They all said it was their intention to give the coast one more trial. If unsuccessful they would quit it and “steer to the northward in search of less tempestuous seas.”

Tench then offers his thoughts:

“The only remark which I have to offer to adventurers, on the above subject, is not to suffer discouragement, by concluding that bad weather only is to be found on the coast of New South Wales, where the whales have hitherto been seen. Tempests happen sometimes there, as in other seas—but let them feel assured, that there are in every month of the year many days, in which the whale fishery may be safely carried on. The evidence of the abundance in which spermaceti whales are sometimes seen, is incontrovertible: that which speaks to their being not fish of passage, is at least respectable, and hitherto uncontradicted. The prospect merits attention—may it stimulate to enterprize.”⁽²¹⁾

The *Salamander* was no more successful than the other four whalers. Captain Nichols took her to the northwards, where Collins tells us she “had remained long enough in Port Stephens (an harbour to the northward, until then not visited by anyone) to take an eye-sketch of the harbour and some of its branches or arms . . .”⁽²²⁾

Matilda and *Mary Ann* sailed for the coast of Peru a few days after the *Gorgon* had sailed for England. On 7 January 1792 *Salamander* and *Britannia* sailed, “the masters . . . signifying an intention of cruising for three months upon this coast” (David Collins).⁽²³⁾ There appears to be no record of the departure of Captain Bunker’s *William and Ann*.

PHILLIP'S COMMENTS

On 29 March 1792 Phillip wrote to Nepean and inter alia had this to say:

"The information given in my former letters respecting the prospect there was of establishing a spermaceti whale fishery on this coast was drawn from the accounts I received of the great number of fish which had been seen by two of the whalers. None of those ships remained out but for a very short time; but when the *Britannia* sailed, the master of that vessel told me he intended to remain three months on the coast, in order to give it a fair trial, that he had no doubt of seeing fish, but feared the currents. From some information which I have received since that ship sailed, I fear that the fur trade on the north-west coast of America and the trade amongst the islands is too great an object to those who are employed in the fishery ever to admit their giving this coast a fair trial, and apprehend that all the ships have left it. Should a fishery ever be established on this coast, and which I should suppose likely to answer as well as the one which has been established many years in the Brazil (at Sta Catharina and Rio de Janeiro), I think it would be found to answer best if carried on in small vessels, as it is from Rio de Janeiro; and with respect to the currents, I believe they are neither more frequent nor stronger than what they are on the Brazil coast."⁽²⁴⁾

Phillip reiterated these sentiments when writing to Home Secretary Dundas on 11 October 1792.⁽²⁵⁾

Mrs. John Macarthur made a telling point in a letter she wrote on 7 December 1791. After dealing with the prospects of the whale fishery, she points out that its success will mean more frequent communication with England.⁽²⁵⁾ Resident in New South Wales since June 1790, she was well aware by now of the tremendous sense of isolation from the rest of the world that the paucity of communications engendered.

LIMITATION TO WHALING

In spite of the poor results of the first essay to establish an Australian whale fishery, the whalers and the British Government kept the possibilities of the Australian seas in mind. However, the activities of the former were limited by the monopoly which the East India Company had over British trade and navigation in the Indian and Pacific oceans. By 1795, this had been relaxed sufficiently to allow British whalers entering the Pacific via Cape Horn to go as far west as longitude 180° under licence from the Company, and in that year legislation was passed by the British Parliament giving ships in the southern whale fishery the right to sail east of the Cape of Good Hope to longitude 51° E. and as far north as the equator, also under licence.⁽²⁷⁾

On 26 December 1797 the Board of Trade resolved that a memorial received from "merchant-adventurers" in the southern fishery which sought an extension of whaling areas

into the area subject to the charter and rights of the East India Company be remitted to the Company.⁽²⁸⁾ As a result of these representations, an Act was passed opening the seas between longitudes 51° and 180° E. as far north as latitude 15° S.—again subject to licensing by the Company.⁽²⁹⁾

DIFFICULTY OF REFITTING

On 4 July 1799 Governor Hunter wrote to the Duke of Portland regarding an Australian whale fishery, and expressed the view that ships coming properly fitted and prepared for variable weather should succeed. He pointed out, however, the difficulty of refitting ships at Sydney—the small resources of the ships themselves had resulted in much loss of time owing to the small resources of the port.⁽³⁰⁾

John Thomson, writing to Captain Schanck on 8 September 1799, advocated the issue of letters of marque to whalers in view of the capture of a Spanish colonial vessel off the west coast of America which had been sent to Sydney, and there condemned as a lawful prize. He also mentions that “two ships which have remained on the coast have succeeded pretty well and one belonging to Enderbys is expected to sail next month full of oil.”⁽³¹⁾

Despite the fact that all Australasian waters were not yet opened for whale fishing *Saunders' News Letter* of 13 November 1799 published the following:

“The coast of N.S.W. abounds in spermaceti whale and the following vessels from London had early in this year arrived at Port Jackson to be employed in this fishery, viz., the *Sally*, *Bligh*, *Cornwall*, *Swain*, *Pomona*, *Clark*, *Diana*, *Lock* and *Britannia*.

“The fishery was attempted soon after the establishment of the colony at Botany Bay, but it was undertaken during the summer months, when the south-west winds blow constantly on land, and generally with such violence and accompanied by so heavy a sea as to render it impractical to take a fish on board. The present adventurers sailed at a season when the prevailing winds are from the westward and the most sanguine expectations are entertained of their success.

