



**The Southern Whale Fishery Company,
Auckland Islands**

M.Phil. Thesis,
Scott Polar Research Institute,
Cambridge University

B.I. Fotheringham,
St. Edmunds College,
Cambridge,
12 June 1995

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement
for the degree of Master of Philosophy
in Polar Studies

T295



Acknowledgements

I have been fortunate, in the preparation for this dissertation, for the opportunity to conduct research in both the United Kingdom and New Zealand. This has been invaluable in allowing me to access many of the libraries and research institutions which hold information on the Auckland Islands and the Southern Whale Fishery Company. Unfortunately the Company's records have not been located, although extracts of meetings and reports were published and reported, particularly in newspapers. Barclays Group Archives also hold some banking ledgers of, Barclay, Bevan and Tritton, 54 Lombard Street, which include the Company's banking records from February 1849 to June 1851 and the loan ledgers up to 1854. Should any future researcher follow up an interest in the logbooks of the ships employed, Commissioners records of the settlement at the Auckland Islands (including meteorological data), minute books of the directors or general meetings or the shareholder records books they will not be found by tracing the descendants of the Enderby family. Enderby left all the records he possessed with the Special Commissioners at the Auckland Islands and this material was subsequently forwarded to the office of the Southern Whale Fishery Company at No. 34 Cornhill, London. These records may have been kept by either the Chairman, John Diston Powles, the secretary, Thomas Robert Preston, or one of the directors (Appendix 8) although it is possible they have been destroyed.

My research has benefited greatly from the wide variety of people who have generously given their time for this purpose. Where I have been unable to meet certain people I have corresponded with them and thus gained further useful information and advice. My warm thanks are given to the following organisations and individuals:

In New Zealand:

Alexander Turnbull Library
Auckland Public Library
Canterbury Public Library
National Archives(Christchurch)
National Archives(Wellington), National Library
Wellington Public Library

Andris Apse
Martin Cawthorn
Ian Church, Curator, Port Chalmers Maritime Museum
Honore Forster
Tod Fotheringham
Tui Fotheringham
Cathy Macfie, Southland Museum & Art Gallery
Baden Norris, Curator, Lyttleton Maritime Museum

Rhys Richards

John Sansom, National Institute of Water and Atmospheric Research

Lou Sanson, Operations Manager, Southland Conservancy, Department of Conservation

Ken Scadden, Director, Wellington Maritime Museum

In the United Kingdom:

British Library Reading Room and Manuscript Department

Cambridge University Library, Manuscript, Official Publications and Rare Books departments

Corporation of London Records Office

Guildhall Library

National Register of Archives

Public Record Office

Sidney Brown

Mrs Jessie Campbell, Barclays Group Archives

Peter Clarkson

Arthur Credland, Hull Maritime Museum

Gina Douglas, Librarian, The Linnean Society of London

Carolyn Fotheringham

Cary Haggard

Dr R. M. Laws, Master St. Edmunds College

Paula Lucas, Archivist, Royal Geographical Society

Mrs I McCabe, Librarian, Royal Institution of Great Britain

John Kennedy Melling

Mary Sampson, Archivist, The Royal Society

Stephen Whiley

I would like to indicate my appreciation to Mr. A.G.E. Jones and Mr. R.K. Headland for their various advice and kind permission to use their chronologies which were used as the basis for Appendices 9 and 11 respectively.

Finally I would like to thank the staff of the Scott Polar Research Institute, particularly my supervisor Mr. Peter Speak, for their friendly assistance, advice and encouragement.

Contents

	Page
Acknowledgements	2
Foreword	6
Abstract	7
Introduction	8
Chapter 1 - The Environment of the Auckland Islands	9
Chapter 2 - Charles Enderby Esq.	17
Chapter 3 - The Southern Whale Fishery	17
Chapter 4 - Reviving the Fishery	28
Chapter 5 - The Southern Whale Fishery Company	33
Chapter 6 - The Company at the Auckland Islands	47
Chapter 7 - Winding Up	60
Chapter 8 - The Legacy	63
Conclusion	66
References	67
Appendices:	
1. Abstract of the Meteorological Journal of H.M.S. <i>Erebus</i> at the Auckland Islands 20 November - 12 December 1840 and Campbell Island 13-17 December 1840	79
2. Catalogue of Books, the Property of his Excellency Lieutenant-Governor Enderby, which will be Sold by Auction at the Exchange, on Wednesday, 17 November 1852 by Messrs. Bethune & Hunter	80

3.	Whale sightings and comments on the Whale Fishery by Captain James Clark Ross, R.N. made during the voyage of H.M. Ships <i>Erebus</i> and <i>Terror</i> in the Southern Ocean 1839-43	84
4.	Whale-sighting in the Antarctic as extracted from the logbooks of H.M. Ships <i>Erebus</i> and <i>Terror</i> December 1840 -February 1843	87
5.	Whale sightings in the Antarctic by Surgeon Robert McCormick, R.N. 1840-1843	91
6.	Letter by C., H. & G. Enderby to Sir Robert Peel 8 July 1845	93
7.	Re-establishing the Southern Whale Fisheries	95
8.	A public dinner given to Charles Enderby, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.R.G.S.	97
9.	Vessels owned or employed by the Southern Whale Fishery Company	102
10.	Vessels of the Royal Navy visiting the Auckland Islands 1848-1852	108
11.	Chronology of Vessels visiting the Auckland Islands, 1806 to 1863	110

Tables:

1.	Summary of Climatological Observations for Enderby Island Automated Weather Station	13
2.	Descriptions of Whales by Ross in the Antarctic Regions (south of 60°S)	27
3.	Two Year Projected Statement of Revenues and Expenses	41
4.	One year Projected Statement of Revenue and Expenses	42
5.	Estimated Cost of Whaling Fleet and Settlement	43
6.	Southern Whale Fishery Company Monthly Income and Expenditure	55
7.	Cumulative Payments over £500 for the period February 1849-1851 made by the Southern Whale Fishery Company	56

Figures:

1.	New Zealand to Antarctica; location of the Subantarctic Islands	10
2.	The Subantarctic Islands and southern New Zealand	10
3.	The Auckland Islands	11
4.	Plan of the Settlement of Hardwicke and the Site of the Company's Station	50
5.	The Southern Whale Fishery Company Station at Erebus Cove	51

Foreword

There are two principal reasons for choosing the topic of this dissertation. The first concerns the interest I have in the Auckland Islands. I am grateful for the opportunity I have had during my career, in the Royal New Zealand Navy, to visit the Auckland Islands on four separate occasions between 1983 and 1993. During these visits I have navigated the coasts and harbours of these islands by frigate, research vessel, motorboat, rigid hull inflatable, whaler, inflatable boat and wave-ski. I have also been able to explore, on foot, Adams and Enderby Islands and from the shore to the peaks on Auckland Island. These visits have been complemented by a number of others to Campbell Island, The Snares and Antipodes Island.

The interest in these visits has been enhanced by the valuable work that the Navy is supporting in the subantarctic; and much of the pleasure of being there is derived from meeting and working with people like Martin Cawthorn, Andris Apse and Lou Sanson. There is a shared fascination with the islands and their contrasting inhospitable, expansive wildness with a remarkably intimate beauty. The experience is not unlike that of being in the Antarctic, or in the wilderness of lower latitudes; except that being situated between the warm temperate and Antarctic regions in a circumpolar ocean/atmosphere equally destructive as it is benevolent, has created a unique, and captivating, environment. While I believe that there is an unfortunate tendency to ascribe our personal expectations, of environmental comfort and economic security, onto the sealers, whalers and settlers of last century, I think it is unwise to expect that feelings of fascination and interest in the place in which they worked and lived should not have similarities to those that are shared today.

My second motivation comes from the way I perceive history to be written and, by extension, understood. The tendency to break historical events down into their component parts is important in adding to the wider 'picture', but its limitations are not always appreciated, by the author or the reader. Conclusions are sometimes made that go beyond the scope of the subject, or authority of the author, in regard to the research conducted. Research should be considered in its relative variety, comprehensive character and temporal cover. Common problems appear to be that economic and ecological considerations are too readily ignored, the quantity of background research is often inadequate and the consideration of the pre and post-historical features, that are relevant by creating direct and comparative understanding to the subject in question, are too easily overlooked.

My own attempt at a comprehensive synthesis inevitably reflects my own ability and experience although a further consideration is the limitation of time, for only one academic term, of three months duration, is devoted for this purpose.

Abstract

The Southern Whale Fishery Company was a colonising whaling company, with a Royal Charter granted in early 1849. The Company was set up as an attempt to re-establish the declining British Southern Whale Fishery, and was actively promoted by Charles Enderby. The Company was formed after The Messrs. Enderby were granted a lease to the Auckland Islands in 1847 and subsequently based their whaling operation from there in 1849. The Company was undercapitalised for the project they were undertaking and a reduction in the abundance of Right whales in the South Pacific meant that whaling returns were less than estimated. It was hoped that there may be a viable stock in the Antarctic Seas, and this was investigated but no Right whales were found. The Company soon exhausted its capital and were forced to abandon its settlement at Port Ross and later wound up the company after the last of eight whaling vessels owned by the Company returned to England in 1854.

The Company had underestimated fixed capital expenditure and overestimated potential revenue, particularly after the capital was reduced to one third of the original estimate. The colony was a private venture and had little impact upon British colonial history. It had a short-term impact upon the whale fishery but its short life and relatively small scale limited this to the early 1850s

Introduction

In January 1847 Charles Enderby, Esq. F.R.S. had his latest work published. It was entitled: "Proposal for re-establishing the British southern whale fishery, through the medium of a chartered company, and in combination with the colonisation of the Auckland Islands, as the site of the company's whaling station". The book was written as a reply to a letter addressed to him by Mr. T.R. Preston, later the secretary of the Southern Whale Fishery Company, on behalf of "certain parties connected with the British shipping interest, inviting the expression of his sentiments on the first-named subject".

The proposal had been contemplated from 1843 and Enderby made considerable efforts to ensure its realisation. A number of difficulties, mainly bureaucratic and financial, resulted in continual delays but in August 1849 the first ships of the colonising company departed England for the Auckland Islands. One of the smallest and geographically the most remote of all British colonies was declared by the proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Enderby on 1 January 1850. The colony, however, was also one of the shortest lived, for by August 1852 it had been abandoned and Enderby was embroiled in legal proceedings with the Southern Whale Fishery Company and in corresponding with the Colonial Office in London. The House of Commons published most of the relevant correspondence in 1853 and 1855, desiring to end further speculation and acrimony over the failure of the colonising company's confident predictions of success.

The Southern Whale Fishery Company was a product of its time and an historical review of its expectations and the execution of these is considered with the advantage of hindsight and recent research to assess the merits of Enderby's proposal and its contemporary impact. It is not my intention to concentrate upon the life of the colonists whilst at the Auckland Islands, for while it would be interesting as social history, the topic of study requires analysis of the economic, environmental, social and political circumstances with regard to the establishment, operation and demise of the Company. It is hoped that, by such an approach, the relevance of the settlement to British colonial history, and the significance of the Company to the British southern whale fishery will be better understood.

Chapter 1

The Environment of the Auckland Islands

The success, or failure, of any enterprise is a result of economic, environmental and personnel factors, which are seldom proportional but inevitably interrelated. The relative importance of the environment, to both the Company and the colonists, can only be appreciated by having some knowledge of the physical and ecological characteristics of the Auckland Islands. This knowledge will help to assess the ability the islands to sustain habitation and support economic development by its natural production and agricultural potential. The fact that this was essentially a pioneering endeavour makes this understanding more important as the knowledge of the environment was not well known prior to colonisation and it has subsequently been considered that it was misrepresented, unsuitable and fundamental to the demise of the colony. Fraser concluded his chapter on the 'Enderby Settlement' by stating that: 'Defeated by the climate, the isolation, and the soil, the would-be colonists abandoned the islands to the wildness of the surrounding ocean' (1985: 107).

Location, Geology and Geomorphology

The Auckland Islands are one of several island groups located to the south of New Zealand, commonly referred to as Subantarctic Islands. They are situated between 50°30'S and 51°S approximately 200 miles south of Stewart Island (Figures 1 and 2). They are composed of several islands of which Auckland (51,000 ha.), Adams (10,000 ha.), Enderby (700 ha.), and Disappointment (400 ha.) are the largest (Figure 3).

They were formed during the Miocene epoch from two shield volcanoes centred at Carnley Harbour and between Disappointment Island and the north-west coast of Auckland island. The basalt lava's overly a series of older rocks including granites and gabbros forming the Campbell Plateau which is adjoined to the New Zealand land mass. The islands have been significantly eroded by marine action, particularly on the southern and western coasts where precipitous cliffs, up to 600 metres high, now exist. Water and glacial action have further eroded the land, leaving a number of fiord-like valleys, particularly along the eastern coast (Penniket, 1987: 41-42). The northern and southern ends of the island group contain two large land-locked harbours.

Figure 1

New Zealand to Antarctica; location of the Subantarctic Islands

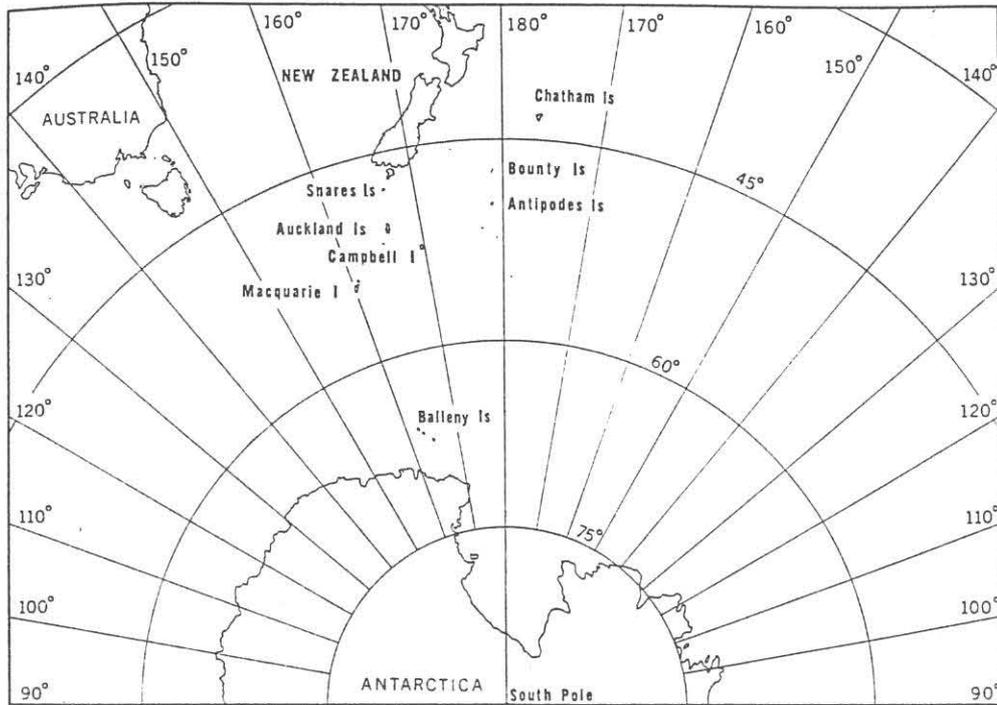
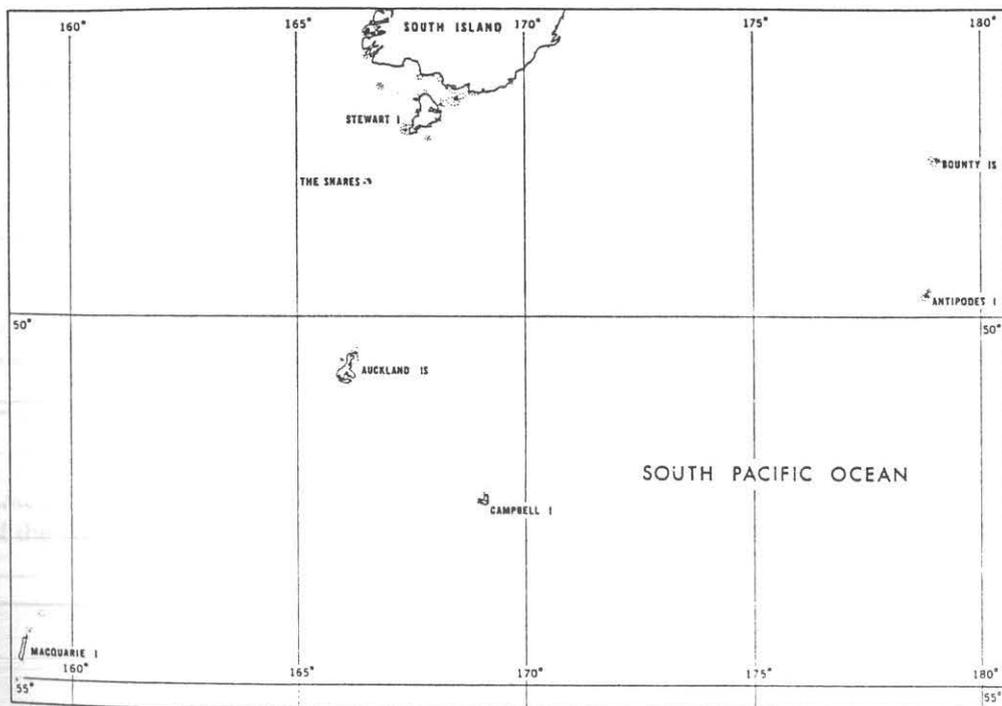