“Immense numbers of seals have likewise been discovered on the coast to the southward of Port Jackson. The *Nautilus* and another vessel are employed in this fishery.

“The establishment of these industries is particularly opportune and fortunate, the whale fisheries on the coast of South America having suffered severely from the Spanish cruisers, fifteen sail employed in this trade having been captured by the enemy.”⁽³²⁾

FLINDERS' COMMENTS

Because of its importance in the future it would not be inappropriate at this stage to report a remark of Flinders on Twofold Bay “so named by Mr. Bass from its form.” Flinders says:

"This bay will probably be of service to whalers; who, when fishing off the coast, might be glad to get shelter from a gale of wind, in a place whence it would take them so little time to work out; and it is not unlikely, but that they might find some right fish here; we saw the remains of one that had been thrown on shore upon the rocky spit." (33)

Obviously the sea officers from the Governor down were conscientiously noting any information that might assist in the establishment of an Australian whale fishery.

SUCCESSFUL VOYAGES

Although not mentioned in *Saunders' News Letter*, quoted above, it seems that Captain Eben (he is also referred to as Eber and Ebor) Bunker arrived at Sydney very early in 1799 with the 362-ton whaler *Albion* owned by Champions of London, and went whaling out of Port Jackson with marked success. The other whalers appear to have met with some success also. (34)

On 1 August 1800 Messrs. Enderby and Messrs. Champion wrote to Lord Liverpool in the following vein:

"After many years of fruitless and expensive attempts, we have at length succeeded in ascertaining that there is a valuable spermaceti whale fishery on the coast of New South Wales, two vessels having returned from the coast, one with a cargo of 170 tons and the other with 120 tons of spermaceti oil, which results are sufficient inducement for adventurers to send their vessels direct to that coast for the purpose of whale fishing.

"The constant and frequent communication which will now take place through the whaling ships will enable Government almost to anticipate every want of the colony and at a much cheaper rate than heretofore." (35)

They also asked for authority to send out in these ships goods for the masters to sell in Sydney so that they might buy supplies there. After King assumed the reins of office on 29 September 1800 he supported the proposal, and some concessions seem to have been granted with certain provisos as to prices. (36)

It is noteworthy that King actually made the passage from England to New South Wales in the whaler *Speedy*, the service vessel in which he was to have made the voyage, after many delays, being declared unfit for the purpose. (37)

A further Act of the British Parliament was passed after representations had been made to the Board of Trade by the Enderbys and Champions in 1801, which allowed vessels to go as far north as latitude 1° N. between longitudes 123° and 180° E.; on the ships' return home their logs were to be delivered to the East India Company. Thus all Australasian waters were opened for fishing. (38) However, it must not be overlooked that colonial vessels and trade remained subject to the Company's charter.

On 31 December 1801 King wrote in his report of "*The State of Colony in 1801*":

"Respecting the state of the whale fishery on the coast, it has certainly succeeded so far that three ships have gone home laden with spermaceti oil—viz., the *Eliza*, the *Britannia* and the *Albion*. Six are now on the coast or off the north end of New Zealand. When last heard of they had various successes—some had upwards of 600 barrels. Every ship that comes here (and indeed our colonial vessels always) see great quantities of whales; but the objection on the part of the masters of the whalers is the frequent gales of wind that happen on this coast. However, as it is certain that whales may be caught in great plenty here, this coast will generally be preferred to the coast of Peru in wartime and even in peaceable times."⁽³⁹⁾

On 9 May 1803 King writing to Sir Joseph Banks was able to report:

"The spermaceti and common oil fishery goes on very well. A ship of Enderby's and one of Champion's are now going full of the former description of oil."⁽⁴⁰⁾

After Baudin's explorations carried out on the South Coast of Australia and around the shores of Van Diemen's Land and the islands of Bass Strait King, apprehensive as to the intentions of the French, determined to establish a settlement at the Derwent estuary (named by Lieutenant John Hayes in 1793 when he brought the vessels *Duke of Clarence* and the *Duchess* there on a voyage of exploration from India).⁽⁴¹⁾

ALBION'S THREE SPERM WHALES

After some delays *H.M.S. Lady Nelson* (Lt. G. Courtoys) and the whaler *Albion* (Captain Bunker) sailed from Sydney on 31 August 1803 for the Derwent River. The *Lady Nelson* arrived there on 7 September and *Albion* five days later. Bunker had made it a term of *Albion's* charter that if the opportunities offered he might whale on the voyage. To this King agreed with the proviso that if boats were lowered to take whales, every convict was to be confined and handcuffed until the boats returned. Whales were sighted off the east coast of Tasmania and Bunker was able to kill and secure three sperm whales.⁽⁴²⁾ In a report to King written on 5 October 1803 Bunker said:

"I am happy to inform his Excellency that I have bin at Vandaman Land, and landed stock and stowers on acc't of Government. We had 12 days passige, with 3 days that we lay in Oyster Bay, with light airs from the Sd. We obtained 3 Sperm whales in sight of Oyster Bay."⁽⁴³⁾

The three days in Oyster Bay were spent in trying out (extracting the oil) the whales caught. Thus Van Diemen's Land entered the southern whale fishery. On 15 February 1804 Lieutenant Governor Collins arrived at the Derwent

from Port Phillip. In a despatch he sent to King on 24 February 1804 he gives some reasons for abandoning the settlement at Port Phillip, and inter alia says:

“I conceived the local situation of the River Derwent more adapted for commercial purposes. Its position at the southern extremity of Van Diemen’s Land gives it an advantage over every harbour yet discovered in the Straits, and I entertained a hope that when it is generally known that an establishment is formed, so directly presenting itself as a port of shelter to ships from Europe, America or India, either for whaling or other specifications, it will be greatly resorted to.”⁽⁴⁴⁾

WHALE INDUSTRY ESTABLISHED

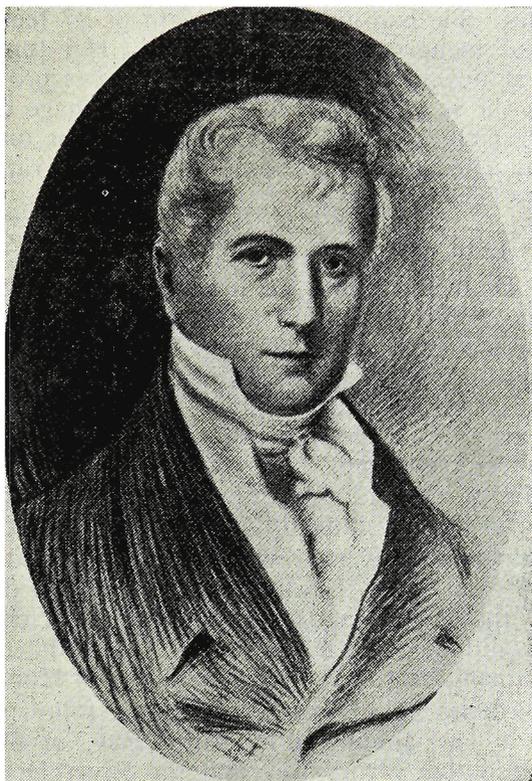
Assistant Surgeon Thomson, whilst on a visit to London, wrote on 28 June 1804 to Under Secretary Cooke about the whale fishery in the following terms:

“The seas along the coast of the colony abound with spermaceti whale, and it is to the industry and perseverance of my friends Messrs. Enderby of London, merchants, that the colony is obliged for ascertaining that a whale fishery was practicable on the coasts of New South Wales. These gentlemen fitted out two ships for the express purpose of giving it a fair trial, and commanded the vessels not to leave the coast for one year, even if they should not catch one fish. The experiment fully answered their expectations, since which time several other merchants have fitted out ships for that trade, and have reaped the benefit of their speculation. Last year, within the space of four months, five ships returned from that country loaded with spermaceti oil with an average cargo of 150 tons each, which at £90 sterling per ton (the market price at that time) makes their whole cargoes amount to £62,500 sterling. At present, there are on that coast and to the northward nine ships belonging to London, whose cargoes at the above rate will amount to £121,500, and they employ about 270 seamen. The benefits resulting from this trade both to the mother country and the colony are evident. About the time I left the colony, a few adventurous people belonging to the country were proposing to fit out and employ some small craft in the trade, erecting warehouses for their oil in the town of Sydney and sending it to England in freight as an opportunity of vessels returning home offered.”⁽⁴⁵⁾

WHALING AND SEAL ADVENTURERS

The adventurous people referred to by Thomson included the First Fleet emancipists Simeon Lord, Henry Kable and James Underwood, and the belligerent Scots merchant, Robert Campbell, who came to Sydney in 1798 to investigate trade prospects for his Calcutta merchant house and decided to stay. The last-named, it is claimed, broke the trading monopoly of the Rum Corps officers and fought the trade monopoly of the East India Company so strenuously that in the end Sir Joseph Banks intervened and persuaded the British Government to sweep away by Act of Parliament all restrictions on trade with the colony.⁽⁴⁶⁾

As well as whaling, the merchants referred to were deeply involved in the seal fishery. I have studiously avoided bringing in the seal trade, although it was closely allied to whaling and some of the whalers went after both whales and seals. It involved different methods and was not as long lived an industry as the whaling. All in all, it seemed to me to be more suitable to be dealt with in a separate paper. In the



SIMEON LORD

main the ships built by the merchants were employed in the seal trade and from the commencement of publication on 5 March 1803 the *Sydney Gazette* contains frequent references to the building of ships of small tonnage which were launched and fitted out for the Straits. The size of colonial ships was, of course, limited by Governmental order and in any event permission to build a vessel of any sort was required before its construction could be started.

However, these orders were very often honoured in the breach rather than the observance and both Governors Hunter and King ended up making the best of a bad job by requiring

some form of registration of colonial built vessels, whilst King in allowing vessels of upwards of 100 tons to be built required the owners to give substantial bonds (e.g. £2,000) not to send such a vessel outside the limits of the territory and its dependencies without permission.⁽⁴⁷⁾

However, in 1804, Underwood laid down the keel of the *King George*, the first three-masted vessel to be built in New South Wales. She had an overall length of 87 feet, a beam of 22 feet 7 inches and a 14 feet hold. Her tonnage was computed at upwards of 200 tons. This was probably her burthen as she is mentioned as having a tonnage of 180 or 185 tons, which is no doubt her displacement tonnage.⁽⁴⁸⁾ She was launched in 1805, and commenced operating in the black whale fishery.

DEVELOPMENT IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND

In Van Diemen's Land, an important development was taking place. William Collins, a former master in the Royal Navy, who accompanied Lieutenant Governor Collins from England, was appointed Harbourmaster when the settlement was formed at Hobart. However, he had come to the settlement primarily to engage in a fishing venture, and wished to commence "bay whaling." He drew up and forwarded to David Collins a memorandum in which he enlarged upon the prospects of a whaling industry with Hobart as its base.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The Lieutenant Governor was much impressed and forwarded the proposal to Lord Hobart within two days of its receipt. If the scheme had been adopted in its entirety the industry would have been carried on under the control of one great organisation with its headquarters at Hobart Town.