Figure 2

The Subantarctic Islands and southern New Zealand

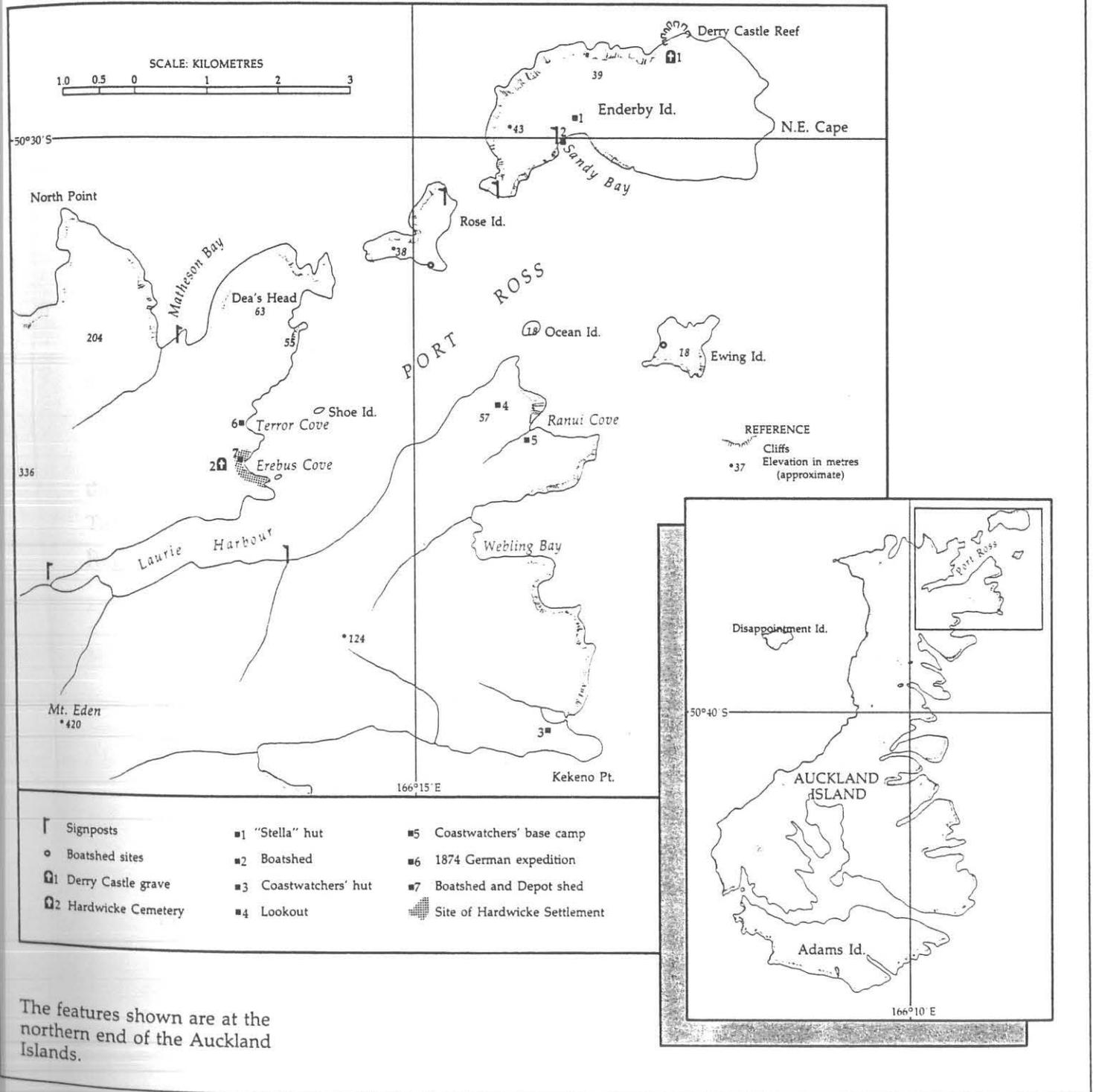


Reference: Gessitt, 1971: 2-3.

Figure 3

The Auckland Islands

Historical Features of Port Ross



Reference: Fraser, 1986: 101.

Climate

The climate is fundamentally influenced by the sea temperature which has the small annual range of 7.3°C - 10.6°C, with an average 8.9°C, resulting in mild temperatures throughout the year. The atmospheric circulation is dominated by fast-moving low pressure systems producing generally strong and humid westerly winds which, with the high cliffs on the western and southern coasts, create orographic conditions generating considerable local cloud, with a relatively low base. This results in approximately 320 raindays per year although precipitation is generally in the form of light rain or drizzle (De Lisle, 1965: 44). In October 1991 an automated weather station was installed at Enderby Island and a summary of observations is at Table 1.

When Enderby wrote his account of the islands in 1849 his sources were accounts of exploring expeditions or references made by sealers. One of the first to describe the climate was Benjamin Morrell who stated that it was 'mild, temperate and salubrious' and concluded that 'the weather is generally good at all seasons of the year; although there are occasional high winds, attended with heavy rains. These storms, however, seldom last more than twenty-four hours' (1832: 363). Morrell's wife stated simply, in her account of the voyage, that: 'the season here at this time of the year answers to our July; though not uncomfortably warm at any part of the day, the thermometer not rising above 65° (18.3°C) at noon' (1833: 32).

Ross published the meteorological record of the 1840 visit of the *Erebus* and *Terror* and this is enclosed at Appendix 1 with appropriate conversions. A comparison with the data at Table 1 indicates that they experienced cooler temperatures but more moderate winds.

Regarding the weather he stated:

We arrived there in the spring of the year, November being equivalent to April of the northern latitudes; and although less than eight degrees to the southward of the latitude of Hobart town, we found a very great difference in the temperature, amounting to about ten degrees of the thermometer, but still greater to our feelings, owing to the increased humidity of the atmosphere, the temperature of the dew point being nearly the same in both places notwithstanding so great a difference of temperature. ... The temperature cannot be considered severe, when we remember that in England, which is very nearly in the same latitude, the mean temperature for April, the corresponding month, is 46°. Our stay was too short to justify any further remarks on the climate of these islands ...' (1847: 141-143).

Table 1

Summary of Climatological Observations for Enderby Island Automated Weather Station

Type	M/M	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Average
Total Rainfall (mm)														
Max	7/39	193.0	102.4	146.0	120.4	152.0	143.0	106.6	125.6	107.2	105.8		54.0	119.7*
Avg	7/39	138.2	87.3	112.3	75.7	121.5	94.5	93.3	99.2	78.0	85.5		51.3	92.1*
Min	7/39	93.8	62.4	64.8	52.8	104.8	67.0	82.2	86.0	45.8	65.2		48.6	69.2*
Number of days with 1mm or more of rain														
Max	7/39	24.0	17.0	23.0	23.0	22.0	23.0	20.0	23.0	20.0	20.0		13.0	20.4*
Avg	7/39	18.5	13.8	18.0	15.7	21.0	17.7	18.3	20.3	14.7	19.5		12.0	17.1*
Min	7/39	11.0	12.0	15.0	11.0	20.0	15.0	17.0	17.0	10.0	19.0		11.0	14.4*
Extreme maximum air temperature (°C)														
Max	3/40	14.6	16.6	13.8	13.3	11.4	10.2	10.7	10.0	11.2	12.4	12.8	13.0	12.5
Avg	3/40	14.0	14.8	13.0	12.5	10.9	10.0	10.0	9.7	10.2	11.8	12.8	12.6	11.9
Min	3/40	13.6	13.6	12.1	11.8	10.5	9.8	9.6	9.2	9.5	10.8	12.8	12.2	11.3
Mean air temperature (°C)														
Max	4/40	10.5	10.4	9.5	8.5	7.7	6.0	6.7	6.1	6.3	7.7	8.7	9.2	8.1
Avg	4/40	10.2	10.1	9.0	8.3	6.9	5.6	6.0	5.5	5.8	7.2	8.7	9.1	7.7
Min	4/40	9.9	9.5	8.2	8.1	6.1	5.3	5.6	4.4	5.1	6.6	8.7	9.0	7.2
Extreme minimum air temperature (°C)														
Max	4/40	5.8	5.1	4.4	3.3	2.7	-0.4	0.7	0.4	0.9	1.7	2.8	3.5	2.6
Avg	4/40	4.9	4.6	3.4	2.7	0.5	-1.6	0.2	-1.3	0.0	1.1	2.8	3.4	1.7
Min	4/40	4.1	4.3	2.4	1.6	-2.3	-3.0	-0.6	-2.4	-0.5	0.6	2.8	3.2	0.9
Mean 0900 relative humidity														
Max	22/41	82.3	86.4	83.6	88.9	87.9	85.6	90.1	86.7	82.0	84.5	81.6	83.9	85.3
Avg	22/41	82.3	85.9	83.6	88.9	87.1	85.0	88.8	85.6	80.5	83.8	81.6	83.9	84.8
Min	22/41	82.3	85.4	83.6	88.9	86.3	84.4	87.5	84.5	79.0	83.1	81.6	83.9	84.2
Days of wind gust >= 24 knots														
Max	14/38	30.0	24.0	31.0	28.0	29.0	30.0	26.0	29.0	25.0			23.0	26.9*
Avg	14/38	28.0	22.3	25.7	23.5	27.0	24.0	26.0	28.0	24.5			23.0	25.0*
Min	14/38	23.0	20.0	21.0	19.0	25.0	20.0	26.0	27.0	24.0			23.0	22.9*
Days of wind gust >= 51 knots														
Max	14/38	4.0	3.0	9.0	2.0	5.0	8.0	3.0	2.0	5.0			2.0	4.2*
Avg	14/38	1.8	1.0	4.7	2.0	3.7	2.7	3.0	2.0	3.0			2.0	2.6*
Min	14/38	0.0	0.0	1.0	2.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	2.0	1.0			2.0	1.4*
Mean sea level pressure at 0900 (hPa)														
Max	4/41	1012.1	1013.5	1012.3	1015.1	1008.0	1009.7	1016.4	1008.5	1011.2	1009.4	1012.1	1010.3	1011.8
Avg	4/41	1005.8	1009.4	1005.9	1010.8	1005.3	1005.1	1008.9	1002.2	1004.8	1005.9	1006.3	1007.4	1006.5
Min	4/41	1001.4	1004.3	1000.5	1004.2	1000.7	997.2	1004.1	998.7	998.5	1002.4	1000.4	1003.2	1001.3

Notes:

M/M number of months with no data / total number of potential months for data to be recorded

* estimation only - missing data has been calculated by linear interpolation between surrounding months

Reference: New Zealand Meteorological Service unpublished weather data

Soil and Flora

The climate has small extremes of temperature and an even distribution of precipitation, which are responsible for a virtual year round growing season at lower altitudes. In certain coastal areas, where the soil is enhanced by bird and seal excrement and moderate amounts of sea spray, the grassland production is estimated at seven kilograms of dry matter/m²/year (Fraser, 1986: 45). The soil is commonly saturated and decomposing plant remains form peat soils which can accumulate to considerable depths. The peats are low in lime and sulphates but high in iron, alumina and rare earths and support a vigorous growth of higher plants with a luxuriant vegetative cover at lower altitudes (Aston, 1909).

There are two forest associations: the southern rata, *Metrosideros umbellata*, forms a coastal belt around much of the shoreline with its semi-prostrate trunks and branches bent and twisted toward a close mass of intertwined leaves creating a dense canopy, which has a remarkable even appearance when viewed from above; and *Oleria lyalli* which is dominant only on Ewing Island. A zone of dense scrub, which succeeds the forest, extends to an altitude of approximately 150 metres where it merges into tussock and herb moor. The higher plant species include six trees, 13 shrubs and 140 herbs and semi-woody plants. Ferns and fern allies are represented by 44 species, including the most southern occurrence of tree ferns. The 25 species of indigenous grasses are present in lowland tussock and subalpine meadow associations. Also recorded are five fungi, 116 lichens, 71 hepaticas and 54 mosses. Other plant communities are present along the coastal rocks and on the sand dunes of Enderby Island, but the most extraordinary is the *Pleurophyllum* meadow; a community dominated by the large-leaved herbaceous composite, producing a floral display declared by Sir Joseph Hooker to be second to none outside the tropics. The marine flora includes 122 recorded species of seaweed. (Cockayne, 1904: 236; 1910: 114-117; 1958: 337-345; Hay, 1985: 66; Hodgson, 1962: 101; McLintock, 1966: 3-480, 3-487; Penniket, 1987: 44-45; Zotov, 1965: 113).

Fauna

Considering the isolation of the islands, the historical absence of a land bridge and the extreme effects of recent glaciation on the distribution and abundance of the flora, there is a diverse terrestrial fauna. Approximately 50 species of birds breed on the islands with a further twenty recorded visitors. Several hundred species of insects representing most of the major phyla and orders are present. Several indigenous species of earthworm and land snails also occur. The coastal marine fauna includes molluscs, crabs, sea squirts and starfish but there is a low species diversity and abundance of fish, which are noted for the presence of nematode worms. Marine mammals include: Hookers Sea Lion; Fur, Leopard and Southern Elephant seals; Blue, Humpback, Sperm, Southern Right, Beaked, Southern Bottlenose and Pilot whales as well as several species of porpoises including Killer whales and dolphins (Bonner, 1964; Fraser, 1964; Johnston, 1953: 64; Kingsford, 1989: 185; McLintok, 1966: 3-203, 3-687; Parrot, 1958: 109,119; Sorensen, 1951: 71).

Economic Resources

The early economic potential of the islands was realised by the utilisation of marine mammals. It was found that Right whales congregated within and around the sheltered harbours and the history of their abundance is discussed at Chapter 3. The Encyclopaedia Britannica considered that with 'wood and water being plentiful and easily procured, they are represented as holding out, in this desolate and remote region, considerable advantages to the southern whale-fishery (1842: 217). Fur seals bred in great numbers and their exploitation was so great that they were almost exterminated by the early 1830s (Bruemmer, 1983: 34). The history of the abundance of the Right Whale is examined at Chapter 3.

Carrick considered that the potential uses for rata included knees and crooks for boats, teeth in gearing wheels, and manufacture of agricultural implements (1892: 22). A scientist on D'Urville's expedition, however, considered that it is 'knotted, brittle and unsuitable for construction purposes; it would even be difficult to saw it into planks or to square it for joists' (Wright, 1955: 7).

The soil and climatic conditions have been considered unsuitable to sustain pastoral or horticultural production, due to the failure of attempts at settlement and agricultural endeavour. The surgeon on HMS *Fantome*, Edmond Malone, considered the vegetable gardens he saw as 'good for nothing'. It is, however, necessary to consider that he saw them in winter and the settlers had known, for several months, that the colony was to be abandoned. His statement is also curious for the fact that all vegetable production in areas of limited availability is important to assist with basic sustenance and dietary variety (1854). Other writers have agreed with the general hopelessness of agriculture by the settlers. Falla considered that 'there was no arable soil and a sour heavy peat produced no crops of the hoped for vegetables' (1975: 391). Higham thought that: 'vegetables and crops failed to grow in the acid, peaty soil' (1991: 15). These views have been quoted in popular summaries of the settlement (Clemens, 1995; Macdonald, 1993: 23).