Briefly William Collins' remarks made the following points: The black whale abounded in Storm Bay, in Storm Bay Passage, Frederick Henry Bay and the River Derwent (he had seen 50 or 60 whales at a time from the settlement), but the sperm whale did not come there, preferring the open sea. The best time for hunting the sperm whale was from December to April, while the black whale was common in the Derwent and south Tasmanian coastal waters from July to December. Whaling ships would be able to engage in the sperm fishery, make for the Derwent and unload their cargoes of oil with time still left to pursue the black whale.⁽⁵⁰⁾

ABUNDANCE OF BLACK WHALES

The Rev. Robert Knopwood corroborates William Collins as to the abundance of black whales. On 28 June 1804 he says: "This eve, we heard a great many whales in the river very near us." On 1 July he wrote:

“At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, Lieutenant Johnson and self went to Risdon, by order of Lieutenant-Governor Collins and performed Divine service there. We passed so many whales that it was dangerous for the boat to go up the river, unless you kept very near the shore.”⁽⁵¹⁾

On 31 July 1804 Knopwood reported: “The English whaler *Alexander*, Captain Rhodes, is at anchor in Adventure Bay.” On 10 August he noted that: “She came up and anchored on the east side of the river.” On Sunday, 12 August, “Captain Rhodes caught two fine whales opposite the camp.” He secured another fine whale on 15 August and again sailed for Adventure Bay on 7 September to continue whaling.⁽⁵²⁾

Whilst Governor King earnestly desired to encourage the whaling and sealing industries, he realised they must be subject to controls (especially whilst New South Wales and its dependencies remained penal settlements) and in 1805 he made an attempt to put both industries on a better footing.

REGULATIONS FOR CONTROL

A bond was drawn up and the owners of all whaling or sealing vessels were compelled to sign it. They bound themselves to observe the following regulations:

- (1) Not to sign on any persons forbidden to leave the settlement.
- (2) To obtain a regular clearance from the Naval Officer before leaving port on a whaling or sealing expedition.
- (3) Not to encroach upon the territory of the East India Company, which claimed under its Charter to have exclusive rights in trading practically all over the Pacific and Indian Oceans. This monopoly was not broken until 1813.
- (4) Not to entice seamen from their employers or entertain deserters. This was an evil which continued for many years in spite of the regulations. Whalers or sealers received as wages a lay or proportion of profits. Consequently, if a voyage gave signs of being unprofitable, or the master was regarded as unlucky, seamen did not scruple to desert.
- (5) To provide sufficient provisions for the gangs stationed on the islands or along the coasts. This applied more particularly to the seal trade.
- (6) Not to discharge any cargo before the vessel had been properly reported and entered. This was directed against the masters who tried to evade port dues.
- (7) Not to authorize foreign vessels to take British subjects from the gangs.
- (8) Not to buy or receive more than twenty gallons of spirits from any ship unless the Governor granted special permission.

The pecuniary penalty imposed on ship owners for any breach of the foregoing regulations was substantial.⁽⁵³⁾

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF WHALE PRODUCTS

An official return dated 19 August 1806 gives the following statistics regarding imports and exports of whale products from November 1800 to 19 August 1806:

	Imports		Exports	
	Sperm oil Tons	Black oil Tons	Sperm oil Tons	Black oil Tons
By Colonial Vessels	—	711½	—	520¼
By British Whalers	2,831½	420	2,756½	420 ⁽⁵⁴⁾

Obviously the colonists had not yet the ships and gear to enable them to join in the sperm whale fishery. William Collins resigned from his official post at Hobart and after some initial activity recorded by Knopwood on 27 September 1805⁽⁵⁵⁾ received permission to commence bay whaling in 1806. Taking whales from a land base and towing them in to be dealt with on shore is an ancient and widespread practice. The New England whalers had started with bay whaling on their own East Coast before they ventured on the oceans of the world and after it was commenced in Tasmania in 1806 it spread all along southern Australia from Twofold Bay to the Swan River.

William Collins brought men and gear from Sydney for the project. The Lieutenant Governor feared for the peace of the settlement if local convicts and ex-convicts from New South Wales were allowed to mingle.

WORKS AT HOBART TOWN

Accordingly no whaler was allowed to come up to Hobart Town without the written permission of William Collins, and none of the inhabitants were permitted to visit the whaling establishment or any craft connected with it. The establishment was at Tryworks Point in Ralphs Bay, but the sanguine expectations of the owner were probably not fulfilled. No buildings were erected and a dozen years later no vestige of the establishment remained.⁽⁵⁶⁾

From this time on the steady growth of the whaling industry accelerated. L. C. Murray and Captain Harry O'May give very detailed accounts of the progress of the industry and its growth in Van Diemen's Land. From 1 June 1816, when publication of the *Hobart Town Gazette* commenced, that paper became a mine of information on the day to day incidents of the whaling industry. Here is an example from the issue of 29 June 1816:

"A great number of whales have already made their appearance in Frederic Henry Bay; some few have been seen as high as Sullivan's Cove. Preparations are making by Mr. D. M'Carty, and coadjutors to begin the fishing—the different elements contribute to our prosperity, when Industry leads the way."

A good deal of information is also available in "*Blue Gum*

Clippers and Whale Ships of Tasmania" by Will Lawson and The Shiplovers' Society of Tasmania. The Crowther Collection held by the State Library of Tasmania probably is Australia's best reference collection on the sealing and whaling industries.

GREAT NAMES OF THE WHALING INDUSTRY

During the period under review the great names of the whaling industry constantly crop up—T. W. Birch, E. Lord, Denis M'Carty, James Kelly, William Wilson, W. A. Bethune, William Young and his partner McLachlan, Mawle and Maycock, Lucas and Walford to name a few of the owners, masters and/or shipbuilders engaged in the industry.

In evidence before Commissioner Bigge in 1820, regarding bay whaling, it was stated that most of the men employed were British seamen, but the native youths of Van Diemen's Land were finding it a profitable employment in the colonial vessels fitted out for the trade. Bigge advocated the encouragement of the native-born to enter the industry.

Commissioner Bigge also had put before him the question of the duties to which whale products were subject upon their arrival at Hobart whether for colonial consumption or re-shipment—Sperm oil per ton, £2/10/-; Black oil per ton, £2. Furthermore a heavy duty had to be paid on oil imported into England—Sperm oil, £24/18/9 per ton; Black oil, £8/8/- per ton.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The commerce of the island really did suffer from these imposts and the industry was handicapped by them. In 1817, Denis M'Carty paid £60 duty on black whale oil, while in the same year T. W. Birch's vessel *Sophia* paid £74/6/- in various fees to the Naval Officer, and in the following year she paid fees amounting to £162/3/-.⁽⁵⁸⁾

Later the Tasmanian duties were abolished and the English duty reduced to one shilling per tun.

At first, all whaling gear had to be imported, but good whale boats were built in the colony. The constant shortages of casks led to coopering soon becoming an important Hobart industry.

Although Governor Macquarie's Journals are very descriptive, he was essentially a landsman and naturally on neither of his journeys to Van Diemen's Land (1811-1812 and 1821) does he comment on the whaling industry there. However, we do learn something from the entry of 15 December 1811 when he says: "At 7 p.m. I received an express from the Derwent with letters for me from thence and from Sydney, the latter having been brought by the new colonial ship *Governor Macquarie* commanded by Capt. Bunker."⁽⁵⁹⁾ It

is our old friend Captain Eben (Eber or Ebor) Bunker having a temporary respite from whaling. However, Bunker returned to his trade and was whaling out of the Derwent in the *Alfred* as late as 1825 when he was some 63 years of age. L. S. Bethell states Bunker was born in London in 1762.

On 24 April 1821 Macquarie reports his arrival at Hobart:

"At noon the *Midas* had worked up into Sullivan Cove and anchored abreast of Hobart Town within half a mile of the shore a few minutes afterwards. We found 8 square rigged vessels lying in Sullivan Cove, vizt. ships *Eliza*, *Regalia*, *Caroline*, *Mary*, *Emerald*, *St. Michael*, and brigs *Campbell Macquarie* and *Prince Leopold*, Govt. Vessel."⁽⁶⁰⁾

Of these, *Regalia*, *Caroline* and *Emerald* were whalers, whilst in July 1831 *Prince Leopold* was sold out of the Government Service to James Kelly for £1,200 and brought into the whaling trade.⁽⁶¹⁾

GOOD YEARS FOR THE WHALERS

There were good years for the whalers in the 1820's and in 1826 the Derwent Whaling Club was founded by James Kelly, William Wilson, W. A. Bethune and C. R. Nairn to encourage colonial youths in the sighting and killing of whales.

In 1826 the following prices were realised in London for whale products:

Sperm oil	£44	0	0	per tun
Head matter	£57	0	0	per tun
Other whale oil	£24	10	0	per tun
Whale bone	£22	0	0	per tun ⁽⁶²⁾

These prices were not by any means high, and in assessing the profits of this industry it must be remembered that the season of the black whale was short, lasting from the middle of June to the end of September. This was shorter than the July to December season originally suggested by William Collins, but no doubt experience had shown that after the end of September whaling operations ceased to be profitable as the whales withdrew to their summer haunts. Yet by 1832 bay whaling stations were established at Recherche Bay, Swan Port, Bruny Island (in Adventure and Trumpeter Bays) and along the east coast generally. In 1833 there were nine regular firms at work. (See Appendix A for a contemporary account of a bay whaling establishment.) McLachlan and Young were the most successful with six boats and 60 men engaged; in this year 300 men were employed in all stations. In 1834 McLachlan and Young worked nine boats with 72 men. In 1836 there were nine separate firms in the south employing 392 men and one at

least at the Tamar with its headquarters at Georgetown. The zenith of the black whale industry was from 1836 to 1838, with a record in 1837 when the total value of the fisheries was £135,210 as against £57,660 in 1836. Prices for black oil in these years were well over £30 a tun and the prices of whalebone had also risen.⁽⁶³⁾

DECLINE IN BAY WHALING

The 1840 black whaling season showed a decline in returns. It was a forerunner of the disastrous season of 1841 when the Van Diemen's Land bay whalers opened the season with 35 stations employing 1,000 men, but the black whales as a result of constant harrying avoided the Derwent and other Tasmanian estuaries and bays. The decline in bay whaling and the financial crisis of the forties brought about the downfall financially of many whose prosperity was based on the bay whaling industry. Captain James Kelly of Hobart Town was one of these unfortunates.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Bay whaling never recovered and by 1850 had almost ceased in Australian waters.