Peat soils are more difficult to work to ensure reasonable productivity, but this was little different from many parts of New Zealand that formed viable farming land over time. Armstrong considered that it would need considerable effort to clear the land and 'it would then require careful draining and fallowing before a crop could be raised' (1868: 54). The climate, particularly the strong winds, was a problem in some areas, but mild temperatures and consistent rainfall were advantages. The native grasses, such as *Chionchloa antarctica*, provided good grazing, and introduced grasses thrived in some areas (Zotov, 1965: 105-108). Some observations were not as pessimistic as more recent opinions. When the *Porpoise*, from the United States Exploring Expedition visited the islands in 1840, the surgeon found a flourishing garden with turnips and cabbages (Tyler, 1968: 144). D'Urville, also at the islands in 1840, commented on the general success of the vegetable plots (McNab, 1913: 328; Wright, 1955: 10).

The ability for the islands to sustain life is proven by the example of the Maori/Moriiori settlement that lasted for over 12 years, with infrequent visits from ships. They largely relied on marine life, including seabirds, seals and shellfish (King, 1989: 80), but were also able to

provide some vegetables for visiting whaling ships and the British settlers. The comment by Falla that 'the settlers found it necessary to enlist their assistance in keeping themselves alive' is however, not correct (1975: 391). Supplies for the colony were generally adequate except for availability of vegetables.

Chapter 2

Charles Enderby Esq.

In New Zealand, Charles Enderby may be best associated with the short-lived colony on the Auckland Islands and in this capacity he has been described as; 'a blind idealist' (Fraser, 1986: 102), 'a pompous, muddle-headed scion of the commercial house of Enderby' (King, 1989: 82), 'gullible' (Higham, 1991: 15) and 'fanatical' (Dingwall, 1981: 10). Enderby, had however, previously gained recognition within other areas of enterprise, generally receiving more favourable epithets for his effort. He is probably best known internationally for his promotion of geographical discovery in the Antarctic regions; followed by his association with the whaling firm of Messrs. Enderby. His other business interests are not well known and the publication of various pamphlets on socio-economic and political issues has been virtually ignored. These areas are of interest, however, as they help create a better understanding of Enderby's own character and motivations and give a useful insight into the formation and operation of the Southern Whale Fishery Company.

The Geographer

Charles, and his brother George, were founder members of the Royal Geographical Society in 1830 and Charles was a member of the Council for several years in the 1830s and 1840s. He served on various committees, acted as a referee for prospective papers for the journal and was valued for his business advice (Alcock, 1877: 427; Enderby, 1847d; 1848a; Mill, 1930: 57, 103). In 1830 the Messrs. Enderby outfitted a brig *Tula* and a cutter *Lively*, for a speculative voyage of exploration in the high southern latitudes. Enderby later wrote that it was his theories regarding the formation of icebergs which induced him to equip these vessels for geographical discovery (1861). On this voyage Captain John Biscoe discovered land at 67°S and named it Enderby Land in honour of his employers (Nautical Magazine, 1835: 275).

Less than four months after the return of Biscoe a second Antarctic expedition was outfitted with two vessels, the *Hopeful* and the *Rose*. This voyage proved less successful, for after sighting land at 70°S, in the Bellingshausen Sea, the *Hopeful* became beset in the ice and sank (*The Times*, 1845: 19 August, 8a; Mill, 1905: 164-166). Shortly after the despatch of these vessels, on 18 June 1833, Charles was recommended, as 'a gentleman and attached to the study of natural history', for Fellowship of the Linnean Society, and was elected on 17 December. On 5 May 1834, Charles was recommended for membership of the Royal Institution of Great Britain. He was proposed by the eminent scientist, Michael Faraday and he was elected on 2 June (Royal Institution, 1828-1838: 292-300). In 1838, John Balleny sailed to the Southern Ocean in the schooner *Eliza Scott*, accompanied by the cutter *Sabrina*. He discovered the Balleny Islands and Sabrina Land early in 1839, before *Sabrina* was lost with all hands in a storm (Enderby, 1858: 172; Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle, 1839a; 1839b). He arrived home in September, in time to acquaint Captain James Clark Ross of his

voyage, before Ross departed for his Antarctic exploration in the *Terror* and *Erebus*. Ross was later to acknowledge the influence of Balleny's information, when he changed the track for attaining a high southern latitude to 170°E. He had been instructed by the Admiralty, before learning of Balleny's voyage, to proceed 'direct to the southward' of Van Diemen's Land (1847: xxiv), which was interpreted by *The Times* to be between 120°E and 160°E (1839: 14 September; 2f). Ross commented:

My chief reason for choosing this particular meridian in preference to any other was, its being that upon which Balleny had in the summer of 1839, attained to the latitude of sixty-nine degrees, and there found an open sea; and not; as has been asserted, that I was deterred from any apprehension of an equally unsuccessful issue to any attempt we might make where the Americans and French had so signally failed to get beyond even the sixty-seventh degree of latitude' (1847: 117-118, 164).

Although the *Eliza Scott* and *Sabrina* were jointly owned, a fact recorded by the naming of the islands in the Balleny group after the respective merchants, Enderby was the driving force behind the endeavour. This was indicated by his enthusiasm to send the *Eliza Scott* back to the Antarctic regions in 1840, and the subsequent withdrawal of the financial interest of several of the owners. The voyage ended after damage was sustained in a South Atlantic storm and Captain Mapleton sold the schooner at St. Helena, at a significant loss to the partners. This contrasted with the high expectations at the departure in July and public approbation of Enderby's encouragement of Antarctic exploration (*The Times*, 1840: 10 June, 4f; 10 July, 5a). Enderby's efforts were recognised by being recommended, on 18 June 1840, for admission to the Royal Society of London based on his 'promotion of geographical discovery in the Antarctic regions'. His promoters included Captain Francis Beaufort, R.N., Edward Sabine, and Roderick Murchison. Enderby was duly elected on 14 January 1841 (Royal Society, 1840). In his Presidential address in 1840, the Marquis of Northampton noted that private enterprise had not been idle with Enderby, 'to whom geography is already indebted', sending the *Eliza Scott* for further exploration in the Antarctic seas (Royal Society, 1837-1843: 253).

In 1845, Wilkes published his narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, which asserted that they had discovered a great continent. Wilkes stated:

Who had the least idea that any large body of land existed to the south of New Holland? Examine all the maps and charts published up to that time, and upon them will any traces of such land be found? They will not, and for the very best of reasons - none was known, or ever suspected to exist. We ourselves anticipated no such discovery (The Times, 1845: 19 August, 8a).

The Spectator, commenting on Wilkes claims, concluded:

The Messrs. Enderby, under whose auspices they were commended and prosecuted for ten years, are the discoverers. Balleny was their agent, and only followed out what their other agent Biscoe had so ably begun. D'Urville and Wilkes, like Balleny, only followed out the discoveries of Biscoe. Ross, again, took up the chase where Balleny

and Wilkes had left off. The Enderbys were the originating and directing spirits (1845).

The costs of undertaking these voyages of exploration were recognised by Commander Davis, R.N. who referred to Enderby as an 'enlightened and public-spirited merchant' (1869: 115). Captain Hamilton R.N. praised the Enderbys for making discovery their first object and profit their second; for this maintained British pre-eminence in the Antarctic but was made to their pecuniary loss (1870: 145-146). Mill considered:

There is, perhaps, no other instance of a private mercantile firm undertaking so extensive a series of voyages of discovery, without much encouragement in the way of pecuniary returns (1905: 146).

More recently, Fogg stated that the financial costs of exploration led to 'the ruination of the business' (1990: 29). While the losses were sometimes significant the reasons behind the failure of the business were far more complex.

The Merchant

The Enderbys were coopers by trade and Charles, George and Henry were all indentured to their father, Samuel, to learn the 'same art and mystery which he useth'. Upon completion of the required seven years of servitude they earned the right to be freemen of the City of London (Coopers Guild, 1813-1824; 1824-1827; Corporation of London, 1808-1825). Charles was the elder brother and showed an aptitude for business, becoming more involved in the running of the family firm, which is discussed at Chapter 3. The Enderbys invested in rope manufacture and developing a substantial factory with 250 workers, and were sometimes referred to as 'patent rope, twine and canvas manufacturers of East Greenwich' (*The Southern Cross*, 1843: 7 October; *The Times*, 1845: 3 March: 5e). They displayed innovation in the use of various raw materials, including New Zealand flax which was favoured, and manufacturing processes although the utilisation of a patent led to litigation on one occasion (*The Times*, 1834: 7 November, 3e). A major fire, reported as 'the most destructive loss of property in London for 18 months', resulted in almost total destruction of the factory. The estimated loss was between £40,000 and £60,000 and the Enderbys were reported as having only £6,000 of insurance cover. The plant was never returned to its original condition (*The Times*, 1845: 4 March: 4f).

Charles was a director for the British and North American Steam Navigation Company. The Company's first ship, *President* was lost at sea without trace in 1841. A patent condensing apparatus fitted to the ship but not subsequently used resulted in litigation involving technical legal interpretations of contract law (Gordon, 1939: 26; *The Times*, 1846: 17 February, 8c). It is likely that these legal experiences were useful to Charles in his own future litigation against the Southern Whale Fishery Company.

Charles was also a director of the Anti-Dry-Rot Company in 1835. His interest in colonisation was indicated in his purchase of three shares, costing £1,500, in the Western Australia Company (Jones, 1981b: 95-96).

The Author

The only published comment found regarding Enderby's various publications, other than those related to whaling and the Auckland Islands, is by Jones:

He was a crank, publishing pamphlets on a national store and dock bank, currency and monetary policy, the Irish problem and relations with the United States, all of them best forgotten (1981b: 96).

An analysis of his works, however, reveals a keen intelligence and consistent determination in his arguments. There is none of the 'muddle-headed' nature referred to by King; indeed his writing, although respectful and carefully worded, borders on the obstinate. The real interest, is however, in what he says; and in this he indicated an extraordinary vision.

Enderby's writing was ostensibly on economic issues but his concerns appear primarily social. He supported the protectionist camp, in the interests of the agricultural labourers, during the vigorous debate over the Corn Laws during the 1840s but complained that to adhere to a gold standard coerced the wages of labour and hampered trade. He attempted to prove that no fixed measure could determine value, as the produce of labour itself is the essence to value (1842; 1843a; 1843b).

The Malthusian philosophy, popular during the middle of the 19th century, proposed that if a labourer could not find employment for his labour, he was 'superabundant' and had no right of claim to the state, because such action interfered with the laws of nature. The associated principle was over-production; that is, if there is more produce than that which is required, it follows that labour is in excess. The labourer therefore is compelled to starve or emigrate; either way removing their burden on the public. Such thinking impacted on the political thinking of the time and a reluctance to alleviating distress was considered necessary by many to avoid interfering in situations that should be determined by the market [or 'nature']. Enderby understood the absurdity of contending that a population was superabundant due to an abundance of unconsumed produce and saw that it was substituting the effect for the cause. He argued that the answer was to deal with the excess of commodities rather than the excess of labour and proposed a system of increased expenditure among the labouring classes, so that they effectively utilised the excess while raising their standards of living and maintaining the profits of the producer. This required fair wages for the work of the labourers; a consideration antithetical to employers demanding low wages, which they were obviously able to pay with abundant labour. Enderby considered 'that population is the very sinews of wealth', and full employment was the only basis for the population to secure happiness and prosperity (1848d).

These ideas complemented his proposals for the formation of large national debts in Ireland and India, by absorbing much of the local wealth and investing in public works and infrastructure to develop the resources of the country. The aim was to benefit the people, individually and collectively, by increasing their wealth. This would benefit the world at large by creating new consumers for produce from other nations. Enderby considered the amassed debt to be reasonable as long as the increasing wealth of the country created the ability to pay the interest (1842; 1868).

Enderby's economic theories advocated: one bank of issue, support of a paper currency, abandoning the necessity for promissory notes to be paid in gold, a fixed rate of interest, government guarantee of deposits in savings banks and the market driven demand for money. His aims were to enrich the nation by expanding trade and commerce and provide full employment, support to the aged and infirm and benefits for children in large families (1841; 1843c; 1847b; 1847c; 1859). His proposals, which are generally accepted today, were considered radical at the time as they called for an effective reduction in privilege to those in power by enhancing the lives of those without it.

The Colonist

The desire to find new ways for ordering society and the pursuit of individual happiness were common themes of the age and while some expressed it in words others concerned themselves in the practical work of building a new society. Thus among the masses of 'superabundant' people emigrating to start a new life there were those who did so because they had a vision for what that society was to be like. Enderby probably lacked the creative genius of Butler and his 'Erewhon' was essentially a practical exercise. In this regard he was similar to John Robert Godley, the Resident Chief Agent of the Canterbury Association, who emigrated to New Zealand in 1850. Godley had studied ancient history and considered that the Roman system of local self-government as developed in the 'municipia' could be applied to British colonies. McLintock's description of Godley, however, could also be applied to Enderby:

Unfortunately, with all his many fine qualities, Godley lacked both tact and forbearance. By nature austere and uncompromising, it was not in him to modify his own principles to time or circumstance or to appreciate the point of view of others from whom he differed (1958: 308-309).

The importance of finding an outlet for the expression of his views, even if that required creating the society for it, is alluded to in Enderby's thesis on emigration and superabundant population that was published under the pseudonym 'Amicus Populi'. Enderby had no problem in ordinarily identifying himself with his works, as is indicated by his open letters to Peel and Gladstone (1843a; 1843b), but it appears that he had another motive; which was to declare his works by the provision of proof to support his argument. Enderby concluded:

I have not submitted the opinions before stated without being prepared to vindicate them by evidence the most conclusive; but it will be sufficient time for me further to declare myself when the public and those in authority are disposed to entertain the question (1848d).

The Southern Whale Fishery

The Rise of the British Fishery

The British southern whale fishery began as a result of political opportunism and individual enterprise. Britain had a long history of involvement in the northern whale and seal fishery around the Greenland Sea and Davis Straits, but much of the whale oil used by Britain was imported from the colonies in North America. The American civil war resulted in an effective embargo of the New England whalers from pursuing their trade. Some loyalists migrated to Nova Scotia and Newfoundland while others sought the protection of the British crown to recommence fishing in the rich grounds of the South Atlantic. These whalers are best regarded as apolitical; their action resulting more from a desire to pursue their livelihood rather than an expression of specific loyalty. Some London merchants, such as Samuel Enderby, who had previously imported oil from the American colonies, engaged the services of these whalers to form the basis of British whaling in the south seas.

The Enderbys were the second largest owner of whaling ships in the British industry of the 18th and 19th centuries but for their role in promoting the trade they were second to none. Enderby's ship *Emilia* was the first, in 1788, to pursue the Sperm whale fishery in the Pacific (Bennett, 1840: 185) and their ships were the first to open other fisheries, such as off Japan in 1819 (Brooke, 1941: 11). The Enderbys, in co-operation with other owners consistently argued for government assistance by the way of premiums, bounties and duties on foreign oil to enhance their competitive position. They also argued persuasively for the removal of legislative barriers that gave exclusive rights to the East India Company, limiting their ability to fish and trade. These measures occurred at a time when the whale stocks appeared to be boundless and foreign competition was limited by British maritime supremacy during the Napoleonic and American wars. By the 1820's Britain had established a large and flourishing whaling trade and her ships dominated the southern fishery (Jones 1981a). For some the Enderbys epitomised this pre-eminence. Herman Melville, author of *Moby Dick*, thought that the house of the Enderbys 'in my poor whaler's opinion, comes not far behind the united royal houses of the Tudors and the Bourbons, in point of real historical interest' (Gordon, 1938: 28).

The whaling trade, however, remained a speculative venture and while large profits were made, so too were major losses. Some of the early investors in the industry became bankrupt even as the industry, as a whole, thrived (*The Times*, 1818: 21 December; 2a).