Elsewhere bay whaling had been carried on by Thomas Raine at Twofold Bay between 1828 and 1832.⁽⁶⁵⁾ James Kelly endeavoured to operate there in 1841, but all Captain Hewitt could catch for him were six small humpback whales, inferior to the black whale for their oil.⁽⁶⁶⁾

Whalers from Tasmania were well ahead of official settlement in Victoria at Portland and Port Fairy from 1828 to 1829. Vernon Smith states Captains John Hart and Mills were the earliest whaling captains in Portland Bay. In 1832 the former took Mr. Sinclair's whaling party to Twofold Bay and in 1835 himself established a whaling station at Encounter Bay. When the Henty's settled at Portland in 1834 they combined bay whaling with sheep-farming. Major Mitchell on 29 August 1836 arrived at Portland and was surprised to find the Hentys already in occupation there and that they had been so for upwards of two years. On 30 August he saw the bay whalers in operation.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Sealers were certainly using Kangaroo Island at an early date and it is not inconceivable that whalers operated there as well. One of the objects of the South Australian Company was the establishment of a sperm and black whale fishery and the provision of shipping for that purpose.⁽⁶⁸⁾

WHALING IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

T. H. James, who claims he spent six months in South Australia from November 1837 to May 1838 (this is disputed by J. Stephens as to the length of James' visit) refers to discharged bay whalers causing some concern to the authorities

in Adelaide. He also refers to Sleaford Bay as a great resort of black whales, to Thistle Island as occupied by the South Australian Company as a bay whaling station and to the Rosetta fishery at Encounter Bay (where of three ships driven ashore, two were complete losses). Appendices to James' book refer to Captain Blenkinsop's fishery at Victor Harbour.⁽⁶⁹⁾ John Stephens' "*History of South Australia*" (2 Ed. pp. 164-166) gives an account of the industry in South Australia in 1839.

In June, 1947, K. T. Borrow prepared a very informative paper on Whaling at Encounter Bay. He indicates that the Encounter Bay fishery lasted longer than those of Tasmania but was virtually abandoned by the mid sixties of last century. The Public Library of South Australia has an extensive collection of manuscripts and printed references to the South Australian Whale Fisheries.

A despatch from the Governor of Western Australia to Lord Glenelg on 3 December 1837 reports:

"Dampier, Baudin and King, at different periods have reported the existence of astonishing numbers of whales in the adjacent seas; and our own experience since the establishment of the colony, and still more recently since whale fishing commenced in its bays, about 12 months ago, confirms the reports of the earlier navigators. This abundance of fish is probably connected with the existence of a bank, which adjoins the shore from the northern to the southern extremity of the colony.

"At present there are only four whaling establishments or associations; these are not as yet upon an efficient footing, but their success has been great enough to ensure their future improvement and extension."⁽⁷⁰⁾

In 1836 and 1837, Thomas Peel extracted oil and whalebone from whales stranded on the shores of his location. In 1836 and 1837 the Fremantle Whaling Company, the Perth (or Carnac) Whaling Company and the Western Australian Whaling Company were formed. The first named had its store and tryhouse at the foot of Arthur's Head, the high rocky promontory at the end of the south opening of the Swan River. It was responsible for the construction of the Whalers' Tunnel from the water front under Arthur's Head to give access to the main street of Fremantle.

The Perth Whaling Company, which disputed Peel's right to stranded whales, failed through mismanagement and inefficiency before the end of 1838.

AMERICAN WHALERS

Peel sought to enter into partnership with American whalers, they to catch the whales and he to provide the tryworks and store ashore at Safety Bay. Provisional approval was given by the Governor who, however, reserved the right

to intervene should injury to the Fremantle Whaling Company arise. However, Peel's American partner, Captain Adams of the *Pioneer*, fell out with the Harbour Master at Fremantle in November 1838 and the partnership came to an untimely end.⁽⁷¹⁾

As early as 1827 bay whalers were using King George's Sound (Frenchman's Bay). However, the Americans were the main participants.⁽⁷²⁾

It seems that many of the early Western Australian settlers on the coast would have subscribed to the following:

"In fact, owing to the lack of communication with the Swan River Settlement and the complete absence of ships of normal passage which bypassed Augusta, these American whalers were doubly welcomed as the sole link with the outside world, and the only if not too frequent opportunity of trade. They supplied the whalers with articles such as fresh meat, potatoes, vegetables, milk and butter and received other commodities in exchange, and so the advent of a whaler was a big event and looked forward to by these lonely settlers."⁽⁷³⁾

The commodities covered a wide range from thread to cotton material, from hats to boots. Albany, Bunbury and other centres also enjoyed the benefits of trade with the American whalers.⁽⁷⁴⁾

An 1840 estimate of American whalers working off the coast of Western Australia numbers some 300 vessels. There is perhaps some exaggeration in this.⁽⁷⁵⁾

PEAK OF DEEP-SEA WHALING

As the bay whaling industry faded away deep-sea whaling reached its peak. I have already referred to the deep-sea whaler *King George* launched in Sydney in 1805. By 1819 Sydney shipowners held a considerable share in the deep-sea whaling industry. The *Australian Encyclopedia* says:

"Sydney smelt of whaling in the 1820s and 1830s, though the Government tried to keep whalers' wharves in coves then remote, on the north side of the harbour."

Archibald Mosman built a store at the head of Mosman Bay. Alexander Berry had several whalers based at Berry's Bay. In 1833 whale oil and bone still formed more than half the exports of New South Wales. At Twofold Bay Benjamin Boyd, whose whaling enterprises were for a time managed by Oswald Brierly (the artist), tried to make Boyd Town a great whaling port.⁽⁷⁶⁾ In 1842 Boyd caused a flutter in Hobart, when after seeing the foreign whaleships there he placed this advertisement in the Hobart press:

"Twofold Bay, Boyd Town, New South Wales. Ships can refit and refresh at this Harbour free of port charges and pilotage. Wood, fresh water, fresh and salt provisions and vegetables, ships'

stores, slops and chandlery of every kind and description, if required. The services of experienced shipwrights and boatbuilders at reasonable terms.