The Decline of the British Fishery

The de-facto monopoly that Britain enjoyed during and following the wars, when foreign capital was scarce initially, was not to last. The growing domestic economy in America increased the demand for whale oil and the New England industry quickly grew to meet it. The

strategic reasons for supporting the whale industry during the war years were no longer relevant during the 1820s and in 1824 the premium of 30 shillings per ton on the burden of the ships was removed. The reduction of vegetable seed duties during this decade and improvements in crushing technology created new competition for whale oil but high demand in the expanding economy helped offset its impact (Jackson, 1993: 115; *The Times*, 1846: 9 June, 5f). The development of colonial whaling also had its impact. Shore and pelagic whaling from Australia, South Africa and New Zealand required relatively low capital so that products provided to the British market remained competitive (Harmer, 1928).

The domestic market was still protected by high duties placed on foreign oils but the removal of direct fiscal encouragement and growing competition resulted in the slow decline of the industry in Britain, reflecting its relative productivity and profitability. Davis and Gallman estimated that between 1817 and 1842 the British industry was only about two-thirds as profitable as the American industry (1993: 58). Jackson considered that as far as mercantile or maritime capitalism was concerned, whaling was only one of a number of competing investment opportunities; and as it was not generally an economic imperative, British investment in it more accurately reflected circumstances when it was advantageous to do so (1993: 111). From the 1830s, many entrepreneurs had simply found better things to do with their money, while those staying in the trade were also investing in other enterprises.

The true test of British competitiveness came in 1843 when the duty on foreign oil was reduced from 532 to 126 shillings per tun. Enderby, writing to W.E. Gladstone, stated that this measure had cost his firm £26,000 (1846a). Gladstone, as President of the Board of Trade, had been the chief assistant to Peel in reforming the tariff. The introduction of income tax in 1842 had met the deficit and the excess was used for reducing the duties on 750 imported articles. Gladstone explained his essential free-trade manifesto in his 1845 publication, 'Remarks upon recent commercial legislation', which argued that it was the duty of a sound financier to encourage the growth of commerce by removing all burdens from the materials of industry (Paul, 1901: 284). While this was good for the British economy its effect on the southern whale fishery was to depress returns and reduce investment in it.

While capitalists were leaving, young whalers were no longer entering the trade. The average monthly earnings of British whalers were lower in the 1840s than at the turn of the century and many worked for higher pay in the merchant service or, if continuing in the trade, by manning American whalers (Hohman, 1928: 238). *The Times* stated that it was 'not easy to discover why a trade which attracts large and increasing investments of American capital should prove in so declining a condition in British hands' (1846: 9 June, 5f-6a). A correspondent explained it as 'the greater cost of fitting out whalers here, the drunkenness, incapacity and want of the masters and crews' (1846: 18 June; 8f).

Innovation in the American Fishery

While the period 1840-1860 was the height of American dominance of the whaling trade its profitability was under pressure from rising costs of outfitting and a rise in the percentage of the lay, or fraction of the value of the total catch, paid to the crew. The real

productivity of the American industry actually declined by 15%, from the late 1830s to early 1850s, measured on total revenue per vessel ton. The industry remained profitable due to technical improvements in vessel and rigging design, innovative management, the discovery of new grounds and continued strong demand. Transshipping of oil on merchant vessels or other whalers from ports in Hawaii, San Francisco, Panama, Sydney and Mauritius resulted in more efficient use of capital stock and by the early 1840s almost every whaling agent had adopted it. New grounds, for acquiring common whale oil, in the North Pacific at Kamchatka, the Sea of Okhotsk and the Arctic, via Bering Strait, were discovered during the 1840s. Increased production coincided with growing prices particularly for common whale oil and whalebone, which were utilised increasingly for heavy lubricating oils and growing demand for strong but flexible material for application in industry (Davis, 1993: 57-61).

The New Zealand Right Whale Fishery

The Right whale, which also referred to as the 'black' or 'common' whale, fishery was pursued around New Zealand by three different methods. Pelagic, or open sea, whaling was conducted principally by American and British ships but whalers from France, Germany, Tasmania and New South Wales were also present. Bay whaling, was performed during seasonal migrations, when Right whales were close to shore and whale boats could reach them from the anchorage. This was similar to shore whaling except that the fixed base required consistent yearly migrations past the same locality. Abundant Right whale stocks and the relatively low cost to fit out a shore station, estimated to be approximately £1,200, encouraged at least 113 shore stations to open around the New Zealand coast between 1827-1847 (Rickard, 1965: 52; Gaskin, 1967: 1).

The shore and bay fisheries brought about the quick decline of the Right whale fishery, partly as most catches were females, which kept closer to the coast while nursing their calves. The practice of wounding the calf to ensure the capture of the dam was condemned by Dieffenbach, who considered it was 'felling the tree to obtain the fruit' and concluded that 'in a few years this trade ... will be annihilated' (1843: 53-55). This had earlier been predicted by Hay who thought 'the trade cannot last many years, but like sealing, will eventually fail from extermination' (1832: 133). Dawbin estimated that approximately three-quarters of all Right whale catches around south-eastern Australia and New Zealand were during the decade 1835-1844 followed by decline as a result of depletion (1986: 261). Morton considered that: 'by 1850 the Right whales were gone from New Zealand coastal waters, at least in the numbers required to support a truly viable industry' (1982: 297).

Whaling in the New Zealand region contributed to the general reduction of Right whale abundance around the Auckland Islands (Cawthorn, M. 1995: personnel communication, 24 April) but more specific exploitation occurred from the mid 1830s to mid 1840s, when American, French, Portuguese and colonial vessels frequented the grounds and islands (Appendix 11).

The Antarctic Stocks

Gambell states that there is no initial population estimate for Right whales (1983: 16), but exploitation in the Southern Hemisphere between the 1820s and 1840s suggest a substantial original stock. Right whales were known to occur in subantarctic waters and an American whaler captured one at 57°S (Matthews, 1937: 171), but there was speculation as to whether they occurred further south. The most influential publication indicating that they may, was Ross's report on his Antarctic exploration (1847). A summary of the comments by Ross regarding whales and whaling is at Appendix 3. Due to the importance these were to the establishment of the Southern Whale Fishery Company and subsequent Antarctic enterprise it is important to analyse what Ross actually saw.

Antarctic whaling in the early 20th century resulted in whales being caught year round at South Georgia (55°S), occasionally at the South Orkney (60°-61°S) and South Shetland Islands (63°S) and from the Antarctic pelagic fleet (Headland, 1993: 193-194; Hjort, 1930: 7-27; Mackintosh, 1942: 200-235; Marr, 1935: 324; Rayner, 1938: 252; Risting, 1922: 358-418). The Right whale catches were low and although this can be largely attributed to depleted stocks from previous exploitation, they were clearly less common at higher latitudes. The presence of Right whales below 60°S indicates that it was possible that Ross saw them in large numbers in these latitudes but this is considered unlikely. Dr. Hooker stated that they did not see any Right whales after they got amongst the ice at Victoria land and one of the mates, Mr. Abernethy, considered that the whales in the Antarctic were different from anything he had seen in the Arctic (Gray, 1874: 12). A seaman who had previously been whaling in the Arctic, Alexander Craig, wrote about Fin, Bottlenose and Grampus but never about common or Right whales (Gray, 1891: 15-17). A summary of whale observations from the logbooks of *Erebus* and *Terror*, at Appendix 4, has only one mention of black whales and none of common. In an appendix to Ross's book, the surgeon on H.M.S. *Erebus*, Robert McCormick, stated that in the open water of high Antarctic latitudes 'whales were spouting in all directions, chiefly the finner, and a beautiful piebald grampus, or small whale, spotted reddish brown and white' (1847: 417). A more detailed summary of his observations, at Appendix 5, indicates that while he saw Fin or Blue, Sperm and Killer whales he did not use the term 'common'. He referred to a large Fin or Sperm whale as 'black' and this indicates the problem of assuming that this term always referred to Right whales.

An analysis of what Ross actually wrote is shown at Table 2. In all his references to whales in the Antarctic he mentions 'common black' only once and that was four days after the *Erebus* sailed south of 60°S on the first of three seasons in the Antarctic. The statement refers to several species, presumably seen over the past two days, so any Right whales sighted may have been seen between 62°10'S and 64°S. The reference to the whales being an 'unusually large size' would suggest Blue or Fin whales, for which Ross would have been less familiar with, but using this appellation in conjunction with 'common black, similar but distinct to Greenland [Bowhead] whales' is enigmatic and a conclusion is difficult to make. All that can reasonably be concluded is that Ross had seen several species of whales and, at times, a great number of them. Due to this uncertainty it is necessary to compare this with what he

subsequently wrote. The word 'common' is not used again while 'black' is only used when appended by 'great numbers ... of the largest size' and this probably refers to Blue or Fin whales. The conclusion is that Ross was unlikely to have seen a large number of Right whales in the Antarctic but probably did not mistake other species for them either; rather his description has consistently been selectively quoted and misunderstood, even to the present day (Ross, 1982).

The prevailing view was, however, that the Antarctic contained large stocks of Right whales, and this was strengthened following the discovery of the abundant Bowhead whale stock in the Bering and Beaufort Seas in the late 1840s. When Maury published his whale chart in 1851 he included a notation below 60°S: 'It is supposed that the Right Whales resort to these grounds in considerable numbers and that good fishing may be had in these latitudes'.

Table 2

Descriptions of Whales by Ross in the Antarctic Region (south of 60°S)

Description	Observations	Species
'a few' or 'several' or 'some' or 'very few whales'	8	[Not clear]
'a great many whales' or 'numerous whales' or 'many whales' or 'whales were seen in great numbers' or 'whales were also seen in considerable numbers'	5	[Not clear]
'a great number of whales ... chiefly of a very large [or] large size' or 'the whales ... though of a large size ... were by no means as numerous as we found them in other parts'	3	[Probably] Fin or Blue
'hunchbacked whales' or 'the hunch-back kind'	2	Humpback
'sperm' or 'a few sperm'	2	Sperm
'a few whales of the finner kind' or 'some finners'	2	Fin
'a great number of whales of two different kinds were seen: the larger kind having an extremely long, erect back fin' or 'also the piebald kind, were numerous along the pack edge'	2	Killer
'a great number of whales of two different kinds were seen: ... whilst that of the smaller species was scarcely discernible' or 'small fin-backed whale ... numerous along the pack edge'	2	Minke
'great numbers of the largest-sized black whales' or 'a very great number of the largest-sized black whales'	2	[Not clear]
'great many whales were seen, chiefly of the common black kind, greatly resembling, but said to be distinct from, the Greenland whale: ... they appeared chiefly to be of an unusually large size'	1	[Not clear]

Reference: Appendix 3

Reviving the Fishery

Support from Ross

In his report of his Antarctic voyage, Ross frequently mentioned the possibilities of establishing a whaling industry utilising Antarctic whale stocks. He also ventured his opinion on the suitability of the Auckland Islands as a penal settlement and a letter regarding this was sent, in 1841, to Sir John Franklin, the Governor of Van Diemen's Land. Franklin subsequently forwarded it to the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Ross, 1847:139-140). These comments were not required by the instructions received from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty (1847: xxi-xxviii) and the obvious importance Ross attached to them may have indicated either: his consideration that he had a professional obligation to present such facts or opinions; that he desired recognition for discovering something of continuing significance, such as the way the settlement of Australia could be related to Cook's discoveries; or a desire to avoid the charge that such a voyage resulted in no economic benefit to the nation. A review of his book considered the utilitarian question 'What good is to result from these discoveries?':

If the time should arrive, perhaps some symptoms of its approach are discernible, when Englishmen can find capital, leisure, and intellect, for any object and any enterprise other than that of connecting points in space by intervening bars of iron, we believe that few speculations will be found more sound, more profitable, and more congenial to our national habits than that suggested by the present grantee of the Auckland Islands, which were discovered under his auspices - the industrious, the liberal, and the entirely sagacious and practical Mr. Enderby (The Quarterly Review, 1847: 186).

Ross had associated himself with this enterprise by acknowledging 'the project is not a recent one on the part of the Messrs. Enderby, but was formed by them ... immediately upon the return of our expedition' (1847: 130). He rejoiced at the grant of the Auckland Islands being made to 'those truly enterprising merchants, the Messrs. Enderby' and considered:

In a national point of view, whether as regards our maritime or commercial ascendancy, an undertaking of this nature cannot fail to be of very great importance ... In the whole range of the vast Southern Ocean, no spot could be found combining so completely the essential requisites for a fixed whaling station (1847: 128-129; Appendix 3).

Similar comments had previously been made stating that the islands had 'considerable advantages to the southern whale-fishery' (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1842), but the opinion of Ross was highly regarded and was of specific advantage to Enderby's proposal.

Presenting the Argument

In 1821 the British southern whale fishery engaged 164 ships but 25 years later there were only 25% of this number while the Americans employed about 700 (New Zealand

Journal, 1846: 279). In 1842, *The Times* stated: 'the Americans, it would seem, are making the trade in oil ... entirely their own (12 December, 3e). By 1846, however, the concerns were not simply mercantile, but addressed the wider issues of maritime resources and the connection between maritime power and security of commerce. Abrogating the leadership in the trade was one thing; that of maritime dominance quite another. The concern was expressed: 'England cannot allow herself, with impunity, to be superseded or surpassed upon the waters of any portion of the globe' (*The Times*, 1846: 9 June, 5f-6a).

Enderby acknowledged these concerns, and later argued that the whale fishery would create an important school for seamen, but initially his arguments were based on the advantages of the Auckland Islands. He was determined that the gradual decline of the British southern whale fishery should not be accepted as either fate or the diminution of the enterprise and initiative that had started it (Appendix 6). This undoubtedly reflected some sentimental attachment to the pioneering and substantial role of the Enderby firm, as well as other mercantile and personal concerns, and he showed no lack of energy in pursuit of this goal, despite various difficulties and frustrations that delayed the implementation of his plans.

Gaining the Lease

It has been suggested that the Government fell in readily with the arrangement to grant a lease of the islands (Carrick, 1892: 2), but the reality was not so straightforward. Enderby first requested Lord Stanley for a grant to the islands in April 1844 but it was turned down because:

1. It was against standard practice for the use of Crown property
2. It was a hazardous principle to make a grant on the grounds of discovery
3. It was impossible to sell or lease lands for which there was no certain knowledge
4. Selling land would have entitled the purchaser to demand protection from the British government in his occupation of the land, thereby, in effect, creating a new colony
5. Because there was no apparent reason why any exclusive advantages in the whale fishery at the Auckland Islands should be given to him
6. The solicited measure would have been a departure from all recent usage and precedent (Enderby, 1846a).

He wrote to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Peel, in July 1845 restating his arguments concerning the suitability of the Auckland Islands and the valuable services performed for the nation by his family and rested their claim to a grant based on the national benefit expected to result from their enterprise (Appendix 6). Enderby also wrote to Gladstone, who was now Secretary of State for the Colonies, suggesting that he was still awaiting a reply to his letter written in 1844. This letter is significant for indicating Enderby's implied connection made between his future prosperity and the successful outcome of his request (1846a). Enderby was disappointed at Gladstone's response and considered that he was ignorant regarding the Auckland Island fisheries, but was more encouraged by support from Sir George Cockburn, First Sea Lord and the Earl of Haddington, First Lord of the Admiralty (Enderby, 1846b). Enderby had written to the Committee of Privy Council for Trade (1845b), followed by a series of letters to J.G. Shaw Lefevre answering many of the proposals being considered

(1846c; 1846d; 1846e). These included the granting of only Enderby Island and a suggested payment of £20,000 for the islands. Enderby contended that the measures to prevent grants of land being made, were intended for land already occupied and an Act of Parliament could except the Auckland Islands, adding that the expenses of a Government establishment would be met by the grantees. Cockburn forwarded these proposals to Haddington, who then wrote to Peel stating:

All certainly is not gold that glistens - least they ask for nothing in the shape of money - and it would be a most important thing to give [encouragement to] the South Whale Fishery now all but monopolised by the Americans and carried on (if I am not mistaken) in vessels chiefly manned by our people (1846).

The Council for Trade accepted that the meritorious services of the family in discovery and merchant service entitled them to favourable consideration but considered that the proposal was liable to objection on principle or on grounds of public policy (Lefevre, 1846)

Peel resigned in 1846 and the subsequent administration of Lord John Russell was more favourable to the request. George Eden, Earl of Auckland, and son of the person after whom the islands were named, joined the cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty and continued to give significant support from the Navy. Earl Grey, who had recently been made the Secretary of State for the Colonies had been asked by the Earl of Clarendon, President of the Board of Trade, whether the Auckland Islands were claimed as British possessions, and if so whether any objection would be made to a grant 'of the principal one to Mr. Enderby for the purpose of being used as a whaling station'. Grey sought the opinion of the experienced Under Secretary of State, James Stephens (1847), noting that he had checked Arrowsmith's map of the world and saw that the islands were colonial red 'which I suppose implies some sort of claim on our part'. He then stated that he saw no specific objection to the request, but to put the issue into perspective he went on to comment, 'To turn to a very much more important subject, ... respecting transportation ..' (1846). Grey's support of free trade and a desire to lessen the responsibilities and expenses of the state (Carr, 1901: 362-363), rested reasonably with Enderby's proposal of entrepreneurial endeavour at no cost to the Government, and his casual comments to Stephens marked the turning point for Enderby's efforts.

Stephens wrote to Enderby later in the year recommending a 30 year lease with a 30 year right for renewal and the requirement of the lessees to bear the whole expense of civil government and the protection of the settlers (1846). The opinion of the Colonial Land Emigration Office was sought, but they noted that as there was already support from Grey they would keep their comments to specific matters (1846). The lease was granted on 1 March 1847, and included the condition that 'no charge whatever shall at any time be thrown upon the British Treasury by reason of such occupation'. An annual rent of £1,000 was required after two years of a 'peppercorn' rent (Great Britain, 1853: 21-24).

Other proposals

Enderby was not alone in Britain in desiring to re-establish a substantial fishery and a similar proposal, but also including the northern fishery, was advertised by the British Whale and Seal Fishery Company in 1846 (*The Times*: 2 November, 1e). Having a prominent group of directors had helped to obtain a recommendation for a Royal Charter, in April, although the company had yet to finalise a satisfactory deed of settlement or to raise an agreed proportion of its capital; conditions that had been previously required before a charter was granted (Great Britain, 1846; Northcote, 1847). This was an important departure from usual practice and one that was to create a useful precedent for the later application of the Southern Whale Fishery Company. Company law was transformed from the 1840s with the Joint Stock Company Act of 1844 creating the right for incorporation of partnerships, but it was not until the Limited Liability Act, of 1855, that liability was limited to the amount unpaid on subscribed shares (Rudolph, 1969: 16). Prior to this a Royal Charter was the only means for obtaining unlimited liability.

The American dominance of the trade was sometimes considered to be a result of their temperance and energetic habits. The reformation of the national character was argued therefore to be the principal requirement to improve Britain's relative success. The British Whale and Seal Fishery Company proposed to achieve this by regulating its ships systematically, with advancement depending upon conduct alone. There were doubts whether such a moral revolution was possible, but it was never tested, for despite generally favourable reviews insufficient capital was raised. The authorised capital of £250,000 was to be raised in 2,500 shares of £100, but the prospectus forecast only moderate dividends based upon the principle of averaging the variable profits and losses through a period of several years. This was insufficient to encourage a public investing heavily, and somewhat indiscriminately, in railway stock (*The Times*, 1846: 4 November, 3a; 1847: 13 January, 6a; *New Zealand Journal*, 1846: 278-279).

In 1846 the *Aberdeen Journal* considered that the best site for a whaling station was around Cook's Strait, due to its proximity to the whaling grounds, availability of labour and the abundance of natural resources for shipbuilding and the whaling trade. This was, according to the journal, 'the only plan to really compete with the Americans', but Enderby had another, envisaging a colonising company that was not to be built around existing settlements, but to create its own (*New Zealand Journal*, 1846: 278-280).

International Interest

The proposals within Britain to support its whaling industry, were similar to ones made in most European maritime nations during the late 1830s and 1840s. They focused on the obvious success of the American fishery and occasionally on the economic development of remote or colonial territories and the re-establishment of an industry that had previously been significant in the nation's history. Some governments, such as the Netherlands, Russia,

Portugal and France offered premiums or subsidies to encourage the fishery, but expectations were usually higher than the results obtained. In Germany it was written:

it will appear that \$7,000,000 capital employed in this fishery, must have produced ... a profit of \$5,150,000 ... it is quite clear that even making the most liberal allowances for [depreciation] the capital employed in this trade in America must produce splendid interest (from Prussian Staats Zeitung reprinted; The Times, 1843: 20 February, 6a).

A proposal in the Netherlands from 1839 stated:

... the conclusion [is] that great profits have been reaped in this fishery ... otherwise there would at present not be so many participants. When considering these facts, it must certainly be astounding that we Netherlanders, who in previous times fitted out more whalers than all other maritime nations put together, nowadays as it were have become estranged from a branch of industry that others exploit with such great benefit (Broeze, 1977: 70,95).

The Southern Whale Fishery Company

Re-establishing the Fishery

Enderby's proposal to re-establish the British southern whale fishery was published after being assured of the grant to the Auckland Islands and was, as he commented in the book, a project he had worked on for over three years, (*The Times*, 1847: 13 January, 6a). The introductory letter by T.R. Preston is interesting for its observation that the British fishery had not sufficiently adapted itself to meet foreign and colonial competition as well as to meet diminished profits caused by changes in legislation that had previously protected the industry.

Enderby considered that it was no longer expedient to prosecute the fishery from Britain. The advantages of the Pacific included: vessels would be located close to the fishery, smaller ships with lower capital and outfitting costs and fewer crew could be used, oil could be transhipped allowing more time for whaling, annual returns of oil would result in less leakage and a more regular cashflow, there would be closer supervision resulting in less time in port and cessation of masters trading on their own account.

The claimed return of a colonial vessel employed in the common whale fishery, after costing the outfit for a two year voyage at £5,500, was £5,576. Enderby suggested:

Taking, however, only half of this amount, the actual profit realised will still be upwards of 50%; or, say, at least, 25% per annum, after deducting the probable cost of the home and local establishments (1847: 41).

It would appear that the costs of the establishments were included in the half that was removed to avoid exaggeration or, if factored into the reduced expectation, the yearly return would be £697 per vessel equating to an annual profit of 13%. Either way the expected 'overhead' costs were not clearly defined. A fleet of at least 50 ships was suggested which would provide sufficient returns to minimise the proportion paid to establishment and running costs but no analysis was made of its potential costs.

While the relative advantages for the prosecution of the fishery from the Australasian colonies were fairly argued from the British perspective there were serious shortcomings when analysing it from the colonial experience. Enderby showed that the returns of whale oil from Australia and New Zealand were consistently declining from 1838, but explained this as a result of colonial recession, so that capital had been transferred to other speculations offering larger profits. The conclusion made was that the colonial requirement was the provision of dedicated capital. His inability to appreciate that the fishery was actually failing from declining stocks was affected by his view, which was widely held at the time, that whale populations had not decreased in size, but had changed their migration patterns following continuous exploitation. After the settlement had failed, Enderby mentioned that a few years prior to establishing it, two colonial whalers had taken 3000 barrels of oil from the islands. Rather than considering their experience to be an inevitable consequence to unsustainable levels of

exploitation he concluded that the lower abundance of whales they experienced was an unfortunate circumstance (1847: 7, 24-25; 1848b; 1854: 23).

Enderby considered the general advantages of the Auckland Islands to be significant, but when comparing these to locations in New Zealand or Van Diemen's Land it is clear that there was only one. This was the promise of an undisturbed and extensive fishery in the Antarctic, as reported by Ross, Balleny and Biscoe. Due to the short season available for its prosecution, there would be insufficient time to reduce the blubber to oil. The blubber needed to be stowed in casks until it could be taken to a sheltered base as close as practicable to the Antarctic. This was required to reduce the period of stowage and the higher temperatures for which the blubber may be subjected, for the quality, and hence value, of the oil produced was proportional to these effects. The location of the Auckland Islands was therefore properly regarded for its proximity to the Antarctic whaling grounds, its cooler summer temperatures and its sheltered and ice-free harbours.

The Royal Charter

Enderby had proposed that a 'Southern Whale Fishery Company should be established ... under the sanction of a charter from the Crown' (1847: 59). The application for a Royal Charter was ordered by Her Majesty in Council to be referred to the Board of Trade (Bathurst, 1847), who subsequently recommended it the following month (Great Britain, 1847). Further delays were to occur, however, and the punctilious civil servant at the Board of Trade, Stafford Northcote, pointed out the difficulty presented to the Board in judging on a proposal that contemplated more than 'merely trading speculations, and ... aims also at ... colonising a new district'. For this the Secretary of State for the Colonies needed to be consulted (Northcote, 1847). By December, the Board was happy to grant the charter on the same basis as the British Whale and Seal Fishery Company, but Northcote again complained that Enderby wanted the charter to empower the Company to avail itself of the lease granted to the Messrs. Enderby; a consideration for Lord Grey (Enderby, 1847d). This further delayed the process of drafting an acceptable charter and it was not granted until 16 January 1849 (Enderby, 1847e; 1849a; Northcote, 1848). The charter, however, had the provision that the deed of settlement was to be prepared to the satisfaction of the Board of Trade. When the Company's solicitors forwarded the draft with proposed alterations (Tatham, 1849a) the Board replied within a week (Great Britain, 1849), rejecting the attempt of the Company to obtain wider powers and advantages. Its request for the power to mortgage the undertaking and the future calls on the shareholders to raise up to one half of the paid up capital was indicative of the difficulty the Company was having in raising the required capital (Tatham, 1849b). The capital had already been reduced from Enderby's original requirement of £300,000 to £100,000 (1849a: 50) but it was not until June that the directors could inform the Board of Trade that more than one half of the capital was subscribed, more than one fourth (£25,000) paid up and at least two thirds of the members of the Company had executed the Deed of Settlement and Copartnership (Enderby, 1849b).

A Colonising Company

Enderby proposed the colonisation of the Auckland Islands along with the establishment of the whale fishery. He outlined several advantages to the company, including: a character of permanence and stability within the whaling establishment, the provision of domestic associations to promote the cause of morality, the presence of artisans and labourers for the whaling industry and agricultural production and revenue from the sale and lease of land. Enderby considered that the colonising branch of the undertaking should act as an auxiliary to the whaling branch and entail no pecuniary charge upon it. Part of the profit from land sales was to be used to aid immigration, construction of public works, schooling, religious instruction, surveys and a hospital for invalid seamen. The incentive of no taxes or duties was expected to encourage settlement and private investment in business and agriculture (Enderby, 1847: 60-62).

The will to colonise was, with few exceptions including the major one of transportation, private. Government policy was essentially reactive throughout most of the 19th century, only declaring sovereignty when it was strongly desired for settlement. This general reluctance was associated with the inherent cost of administration and the move toward free trade meant that there were no special economic advantage to control or subsidise colonies (Fieldhouse, 1965: 248-251). The growth in emigration did not reflect the indifference of government for it increased from 2,000 in 1815 to 368,000 per year in 1852. Gladstone noted in a speech that emigration was no longer a resort for 'the needy and the necessitous, but it is the most adventurous, the most enterprising, the most intelligent [emigrating]' (1855). For many however, while the will to emigrate was high, the destination was not as important and often related to circumstance rather than design.

The intended mode of government was to be a resident Chief Magistrate, paid for by the grantees (Enderby, 1847: 61). This changed after Enderby obtained the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor, on 16 June 1849. The appointment was made on his own application, although it was done in accordance with the wishes of the Company, possibly to enhance its profile within Government and to colonists and investors in general (Dundas, 1852: 3; Enderby, 1854: 19; *The New Zealander*, 1853: 2 November, 3b). The appointment was made on the understanding that, in accordance with the Charter, it would incur no costs (Newcastle, 1853a).

Enderby's plans created colonial interest and it was the Government's desire for the Company to prosecute the fishery from an established colony (1849a: 26). The prospect of capital investment was important to new and developing colonies and Enderby received a number of proposals to locate his enterprise elsewhere. The *Sydney Morning Herald* considered that the establishment should be situated along the New South Wales coast and considered that the inducements of the Auckland Islands to colonising emigrants, not employed in the whale fishery, was overrated (*The New Zealander*, 1850: 27 February, 2d-3a).

The New Zealand Interest

The actual jurisdiction of the Auckland Islands was not always clear due to contradictory boundary delineation and official advice. The original territorial designation for New Zealand was:

lying between the 34th degree 30 minutes north to the 47th degree 10 minutes south latitude and the 166th degree 5 minutes to the 179th degree of east longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Greenwich (Great Britain, 1840).

This excluded the Subantarctic and Chatham Islands, but included a large part of the North Pacific and it was later revoked and amended to:

comprise all those territories, islands, and countries lying between 33 degrees of south latitude and 53 degrees of south latitude, and between 162 degrees of east longitude, reckoning from the meridian of Greenwich, and 173 degrees of west longitude, reckoning from the same meridian (Great Britain, 1842).

When, on 20 June 1845, George Grey was commissioned as Governor of New Zealand, his Letters Patent were based on the 1840 designation. These were also used in 1846 for the 'Act to make further provision for the Government of the New Zealand Islands', in which Grey received his new commission as Governor-in-Chief (Ross, 1964:17). Grey did not question the limits to his jurisdiction and showed a continuing interest in New Zealand's influence north of 33°S and south of 47° 10'S.

When Earl Grey wrote to Grey in 1847 he was probably already aware of Enderby's plan through the publication of his book (1847a), but his instruction to provide assistance where possible (Enderby, 1848b), encouraged a more specific interest. Grey considered that the Auckland Islands were within the limits of his government (1848d) and desired to view their potential personally. In a series of letters, (1847a-1848c), to Captain Maxwell, Senior Officer on the New Zealand Station, Grey requested the use of the steamer H.M.S. *Inflexible* to proceed to a number of destinations, including the Auckland Islands. Various delays in conducting Government business, resulted in Grey having to release the ship, from Nelson, to proceed in accordance with its previous orders. Earl Grey had written to the Admiralty in May 1847 requesting they direct ships on the New Zealand Station to visit occasionally the Auckland Islands (Hawes, 1849). Instructions subsequently forwarded were carried out by HMS *Fly*, which reported that the islands were inhabited (Grey, 1848d). The Maori and Moriori settlers living there had migrated from the Chatham Islands in late 1843, but despite visits by whaling ships, their presence was probably little known outside the Chatham Islands (Appendix 11).

Johnny Jones, a pioneering settler in Otago and early sealer and shore whaler, made a strong argument to locate the establishment at Port Chalmers. Jones' summarised his proposal: *With ... natural resources in abundance, a whaling company would find Port Chalmers rise up with quays, warehouses and well-filled granaries demanding no more than custom, their capital remaining wholly available for fishing. Why then try to divert the natural and expected course of trade, and by the force of capital to make the Auckland Islands the depot?* (Appendix 7).

The published response to the letter, which has every indication of being drafted by Enderby, was interesting for the 'especial points' regarding the suitability of the islands, as these were the primary arguments against Government and colonial pressure and better reveal Enderby's thinking. They were:

1. The necessity that whaling stations should be isolated to preclude the chance of the population being attracted to other pursuits and to make the stores safe from plunder
2. An extensive and undisturbed fishery existed in the Antarctic Seas
3. The climate of Van Diemen's Land or New Zealand was too warm to take blubber, in its raw state, to be boiled down
4. Freedom from the immediate presence of any competitors (Appendix 7).

It could be argued equally that the frequency of desertion from whaling vessels was due to their inherent isolation, and Enderby himself noted the benefits of having the presence of families and developing a community at the islands, so that any specific benefits resulting from the first points are difficult to determine. The second and third points are related. The potential for an unexploited Antarctic fishery was probably considered to be the primary, albeit undetermined, value of the islands. The fourth point could relate to the prospects for shore or bay whaling, but it may also have been consideration that should an Antarctic fishery be established, the Auckland Islands were strategically placed to prosecute it.

The Public Response

The potential for Enderby's plan was generally well regarded and was greeted enthusiastically by those interested in colonisation, but finding sufficient investment capital was to prove difficult. *The Times* reported:

The advantages of the station seem to be beyond question, and the success of the project in the hands of a public company, supposing it to be conducted with honesty and vigour might also, as far as existing 'data' can aid us, be fairly reckoned upon. With the prospect of large profits, it presents the certainty of no great loss, since, although in the hands of individuals, there are few more speculative enterprises, it can be brought by a system of averages within the limits of perfect safety. Its national importance has at all times been obvious, and the results it is capable of yielding, and which we have hitherto suffered to slip away, may be understood from what has been achieved by the Americans. Notwithstanding these considerations, there is little room to hope that Mr. Enderby's proposal will excite any great attention, or meet with a practical trial ... due to a temporary inability on the part of the public to entertain the idea of investing capital in anything but railroads (1847: 13 January, 6a).