“N.B.—Oil and bone taken in exchange.”

The Tasmanian Government hurriedly countered by exempting foreign whalers from Port and Lighthouse dues and permitted oil to be used to pay expenses of refitting, provided an ad valorem duty of 5 per cent was paid.⁽⁷⁷⁾

When Boyd's affairs collapsed in 1848 he had nine deep-sea whalers working from Twofold Bay.

In 1828 Hobart's first locally fitted out sperm whaler, Edward Lord's brig, *Caroline*, sailed on her maiden whaling voyage on 29 December under the command of Captain Smith. On her return after a successful voyage a problem arose: she was a colonial vessel but her cargo had been obtained outside Tasmanian waters—was it dutiable? The Customs Officer O'Ferrall and Governor Arthur very sensibly decided not to impose import duty.⁽⁷⁸⁾

SPERM WHALING IN TASMANIAN WATERS

Sperm whaling from Van Diemen's Land was first fostered by John Lord, Betts and Company and W. M. Orr. In the late 1830s and in the 1840s the Legislative Council took action to control the local whaling industry by Statute and then to encourage the use of Hobart as a port of call by exempting whalers from port dues. As previously mentioned Boyd sparked this off. This Colonial Act was at first disallowed, but was passed again in 1847 (*10 Vic. No. 1*) and certainly stimulated visits by foreign whalers. On Good Friday, 1847, there were 37 foreign whalers refitting in the port. In 1848 there were 37 whalers, valued at £148,000, registered and owned at Hobart Town, and manned by over 1,000 men.⁽⁷⁹⁾

By 1850 deep-sea whaling was at its peak with Hobart virtually the greatest whaling port in the British Empire. After that the gradual decline came.

It was a saga of great endeavour and it might not be inappropriate to conclude with a reminder as to how it all came about. K. M. Dallas has said:

“Whale oil was a strategic raw material of the time, to a certain extent comparable with petroleum in our day. For artificial light, for soap, for cosmetics, for wool and leather dressing, it was superior, but its great importance was its superiority as a lubricant over palm oil. It was estimated that it could raise the revolutions of spinning frames by 12½ per cent.”⁽⁸⁰⁾

Whale oil not only kept the wheels of overseas industry turning but it provided the Australian colonies with an export

commodity of importance during the birth pangs and early vicissitudes of our other great primary industries that have now supplanted it.

APPENDIX A

WHALING IN D'ENTRECASTEAUX CHANNEL

I went with a party (Beauvais, Walkinshaw, John Murdock) down the Entrecasteaux Channel to see the whaling establishment. Fifteen whaleboats went out at daybreak every morning. They were very successful that season, having taken some 2,000 tons of Southern oil, but although a week down there, I did not see a whale struck.

Such a sight going in, 200 whales in every state of decomposition and I saw them cutting-in, or cut-up blubber of the whale, which is done on board a vessel, as the whale is hove up by the windlass to effect it. Then it is landed where the tripots are fixed, under sheds, for boiling the blubber, called by the seamen "trying out." The boiling oil is cooled and put into casks and rolled up among the trees.

The people live in huts constructed to last the season, boat steerers and helmsman (headsman), together, the others are under their command—and live in separate huts.

The stench on the beach was terrible at first, but afterwards we got accustomed to it and took long rambles on shore. To the S.W. Cape and saw Pedro Blanco shoal, all a-break, also the Sidmouth Rock, also some fine scenery at the end of the neck. We stayed six days down in that beautiful place, Research Bay.

In the huts of the men I have often got a slice of a damper, bread baked in the wood ashes without yeast and very nice it is, I can assure you.

One day they were frying the blubber of a new-caught whale (that is to say melting the blubber into oil) and a man accosted me thus, "Are you, sir, above a foolish prejudice?" I assured him in the affirmative. "Well, sir, we have just got some fish and I can assure you they are beautiful soaked in the hot oil." And we forthwith began boiling some and a finer fish or better cooked I never tasted.

As for the oil it has no more taste than olive oil would have. I was amused by the men at dinnertime, throwing in doughboys, to be boiled in the Fry Pots. I tasted one, the oil does not penetrate more than the water. The Jones always fry their fish in oil and they understand it well. The difference between whale and olive oil is not perceived in boiling oil.

I was amused at the lookout places. A tree with nails stuck in one each side, to allow the people to mount easy to a good height to see a whale spout, when they sing out: "There she spouts!" Then all the people, who have been idling about near the spot, jump into their boats and away they go after them. All is activity, as there are 15 boats that go out every morning.

There are five different establishments of Bay Whaling there. When they come in at night, they run the boats up and clean them by wiping any grease off them with the bark of the stringy-barked gum, which has the name of Bull's Wool, and is a coarse stuff, something like the outer husk of the coconut, and they wet their hands and feet to get off the grease. (81)

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- Abbreviations used in this list of references are:
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 Watkin Tench. Ed. L. F. Fitzhardinge (1959).
 AE—Australian Encyclopedia (2 Edition).
 HRNSW—Historical Records of New South Wales.