The newspaper was more confident in March when it reported that despite considering the scheme:

in every way desirable, we were unable, in the midst of the universal railway delusions ... to regard the chance of raising £250,000 or £300,000 (the required capital) as altogether hopeless ... [but] the end may be immediately attained ... [as] the governors

and directors of the South Sea Company ... resolved to consider the propriety of advancing the requisite sum (1847: 26 March, 7a).

Enderby had written to the South Sea Company, following a series of meetings with the Sub-Governor, Charles Franks, proposing that the Company provide £300,000 capital. He contemplated that £250,000 would be expended in vessels, £30,000 on wages for the seamen and £20,000 on buildings, roads, yearly salaries to officers and wages to labourers before any returns from the fisheries could be made. He expected that a period of 2 to 2½ years would be required from the departure of each ship from England before returns could be reasonably expected but income should be close to meeting expenditure by the third year. Enderby proposed an equal sharing of the profits resulting from land sales and returns from the fishery. A special committee was formed to consider the proposal and after reporting to the Court of Directors, on 15 April, it was resolved not to engage any capital into Enderby's proposal (South Sea Company, 1847: 5-9).

Enderby later suggested that Vancouver Island could be made a subsidiary or branch station to the Auckland Islands 'not because it is the most favourably situated for the purpose, but because its colonisation would be thereby insured'. This statement indicates the scope of Enderby's ideas; that the Auckland Islands should form the hub of a wider area of enterprise, but the apparent generosity should be considered relative to the support that he was seeking by co-operation with the Hudson's Bay Company. No material support resulted but the Governor, Sir Henry Pelly, remained interested in the development of Enderby's proposal (*The New Zealander*, 1849: 31 January, 3b; *The Times*, 1848: 6 September, 6a; 15, 3b-c). Further 'moral' support came from those interested in extending geographic knowledge with commercial endeavour. These included Enderby's associates such as Sir Roderick Murchison who read an account of the Auckland Islands at Oxford University, noting that the prospects for the fishery and colony were good (*The New Zealander*, 1847: 15 December, 3d).

The support may have been encouraging but the inability to raise sufficient capital was a frustrating time for Enderby who admitted that 'the general state of commercial and political affairs has been such as to preclude me and my friends from urging its adoption' (1848b: 246). By October 1848 he considered it necessary to promote actively the scheme by arguing for support of its public objectives as well as its commercial merits and published a prospectus in the *New Zealand Journal* because:

although I have received from various influential quarters gratifying assurances of co-operation and support, still, as the amount of subscriptions on which I have reason to rely (including the capital which I shall myself be disposed to invest) is not sufficient to permit of the project being realised, I have been induced to bring the matter forward in the present shape, trusting that the step may prove the means of obtaining a sufficient number of shareholders to guarantee success (1848b).

The prospectus stated that the capital was to be £300,000, in 6,000 shares of £50 each. The Board of Trade had not yet determined the authorised capital, but it indicates that Enderby still considered this amount necessary (1847a; 1848c).

A meeting was held in December, at which a provisional committee made its report that one-third of the capital had been subscribed and that due to the reduction in the value of shipping only two-thirds of proposed capital would be required to outfit 30 ships. Lower duties on shipbuilding materials had reduced expected costs, but the original plan had proposed 50 ships costing £5,500 each, for a capital of £275,000 (1847a: 41), or £6,000 per ship for the £300,000 capital stated in the prospectus. Thirty ships at £200,000 capital was however, a proportionally higher cost of £6,667 per ship. The statement acknowledged, however obscurely, that expectations had to be revised downwards; both for the potential capital raised and the number of ships they intended to employ. The meeting also elected provisional directors and noted the agreement of Rear Admiral Charles Philip Yorke, the Earl of Hardwicke, to act as Governor of the Company (*The Times*, 1848: 8 December, 6f).

A Short Account

In March 1849, Enderby published an account of the Auckland Islands in which he outlined its advantages for establishing a settlement and for prosecuting the fishery from there. It has been criticised for not portraying accurately the conditions of the islands but as a general overview for a little known place the practice of quoting the few references in previous publications appears fair and the book actually remained a standard reference to the islands for some time. Enderby paraphrased Morrell's comments although this did not effectively alter the account. Criticism, has been made however, in using Morrell at all, for comments such as 'all the hills, except a few of the highest, are thickly covered with lofty trees', were exaggerated (1832: 361). Enderby's own opinion of the dependability of Morrell was reserved; a fact noted in a letter of instruction to Captain Biscoe (1833) and by recalling that Morrell had once applied for employment to him but having 'heard so much about him that I did not think fit to enter into any engagement with him' (Hamilton, 1870: 154). Quoting his work may, therefore, appear disingenuous. Enderby did state, however, that 'to guard against the possibility of [Morrell's statements] being overrated, and thus leading to disappointment, it might perhaps be as well to receive some of them with caution' (1849a: 12).

Regarding colonisation, Enderby considered it 'should have some more definite object than that of merely getting rid of superabundant population' and argued that a colony had to produce products at a cheaper rate than elsewhere to succeed. The process of colonisation of the Auckland Islands would therefore 'be contingent on the success of the fishery' (1847a: 27, 33).

Enderby had received a sketch of the islands from Robert McCormick, which was enclosed in the account, and subsequently McCormick was interviewed at length by the directors regarding the capabilities of the islands for settlement (McCormick, 1884: 2-297-299). A new prospectus was enclosed proposing a capital of £100,000; only one third of that originally envisaged. The estimated return of £61,440 per annum, which after management and contingent expenses, was expected to produce an attractive dividend for shareholders (1849a: 54, Tables 3 and 4).

The estimated annual expenditure is difficult to determine due the varying figures used as shown at Table 5. The wages for the seamen on 30 ships was calculated at £30,000 but later Enderby estimates the amount as £20,000, but gives no reason for the difference. Expenditure for refitting was determined to come from the depreciated value of the ships, which were reduced in value by half, or £2500, after two years. The actual depreciation was probably not this high, so the difference could presumably be used for refitting, but Enderby later estimated the cost to be £1000 per annum, leaving an unrealistically low depreciation, for whaling ships, of 10% per annum. He also states that £20,000 would be spent on running the colony, and total expenditure on the islands would be £40,000, two thirds of the Company's expenditure. It appears that the costs of the colony were expected to arise through an internal transfer of funds to remove any double accounting but the actual internalisation costs are not specified. The conclusion is that the expected expenditure is inadequately calculated, with poor accounting practices, which appear to have underestimated the real costs. Perhaps more concerning was the use of expected returns based on 30 ships, which was unrealistic with the reduced capital available. This would also put a greater proportional pressure on the capital due to various fixed costs being the same. The plans for the settlement, however, do not appear to have changed.

It is surprising that the prospects for success were so widely accepted, despite having so clearly presented financial information that revealed its inherent faults. The directors should have examined carefully the proposal, but instead appear more interested in whether the Auckland Islands were suitable for settlement, than in whether they could afford to settle there. *The Times* financial column praised the account, considering that the annual expenditure of at least £40,000 at the islands, indicated a strength of the venture rather than a drain on capital (1849: 14 March, 6c). This uncritical review reflected the prevailing acceptance of the Company's expectations despite evidence which should have caused concern. *The Times* also noted that the constant disturbance of the whaling grounds had resulted in the growing shyness of the whales and lower returns reduced the profits of American ships to below 6% for the past three years. Instead of questioning how the Company could achieve 20% greater profitability than the Americans in accordance with its own estimates, the newspaper commented that the circumstance 'although injurious to the Americans, may tell rather favourably than otherwise for the fisheries from the Auckland Islands' (1849: 11 April, 5c).

Table 3**Two Year Projected Statement of Revenue and Expenses**

(Enderby's estimates for a 2 year operation starting in 1847 or 1849)

Returns: 2 voyages of one year each (2 prices quoted by Enderby in 1847 and 1849)		<u>1847</u>	<u>1849</u>
340 tuns of Common oil, listed at £18 and £22	6,120		7,480
30 tuns of Sperm oil, listed at £60 and £70	1,800		2,100
14 tons of Whalebone, listed at £180 and £130	<u>2,520</u>		<u>1,820</u>
Gross Returns (384 tons)		10,440	11,400
Expenses (estimated expenses are the same in 1847 and 1849)			
Freight: 384 tons at £6	2,304		
Wages: crew's share	2,000		
Depreciation: Cost of Equipment* Less Residual Value of Ship	5,500 <u>(2,500)</u> 3,000		
Total Expenses		<u>(7,304)</u>	<u>(7,304)</u>
Net Profit		<u>3,136</u>	<u>4,096</u>
Net Profit for 30 vessels		<u>94,080</u>	<u>122,880</u>
*Cost of Equipment			
Ship: 250 tons at 20 pounds per ton - including all expenses and insurance for a two year voyage		5,000	
Opportunity Cost of Investment Interest: (2 years, 5%, 5000)		<u>500</u>	
Initial Expenses (cost of equipment)			<u>5,500</u>

Reference: Enderby, 1847a; 1849a.

Table 4

One Year Projected Statement of Revenue and Expenses

(Based on Enderby's estimates for a 2 year operation quoted in 1847 and 1849)

	<u>1847</u>	<u>1849</u>
Returns: 1 voyage of one year (2 prices quoted by Enderby in 1847 and 1849)	3,060	3,740
170 (340/2) tuns of Common oil, listed at £18 and £2:	900	1,050
15 (30/2) tuns of Sperm oil, listed at £60 and £70	<u>1,260</u>	<u>910</u>
7 (14/2) tons of Whalebone, listed at £180 and £130	5,220	5,700
Gross Returns (384 tons)		
Expenses (estimated expenses are the same in 1847 and 1849)	1,152	
Freight: 384 tons at £6	1,000	
Wages: crew's share	2,750	
	<u>(1,250)</u>	1,500
Depreciation: Cost of Equipment* Less Residual Value of Ship		
Total Expenses	<u>(3,652)</u>	<u>(3,652)</u>
Net Profit	<u>1,568</u>	<u>2,048</u>
Net Profit for 30 vessels	<u>47,040</u>	<u>61,440</u>
*Cost of Equipment	<u>1 Year, 1 Ship</u>	
Ship: 125 (250/2) tons at 20 pounds per ton - including all expenses and insurance for a one year voyage	2,500	
Opportunity Cost of Investment Interest: (1 year, 5%, 5000)	<u>250</u>	
Initial Expenses (cost of equipment)		<u>2,750</u>

Reference: Enderby, 1847a; 1849a.

Table 5

Estimated Cost of Whaling Fleet and Settlement

1. Cost estimates: Projected (from statements); Estimated (from comments made), p43-44

	<u>2 Years, 1 Ship</u>			<u>2 Years, 30 Ships</u>		
	Projected	Estimated	Difference	Projected	Estimated	Difference
Re-equipment of Ships	2,500	2,000	500	75,000	60,000	15,000
Seamens wages	2,000	1,333	667	60,000	40,000	20,000

	<u>1 Year, 1 Ship</u>			<u>1 Year, 30 Ships</u>		
	Projected	Estimated	Difference	Projected	Estimated	Difference
Re-equipment of Ships	1,250	1,000	250	37,500	30,000	7,500
Seamens wages	1,000	666	333	30,000	20,000	10,000

2. Cost Breakdown made of necessary expenditure, p 41-42

	<u>1 Year, 30 Ships</u>	<u>2 Years, 30 Ships</u>
1. Establishment of Colony	not specified	not specified
2. Re-equipment of 30 ships for fishery	not specified	not specified
3. Salaries of Officers and servants	not specified	not specified
Wages for settlement laborers	not specified	not specified
4. Incidental fishing expenses	not specified	not specified
5. Casks	not specified	not specified
6. Repairing Ships	not specified	not specified
7. Purchasing Stores	not specified	not specified
	20,000	40,000
8. Wages for 700 seamen	<u>20,000</u>	<u>40,000</u>
Total Expenditure	<u><u>40,000</u></u>	<u><u>80,000</u></u>

Reference: Enderby, 1849a.

A Public Dinner

A public dinner was held in honour of Charles Enderby in April 1847. Such dinners were held to acclaim general approbation to certain individuals (*The Times*, 1835: 12 May, 5c) and although the dinner was to promote the company, indicated by the publication of the proceedings, it was also a mark of respect for Enderby. Admiral Dundas considered that 'Perhaps, in the course of many years, no festive meeting in the City of London had been held such as the present'. On proposing the toast for Enderby he praised him as 'one of the first citizens of London' and added that 'he hoped many then present would live to see that gentleman return well rewarded for his labours'. Enderby stated that 'he was so confident of success that, if he did not achieve it, he should not feel that he would be ever in a position to return to his country'. Mr. J.D. Powles stated that Enderby's labours were considerable and deserving of support and claimed that after careful consideration of his statements and calculations by the directors were confident they were without error or exaggeration (1849: 14-21). As it transpired, Enderby did return, not only without reward, but severely criticised for his management of the enterprise, while the directors, who were happy to associate themselves with Enderby's endeavour and ideas, at what may have been his greatest hour, were quick to disown them when it failed.

The attendance at the dinner included a number of parliamentarians and senior military officers as well as merchant colleagues and Fellows of the Royal Society and Royal Geographical Society. The list of attendees, shown at Appendix 8, is also significant for who was not there. Captain Sir James Clark Ross, who was closely associated with the formation of the proposal, was on service in the Arctic, searching for Sir John Franklin, and did not return until after Enderby had departed (*The Times*, 1849: 21 November, 4c-d). The statesman, W.E. Gladstone was not present, although he was in London at the time (Foot, 1974: 29). Fraser considered Gladstone to be a director (1986: 97) but this appears to result from confusing him with William Gladstone, a London merchant and director, who was present. A friend of W.E. Gladstone present at the dinner was J.E. Fitzgerald, soon to be the chief assistant to Godley and a future Superintendent of Canterbury Province in New Zealand (McLintock, 1966: 1-688). Fitzgerald had written to Gladstone in 1848 regarding Enderby's proposals which he considered as 'one of the most interesting experiments in colonisation ever yet made. Mr. Enderby is going out in person at his age and in his position is a step to be admired extremely'. The second Earl of Auckland, who had died earlier in the year (*The Times*, 1849: 2 January, 4e), was also remembered by Admiral Dundas for his 'repeatedly expressed wish that everything should be done which could secure the prosperity of the enterprise' (1849: 23).

Departure

The Company held a meeting to complete arrangements required in accordance with the deed of settlement and to make the first call for the capital (*The Times*, 1849: 19 May, 6f). On 29 June the Messrs. Enderby assigned over their leases to the Southern Whale Fishery

Company. This 'Declaration of Trust' entitled the Company to 100 acres of land to establish a whaling station and agreed to equally divide any net profits from the sale or lease of land between the Company and the Messrs. Enderby. On 30 June, the Company and Charles Enderby concluded their articles of agreement, which included the payment of not less than £500 per annum for his duties as Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor and £250 table money annually (Great Britain, 1855: 39-41). The first vessels departed in August carrying stores and personnel to establish the shore parties (*The Times*, 1849: 8 August, 3d). The impending arrival of the Company's ships at the islands prompted the directors to write to Earl Grey respecting the presence of sixty or seventy New Zealanders, for whom they:

had no desire to disturb, provided they prove harmless and circumstances permitted of their being usefully employed in the Company's service but as the contrary may be the case and it may be necessary that the whole or part of the number be removed, the Court are anxious that the Company's Commissioner should be authorised by your Lordship to request the Naval Commander on the New Zealand Station to convey them back to such place in New Zealand as the Governor of that colony may direct (Powles, 1849).

The request for specific naval ship visits was forwarded to the Admiralty, requesting that such visits be made as circumstances permit (Merivale, 1849). Earl Grey had no previous knowledge of the New Zealanders and stated that he could not consent to forcible removal unless it was a case of preservation of life but that 'their right to establish themselves there as British subjects and their property, if they have acquired any, must be respected' (Hawes, 1849). The response from the Admiralty went beyond what Grey had requested and was indicative of their support for the enterprise. The Commanding Officer of the New Zealand Station was instructed to take immediate steps toward complying with the request and to take on passage to New Zealand any persons wishing to be removed from the islands (Hamilton, 1849). Earl Grey forwarded the correspondence to Governor Grey noting:

you will observe the extent to which it has been thought right to comply with this request, but with respect to the ... removal of the New Zealanders, who are represented to be now located in the Islands to their own country, it is almost needless to remark that such a proceeding could only be sanctioned should circumstances so appear to render it inevitable or to make it desired by the New Zealanders themselves (Grey, 1849).

Governor Grey had reason to find this level of support frustrating in the future. When he desired to take a passage on H.M.S. *Fly* to Wellington he found that it was about to depart to the Auckland Islands, in accordance with the Admiralty instructions. He was however able to delay the sailing, achieve his aim and then board the ship for its subsequent visit to the islands (Grey, 1850a, 1850b, 1850c).

At the first annual meeting of the company (*The Times*, 1850: 22 February, 7a) it was reported that three whale ships had been sent out and five more were in progress of construction. It was contemplated there should soon be 10 or 12 ships, but it appears that this was dependent upon additional capital, and a motion for raising this was reserved for future

consideration. This meant effectively that the Company could not ensure any more than eight whalers would be deployed until at least 1851.

The Company at the Auckland Islands

The New Zealanders

The *Samuel Enderby* arrived at the islands on 4 December 1849, noting the presence of the New Zealanders, of whom 30 were said to be under the chief Mateoro, 25 under the chief Nanature and the remainder independent (*The Times*, 1850: 22 November, 3e-f). The colonists surprise upon finding the islands inhabited (Carrick, 1892: 24; King, 1989: 82) indicates that knowledge of their presence was generally limited. Enderby was familiar with the Maori as seamen through their regular employment on whaling ships, and had argued that the proximity of New Zealand to the Auckland Islands was advantageous for the ability to supplement the crews of the ships (Appendix 6). The New Zealanders were not willing to be removed so Enderby dealt with the question of rights to land and property:

*As they had many small plots of land under cultivation, the Commissioner thought it both reasonable and expedient to indemnify them for the relinquishment of what they conceived to be their rights, in respect to such land, notwithstanding they had no right of property therein, the whole Islands being vested in the Company; he therefore entered into an agreement with them, whereby in consideration of a small sum which he paid them they surrendered all their claims to land, enclosures, pigs &c., upon condition of being allowed to collect their growing crops. This agreement was regularly drawn up and signed after being fully explained to them by Mr. Cook, the second mate of the *Brisk*, who spoke their (the Maori) language, his mother being a native of New Zealand (Enderby, 1850a: 8).*

Enderby commissioned the two chiefs as constables, employed others as general labourers and a number also sailed on the Company's ships. The presence of both groups was mutually advantageous. The New Zealanders had the opportunity to earn money by paid employment or by selling produce to the Company to purchase a variety of provisions. The Company benefited by acquiring a source of fresh produce and labour at a low cost as there was no requirement to provide them with dwellings or food (1850a: 9).

The Antarctic Potential

The *Brisk* and the *Fancy* had arrived later in December and the crews assisted in making clearings for the stores and houses, before being sent out to the fishery. Initial expectations were high as *Brisk* had arrived at the islands with three tons of Sperm oil and Humpback whales had been sighted along the coast. The presence of Pilot whales and hair seals [Hookers Sea Lion] were considered advantageous to establishing a remunerating shore fishery. The first ship prepared for whaling was the *Brisk*, which departed on 20 January for the Antarctic with a volunteer crew. During its voyage a galvanised iron store was erected to work the blubber, expected upon its return (*The Wellington Independent*, 1850: 13 March,

2b). These expectations were not realised, for after sighting the Balleny Islands and sailing west at a higher southern latitude than Wilkes, but without sighting land (Mill, 1905: 173), they saw no Right whales and returned, on 17 March, an empty ship. Captain Tapsell reported:

If two ships properly fitted arrived in the latitude of 70°S by the beginning of January, so as to work up to 75°S and then in with the land, he had every reason to believe they would find plenty of Right whales, since he had seen a great number of whales of the kinds denominated Humpbacks, Finbacks, and Sulphur-bottoms, which, however could not be obtained except in shallow water (Enderby, 1850a: 4).

This effectively ended any hope for a workable, unexploited ground in the Southern Ocean; at least for ships with the level of technology possessed in 1850. Enderby's reports regarding this were matter of fact but when vindicating his proposal he made it clear that:

Brisk was sent to investigate reports of vast numbers of common whales in the Antarctic Seas. If this was correct the project of equipping vessels from the Auckland Islands would have afforded fourfold more profit than I held out in any of my calculations which were based ... on the actual average return of the ships employed in the American whale fishery (1854).

Establishing the Settlement

H.M Ships *Havannah* and *Fly* arrived in February and the officers reported that they were astonished at the progress made at the settlement (*The Southern Cross*, 1850: 29 March). The site of the Company's station, was selected to the south and west of Erebus Cove while the settlement, named Hardwicke after the Governor of the Company, was located immediately to the north of it (Figure 4). Horses grazed on Auckland Island, near Rose Island, while 300 sheep and 80 cattle were introduced to Enderby Island where stockyards were built and slaughtering was conducted weekly (1850a: 22).

The colonists utilised the various species of birds, fish, shellfish, pigs, and seals for food. Enderby considered that the wood would be useful for making furniture and the mechanics built a small cutter from the timber on the island (Appendix 9). The uses were limited, however, and it was reported that the settlement needed to import building materials as well as food and would be dependent on supplies from New Zealand or Australia (*The Southern Cross*, 1850: 29 March). The grasslands were suitable for grazing and the livestock thrived without shelter or supplementary feed. Initial expectations for growing root crops, based on the New Zealanders crops, were good and W.A. Mackworth, the Commissioners chief assistant, considered that 'the labour of land clearance would be fully compensated by the great natural richness of the soil'. He also considered the climate equal to March or April in England, and notable for its wind and high number of rain days (Enderby, 1850a).

In March many of the colonists struck work to compel the Company to increase their allowances. Enderby considered their demands unjustified and their conditions better than at adjacent colonies and dismissed six of them who departed on *Augusta* for Sydney. Requests were made to purchase land or cultivate plots, a savings bank was established and some of the

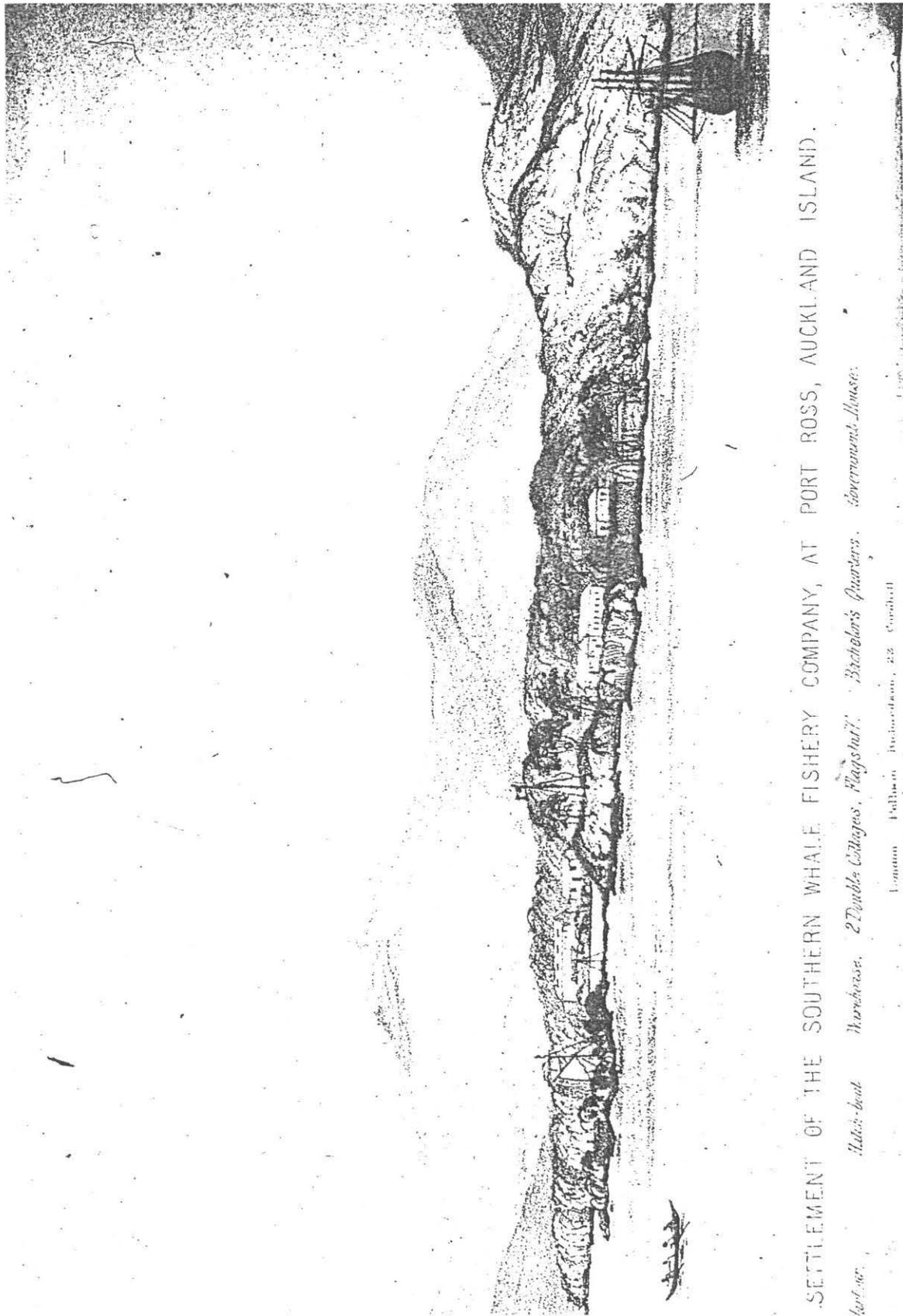
married men, who initially wished to ascertain the prospects of the islands, requested that their families be sent out to join them (1850a: 22-24). Enderby was troubled by the control and accounting of stores. He had proposed that private capital and enterprise should be devoted to business and agriculture (1847a), but the directors considered greater returns could be received by controlling all internal expenditure and they also would not accept land sales until surveys were complete.

In June, Enderby proclaimed the islands as private property vested in the Southern Whale Fishery Company and forbade whaling or sealing within the bays or harbours (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 1850: 22 November). By the end of the first winter there had been four marriages and four births and the general health was reported as very good with no sickness and the settlement thriving (*The Southern Cross*, 1850: 15 October, 4c-d). The Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, Sir George Grey visited at the end of 1850. Enderby marked the visit and the anniversary of their arrival, with a holiday that was celebrated with considerable spirit despite poor weather. *The Lyttleton Times* reported that none of the ships had yet returned with any oil, although considerable outlay was still going on and the people looked healthy and appeared reconciled to the place (1851: 18 January, 4a-b).

By December 1851, 20 acres had been cleared, five acres had been enclosed and brought into cultivation, one mile of road was made, a storehouse, stockyard, smithy, cooperage, boathouse and wharf had been built and thirty dwelling houses erected (Enderby, 1854: 21). A drawing of the Company's Station is shown at Figure 5.

Figure 5

The Southern Whale Fishery Company Station at Erebus Cove



Reference: Enderby, 1850a.

The Whale Fishery

The *Brisk* and the *Samuel Enderby* were despatched for the whaling grounds but due to concern regarding the seaworthiness of *Fancy*, she was moored off Ocean Point, to prosecute bay whaling. The need for stores and information led to the departure of Enderby for New Zealand in August (1850a: 4-5). During his absence the *Earl of Hardwicke* was damaged in Port Ross and was sent to Sydney for repairs at a cost of £450 (*The Times*, 1851: 26 February, 6c-d).

The bay whaling season for 1850 was not successful. In January 1851 a school of Pilot whales was driven up Laurie Harbour and 54 were captured, yielding 51 barrels of oil. The *Sir James Ross*, *Sir Edward Parry* and *Lord Nelson* arrived in January, followed by *Lord Duncan* in March (*The Times*, 1851: 1 July, 7f-8a). The movements and catches of these ships are listed, where known, at Appendix 9. Right whale fishing around New Zealand led to disappointing returns and the ships ranged widely to search for better grounds. An attempt was also made to pursue the Elephant Seal fishery on Macquarie Island (Cumpston, 1968: 75-78). Information regarding returns made is rare but an extract of an annual report gives some indication of their success, although written in a manner favourable to the Company:

The number of ships employed has been seven, and the aggregate of the time these were at sea being 85 months gives an average duration of each voyage a fraction above 12 months. The aggregate value of the produce of these vessels appears to be £17,885 showing an average earning per ship of £2,555 in 12 months. The voyages were in two cases total failures, and in two others the earnings would not leave any profit after charging all expenses and allowing for deterioration; but nevertheless the average earnings so far exceeded the estimated expenditure as to show a considerable surplus. The average total charge against each ship for 12 months is £1,760 and the profit which may therefore be estimated as realised is £795 per ship on seven vessels; which during the past year are reported to the directors as returned from their whaling cruizes, the aggregate of which is £5,565 (*The Times*, 1853: 1 March, 6d).

The Enderby's Financial Position

It was announced, in October, that the firm of Messrs. Enderby could no longer meet their engagements, which although stated to be small, had necessitated the disposal of their rope manufacturing plant at Greenwich. *The Times* stated that the difficulties of the firm had not been caused by their connection with the Southern Whale Fishery Company. While the newspaper predicted that this connection could only lead to their advantage, it would have been more accurate to comment that the future prosperity, for at least Charles, was dependant upon its success (1849: 23 October, 5a). This was emphasised by the failure of the British and American Steam Navigation Company, which led to an approximate loss of £6,000 for Charles. (*The Times*, 1850: 15 August, 6c). At a meeting of the Company, in February, the arrears on calls were stated to total £10,000, £7,000 of which was owed by Charles, and perhaps his brothers; a fact attributed to the difficulties experienced in their mercantile career.

Reports at Home

At the second annual meeting, the directors again suggested that the capital be increased, but the shareholders thought that information regarding the success of the enterprise was too meagre and the proposal was removed from the report (*The Times*, 1851: 26 February, 6c-d). The actual cost of outfitting the ships was recognised as 50% above estimate. Reasons were not given, although Enderby later argued that the directors ignored his advice to have the ships built in America, where a lower price than estimated had been guaranteed. The Earl of Hardwicke's personal testimony to their completeness and efficiency in every particular, was later disputed, and the cost overruns of approximately £20,000 were to have a serious impact upon the Company's cash reserve.

At a special meeting held in July, the report tabled caused greater concern. Only 587 barrels of Sperm and 132 barrels of common whale oil had been returned at a value of £5,200. The ships had only been at the islands for an average of 10 months but some shareholders considered that too much was being invested into the colony when more attention should be paid to the fishery. It was suggested that the directors exercise their power, permitted under the charter, to borrow money for special application to shipbuilding, but the issue of raising capital was again reserved for future consideration. Enderby's management was reviewed and the arrears on the calls for his shares criticised. It was announced that one of the directors, Mr. Dundas, M.P., would visit the islands at the close of the session of parliament (*The Times*, 1851: 1 July, 7f-8a).

Balancing the Books

The directors were more critical of Enderby's management privately and when Dundas departed for the Auckland Islands with the Company's secretary, T.R. Preston, they were granted considerable powers as Special Commissioners, to investigate and make such changes as they deemed necessary. Among the principal concerns, or charges, against Enderby, was his purchase of the schooner *Black Dog*, the poor control of the Company's stores and his absence from the Islands. The directors were later to blame the failure of the Company on Enderby's mismanagement, but the financial records of the Company supports a wider responsibility for management decisions.

The finances were principally controlled by the directors and the secretary but the accounts make it difficult to draw careful conclusions as the notations of payments in the ledger books were generally not specific. Monthly income and expenditure were closely matched, with no significant surplus capital (Table 6). Information regarding major payments to June 1851 is at Table 7. This indicates that the significant payments were to shipbuilders and for outfitting the ships. Costs which can be partly attributed to Enderby include advance notes and payments to Robert Towns, the Company's Sydney agent. These total £4,766-9-2, which includes the purchase of *Black Dog*. This compares with total expenditure of approximately £90,000. A surprisingly high cost is attributed to administration with £925-8-4 for the

secretary, £884-5 for petty cash and £845-8-4 for sundries. Although these costs could relate to many requirements separate payments were made to the Secretary for his salary and for rent, drawing materials, medical supplies, dock dues, clerk and accountant fees, subscriptions, income tax, interest, towing fees, stamps and colonial postage costs. Salaries for the seamen and servants at the Auckland Islands were also paid separately although ships and general contingency accounts were set up costing £370 and £345 respectively to June 1851.