- Cobley 1790—John Cobley, Sydney Cove, 1789-1790.
 Cobley 1792—John Cobley, Sydney Cove, 1791-1792.
 Bethell—L. S. Bethell, *The Valley of the Derwent*.
 Murray—L. C. Murray, *Unpublished Thesis on Sealing and Whaling*. (University of Tasmania, 1927.)
 Collins—C. R. Collins, *Saga of Settlement*.
 O'May—Capt. Harry O'May, *Whalers out of Van Diemen's Land*.
 Clark—C. M. H. Clark, *Select Documents, 1788-1850*.
 Bowden—K. M. Bowden, *Captain James Kelly of Hobart Town*.

Notes: 1. The original pagination of Tench's *Complete Account* has been followed.

2. The pagination of L. C. Murray's *Thesis* varies according to whether the copy used has been typed with single or double spacing. My copy is single spaced type.

- (1) J. L. Davies, *Whales and Seals of Tasmania*, pp. 14 and 28. (Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery. Hobart.)
- (2) Mr. Mel. Ward of Blackheath, N.S.W., kindly furnished this reference.
- (3) Tench—Editorial Note on Chapter XIX.
- (4) *AE*, Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (5) *HRNSW*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 365 (Cf. Cobley 1790, p. 247, where it is stated the letter was written to Secretary Stephens).
- (6) Cobley 1790, pp. 262/3.
- (7) *Ibid*, pp. 279/284.
- (8) Tench, p. 54.
- (9) *AE*, Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (10) *HRNSW*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 529.
- (11) *Ibid*, p. 532.
- (12) *Ibid*, p. 553.
- (13) Tench, pp. 136/7.
- (14) Tench—Editorial Note 12 on Chapter XV.
- (15) Particulars are to be found in Tench and/or Cobley 1792; see also *HRNSW*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 538 and C. Bateson "The Convict Ships, 1787-1868," pp. 120-121.
- (16) Cobley 1792, p. 97; see also C. Bateson *op. cit.* pp. 120-121.
- (17) Tench, p. 135.
- (18) *Ibid*, p. 133/135.
- (19) Cobley 1792, pp. 85/6.
- (20) *HRNSW*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, p. 555.
- (21) Tench, Chapter XIX.
- (22) Cobley 1792, p. 200.
- (23) *Ibid*, pp. 201 and 207.
- (24) *HRNSW*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, pp. 612/3.
- (25) *Ibid*, p. 665.
- (26) *Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 507.
- (27) *AE*, Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (28) *HRNSW*, Vol. III, p. 335.
- (29) *AE*, Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (30) *HRNSW*, Vol. III, p. 686.
- (31) *Ibid*, p. 717.
- (32) *Ibid*, p. 741.
- (33) M. Flinders, *Observations, etc.—part of the coasts of New South Wales*, p. 36.
- (34) *AE*, Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (35) *HRNSW*, Vol. IV, p. 116.
- (36) *A.E.*, Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (37) H. F. Hardacre, *Dawn of Settlement in Australia*, p. 228.
- (38) *A.E.*, Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (39) *HRNSW*, Vol. IV, p. 670.
- (40) *Ibid*, Vol. V, p. 137.
- (41) Bethell, pp. 4, 7 et seq.
- (42) Murray, p. 1.
- (43) *HRNSW*, Vol. V, p. 231.
- (44) Collins, p. 85.
- (45) *HRNSW*, Vol. V., p. 387.
- (46) Geoffrey Scott, *Sydney's Highways of History*, pp. 6/8.
- (47) *HRNSW*, Vol. III, pp. 59 and 304; Vol. V, p. 335.
- (48) *Sydney Gazette*, 21 Feb. 1805, p. 2 col. b.
- (49) Collins, p. 121.
- (50) Murray, p. 3.
- (51) Collins, pp. 121/2.
- (52) O'May, p. 6.
- (53) Murray, p. 6.
- (54) *HRNSW*, Vol. VI, p. 169.
- (55) O'May, p. 8.
- (56) Murray, p. 6.
- (57) Clark, p. 396.
- (58) Murray, pp. 12/13.

- (59) L. Macquarie, *Journals of Tours in N.S.W. and Van Diemen's Land 1810-1822* (Ed. Public Library of N.S.W., 1956), p. 73.
- (60) *Ibid.*, p. 178.
- (61) O'May, pp. 19/20.
- (62) Murray, p. 20.
- (63) Bethell, p. 123.
- (64) Bowden, Chapter XI.
- (65) A.E., Vol. 9, p. 274.
- (66) Bowden, pp. 90/91.
- (67) Major T. L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions, etc.*, Vol. II, pp. 241/3.
- (68) Clark, p. 203.
- (69) T. Horton James, *Six Months in South Australia*, pp. 45, 95, 103, 171, 280 and 287.
- (70) Clark, p. 86.
- (71) A. Hasluck, *Thomas Peel of Swan River*, pp. 183/6.
- (72) F. K. Crowley, *Australia's Western Third*, pp. 16 and 21.
- (73) Tom Turner, *Turners of Augusta*, p. 110.
- (74) John Stokes, *The Western State*, pp. 130/5.
- (75) A.E., Vol. 9, p. 275.
- (76) *Ibid.*, p. 275.
- (77) O'May, pp. 36/7.
- (78) Murray, pp. 22/3.
- (79) Bethell, p. 179.
- (80) K. M. Dallas: *The First Settlements in Australia considered in relation to Sea-power and World Politics*: Tasmanian Historical Research Association, *Papers and Proceedings*, 1952, No. 3.
- (81) Edward Markham's *Van Diemen's Land Journal 1833*—Ms. in Mitchell Library—Ed. K. R. Von Stieglitz, 1952.

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