By September 1850 a bridging loan of £5,000 was provided. It was paid back in October but £4,000 was required the following month, which was paid back in January 1851. The next loan for £5,000 was taken out in March and was not fully paid until January 1854. With no further calls on shares to be made and no option to borrow without shareholder consent, future income had to be generated by returns from whaling or by mortgaging their fleet. The total income from calls on shares, to June 1851, was approximately £76,000 and little more was collected leaving over £20,000 unpaid. No legal action appears to have been taken to recover this.

Table 6

Southern Whale Fishery Company Monthly Income and Expenditure

Month	Income	Expenditure
1849		
February	£2,440-00	£689-19-4
March	£922-10	£208-16-1
April	£512-10	£10-00
May	£3,737-10	£110-19-5
June	£17,522-10	£2,857-10
July	£212-10	£7,802-7-11
August	£750-00	£6,054-17-10
September	£3,700-00	£7,465-17-9
October	£6,155-3-10	£6,106-6-7
November	£1,242-11-3	£2,290-12-7
December	£12-10	£1,879-4-8
1850		
January	£626-00	£1,404-13-6
February	£3,932-18-9	£1,256-12-7
March	£5,555-7-5	£2,547-7
April	£1,314-13	£5,703-15-10
May	£931-18-1	£676-2-3
June	£4,953-00-4	£3,078-14-1
July	£1,210-8-3	£2,591-7-10
August	£606-13-1	£2,036-7-4
September	£12,152-9-11	£6,543-11
October	£949-7-2	£7,536-14-8
November	£5,909-18-3	£4,320-11
December	£1,339-13	£1,464-3-11
1851		
January	£7,374-4-3	£5,006-17-1
February	£1,922-19-11	£3,583-7-1
March	£5,400-00	£5,429-5-9
April	£1,039-13-11	£2,244-14-1
May	£2,302-1-2	£2,999-19-7
June	£4,127-1-8	£4,432-4-5
Total	£98,855-8-6	£98,332-16-6

Reference: Barclay, 1849: 1085, 1170, 1207; 1849-1850: 910, 915, 1139; 1850-1851: 1008, 1048, 1118

Table 7

**Cumulative payments over £500 for the period February 1849 - June 1851
made by the Southern Whale Fishery Company**

Designation	Purpose	Amount
S2	part purchase and outfitting of a ship (probably <i>Samuel Enderby</i>)	£10,137-11-7
White	shipbuilder (<i>Earl of Hardwicke & Lord Nelson</i>)	£4,930-12-4
S3	outfitting and possible purchase of a ship (perhaps <i>Brisk</i>)	£4,574-1-2
Towns	(company's agent in Sydney); purchase of stores and <i>Black Dog</i>	£3,802-15-2
Calman	shipbuilder (<i>Sir Edward Parry</i>)	£3,508-19-4
S4	outfitting and possible purchase of a ship (possibly <i>Fancy</i>)	£3,235-3-1
Moore	shipbuilder (<i>Sir James Ross</i>)	£3,088-14
Lindsay	(director); not known	£2,967-14-11
Thompson	not known	£2,701-18-6
Wigram	shipbuilder (<i>Lord Duncan</i>)	£2,446-4
S7	outfitting of ship (possibly <i>Lord Nelson</i>)	£2,321-10-4
S6	outfitting of a ship (possibly <i>Sir James Ross</i>)	£2,110-5
S12	probably outfitting of a ship	£1,940-10-11
S5	outfitting of a ship (possibly <i>Earl of Hardwicke</i>)	£1,731-11-1
Brown	not known	£1,673-11-6
Young	(shipowner and cooper); probably barrels and ship stores	£1,441-13-1
Lisle	part payments for <i>Samuel Enderby</i>	£1,360-00
S9	outfitting of a ship (possibly <i>Sir Edward Parry</i>)	£1,226-5-2
Enderby	£681-2-7 to re-imburse expenses after formation of Company	£1,086-2-7
Cooke	not known	£1,000-00
Advance notes	payments of stores etc. (£776-3-4 from Jan 1850)	£962-34
Bristons?	not known	£937-14-5
Secretary	not clear; salary paid separately	£925-8-4
Petty Cash	general office requirements	£884-5
Sundries	not known	£845-8-4
Button	not known	£709-17-11
Fit?	not known	£675-00
Mangles	not known	£634-13-3
Robertson	not known	£613-17-9
Finnis?	not known	£549-16-4
Martin	shipbuilder (<i>Sir Edward Parry</i>)	£512-13-8
Ridley	Captain of <i>Artemesia</i> ; probable payment for charter	£500-00
Chase	not known	£500-00

Reference: Barclay, 1849: 1085, 1170, 1207; 1849-1850: 910, 915, 1139; 1850-1851: 1008, 1048, 1118

The Special Commissioners

The Special Commissioners arrived at the Auckland Islands in December 1851 on the *Chieftain*. The differences with Enderby regarding the management of the Company soon manifested but as the Commissioners were supported by the directors, Enderby informed them of his intention to resign. He also intended to call a meeting of the employees of the Company and further requested advice regarding the payment of his salary and the Commissioners' powers regarding his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor, in the event of his death or absence from the islands. The Commissioners threatened to dismiss anyone who attended the proposed meeting and recognising his inability to effect a different outcome, Enderby decided to dissolve his agreement with the Company. Enderby resigned his position as Commissioner, giving the required 12 months notice, and that of Lieutenant-Governor, appointing Mr. Mackworth as a magistrate to fulfil the necessary requirements during his expected absence. He gave the necessary letters to the Special Commissioners on 28 January 1852, for their information and action, stating only that he expected to be furnished with the charges against him should he request them.

If the Commissioners had paid Enderby his outstanding salary and assigned the *Black Dog* or other ship to transport him from the islands he probably would have left dissatisfied but agreeably. They chose, however, a different course that was to lead to serious recrimination and legal action. The Commissioners, having received Enderby's resignation and later request for the causes of complaint, replied in an arrogant and dismissive manner, stating various charges of incompetence and ended by commenting:

As the above-named facts are patent and irrefutable, we must decline to enter into any discussion or correspondence respecting them, the more especially as our time here is too valuable to be so employed (Great Britain, 1853: 7-9).

The relationship further deteriorated as the Commissioners refused to accept that Enderby retained his position as Lieutenant-Governor until the resignation was accepted. This was tested when a seaman, named Downs, died from scurvy following a lack of sufficient care and Enderby demanded to have a medical certificate furnished explaining the reasons pertaining to the death. This order was compromised by the Commissioners who refused to allow Enderby any jurisdiction and arranged to have the body interred immediately. Enderby complained and held the Commissioners responsible for all actions pertaining to his office. They replied that their action was determined to retrieve Enderby's past mismanagement and the lack of respect, which he complained of, was his own responsibility as they had found this circumstance at their arrival. They continued to refuse to recognise that Enderby possessed any authority or position at the islands so Enderby gave notice that, as he was no longer able to fill the office of Lieutenant-Governor, he released all concerned from their oaths to him in such a capacity. This caused serious disaffection within the settlement, and the Commissioners had reason to fear for their safety, complained to Enderby for creating such anarchy and determined that he should be removed from the islands. They also determined to withdraw the establishment from the islands and locate it at one of the surrounding colonies (Dundas, 1852). Subsequent correspondence, which affected the Governors of Van Diemen's Land, New South

Wales and New Zealand and the Colonial Office, was based on these events, which were initially petty in their nature and petulant in their execution but ultimately serious in their effect upon reputations.

A visit by H.M.S. *Calliope* (Appendix 9), led to various requests being made to Captain Sir Everard Home, including that of Dundas and Preston, for a warship to be sent immediately, and to remain until the removal of the establishment, to ensure proper protection. The Commissioners also requested Home to refuse to recognise that Enderby had any power but he replied:

The acting upon the idea that the tender of a resignation of the office of Governor is the resignation itself, without waiting until it has been accepted by the authority which gave it or until the officer has quitted his Government is in my opinion to strike a violent blow at the Royal prerogative and would besides be a most dangerous precedent to be acted upon in the case of other Governors, one which in the position I hold, I should be amongst the last to make, which are my reasons for considering Mr. Enderby still in the position of Lieutenant-Governor (1852).

Calliope returned to Hobart and ordered H.M.S. *Fantome* to the islands. *Fantome* arrived in early May, but Enderby had already departed, accompanying the Commissioners on the belief that he could find some satisfaction for his complaints in New Zealand.

In the Colonies

H.M.S. *Fantome* assisted the settlers with dismantling the settlement and Malone reported:

We saw everything in a fair way for clearing the islands, and were about to leave early in June, when the Commissioner [Mackworth] applied to the Commander to remain, his life having been threatened, and being under the impression that violence of all kinds would be certain to take place in our absence; so we were detained, to our disgust (1854: 68).

The seamen were anxious to get to the gold diggings, in Australia, but it took until early August before preparations for departure were complete. In June, a Right whale was captured, with the assistance of a pivoted harpoon gun, and yielded five tuns of oil. Harpoon guns had been experimented with for some time but were not in regular use (*The Times*, 1849: 28 April, 5f).

The arrival of *Black Dog* in Wellington led to the close involvement of the Governor-in-Chief, Sir George Grey, in the bitter recriminations between Enderby and the Commissioners. Grey recognised that Enderby remained Lieutenant-Governor, but also realised that he should not interfere, and accordingly offered all possible assistance, short of actual help, to both sides. This was later commended by Newcastle but Enderby complained to Grey for not providing the assistance for which he had promised (Great Britain, 1855: 15-27). Enderby remained at Wellington until he could take his case to the Supreme Court and to help finance his stay and cover legal costs he sold his library at auction (Appendix 2). The Chief Justice, Mr. Stephen,

ruled that there was no cause of action against Messrs. Dundas and Preston but cause may be held against the Company and ordered that both sides pay their own costs (Enderby, 1954).

The Commissioners went onto Australia where they were aquatinted with the effect of the recent gold-rush (*The Times*, 1852: 21 January: 6a). Preston departed for England, while Dundas returned to the Auckland Islands in July and announced that in addition to abandoning the settlement, the Company would no longer operate out of the colonies. He later reported:

*We lamented, as every one must lament, the failure of an enterprise which appeared so promising; we grieved at the heavy losses which had been sustained, but we at once perceived what the necessity of the case required to prevent the serious aggravation of these losses, and we did not hesitate to adopt the only measures that could effect the accomplishment of that object. But the greatest disappointment we experienced was the utter inability in which the gold discoveries in Australia placed us to take any steps to carry on the business of the company from any station in those seas, as we might so readily have done so under ordinary circumstances. This was the more distressing, because the experience and information we acquired convinced us that, had almost any other station been in the first instance selected, and the confidence reposed by the company in the individual intrusted with its management not have been misplaced, a very different result would have been exhibited; and that up to the time, at least, of the gold discoveries considerable profits would have been realised. From first to last, our very arduous, difficult, and in some respects perilous mission was unattended by one single circumstance of a cheering or satisfactory nature, and, in the discharge of the duties it imposed on us, we had scarcely any respite from care, anxiety, labour, annoyance, and fatigue. We have, however, surmounted all obstacles, and are, so far, repaid (*The Times*, 1853: 24 November, 5a-b).*

Winding Up the Company

The Last Settlers

When the *Earl of Hardwicke* and *Fancy* departed the Auckland Islands in August 1852 it did not end the interest of the Company in them. William Whitelock, volunteered to remain behind with the hatch-boat, *Auckland* to procure seal oil and look after the buildings, stores and livestock. He was joined by a seaman, who had married a Maori women. Malone stated that the Maori had applied for passage on the *Fantome* but were refused (1854: 77) but Mateoro had earlier turned down an offer, made prior to Enderby's departure, to be removed to New Zealand (1852). It is likely that some Maori did want to leave but it is relevant to recall that they refused an offer to be transported to New Zealand in March 1850 and any judgement as to why they remained should be careful to avoid ascribing their interests to those of the British settlers.

It is probable that Whitelock believed that the Company would continue to operate and occasional visits for trade would supplement their predominately subsistence lifestyle. Several visits did take place prior to the end of 1852 by the Company's ships but no further visits were made before 18 August 1854 when Whitelock departed on *Auckland*, to discuss the future prospects of the Company with the agents in Wellington (Appendices 9 and 11). It was probably Maori from the *Auckland*, who after returning to the Chatham Islands, encouraged relatives to charter the *Lalla Rookh* in 1856 to uplift the remaining settlers.

The Status of the Islands

The opportunity to clarify the status of the Auckland Islands, came with the New Zealand Constitution Act, which was passed on 30 June 1852. The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir John Pakington, explained the requirement to Grey:

The provision of section 80, defining the boundaries of New Zealand, requires a short explanation. It appears to me that by your commission, the limits of your Government to the South are so defined as to include the Auckland Islands, on which a separate settlement has lately been established by British colonists, and which it would be inconvenient to place within the limits of New Zealand for the purposes of the present Act. The Southern Boundary is, therefore, fixed at South Latitude 50° (Great Britain, 1852: 255-280; New Zealand, 1853: 65-71).

By the time Grey received this explanation the settlement had been abandoned.

While this technically removed the islands from the legal jurisdiction of New Zealand, a more practical course was adopted by the Colonial Office when Grey was informed that 'the Government of the islands, as far as the protection of the natives who appear to be established there now devolves on yourself'. Grey's request to charge £17-4 against the revenues of New

Zealand to provide a whaleboat and some sheep to these Natives was also approved (Great Britain, 1853: 29; Newcastle, 1853a; 1853b).

A Penal Settlement

When the Company were informed that the islands were to be abandoned they considered ways of recovering some of their investment made on capital works and improvements. The Chairman, J.D. Powles, wrote to the Colonial Office suggesting that the Government may be interested in the islands as a penal settlement, with appropriate compensation to the Company (1852). The Earl of Desart replied on behalf of Sir J. Pakington, declining the offer (1852).

After the Duke of Newcastle became the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and had accepted Enderby's resignation, he instructed Frederick Peel, M.P., to ascertain the Company's future interests in the islands (1853a). Powles replied that the islands could be surrendered to the Government, requesting appropriate compensation (1853a). Peel replied to this by accepting, on behalf of the Government, the surrender of the islands but as they had no interest in occupation no engagement could be entered into (1853b). Powles replied that as the Messrs. Enderby had assigned the lease to the Company, surrendering the islands required their concurrence (1853b). Peel wrote on this letter:

The object of the whole correspondence has been on their side to lead the Government into promising some payment or other for the Auckland Islands, and on the side of this department to avoid making any such promise, the public really not having the least use for the islands.

Newcastle added to this:

I think however Government could under the terms of the lease at any time eject both the Company and the Enderbys for non-payment of rent. But on the best consideration I can give the question I do not see that this step is requisite for any present purpose.

The Company in London

An extraordinary meeting of the Company announced the resignation of the Commissioner and the expectation of equipping the vessels from Hobart (*The Times*, 1852: 17 December, 7a). This was superseded by a letter from Dundas stating that all vessels would return to England due to 'the utter hopelessness of endeavouring, under existing circumstances, to fish from any part of the Australian colonies'. He added, however, that 'I see no reason why properly managed and efficiently manned, on a principle analogous to that adopted by the Americans, we should not be able to prosecute the enterprise with perfect success from London' (*The Times*, 1853: 18 January, 3b). During 1853, all of the Company's ships, except for *Samuel Enderby*, returned to London (Appendix 9).

The Company's pressing concern was to raise sufficient money to continue operating. The shareholders authorised £20,000 to be raised on debentures at 6% with the ships, which had cost £60,000, and the stores from the Auckland Islands, as security (*The Times*, 1853: 18

January, 3b). At the annual meeting it was stated that only £4,050 had been subscribed but the directors were still confident of raising the required amount (*The Times*, 1853: 1 March, 6d). The colonial accounts had been closed by November and outstanding liabilities were £18,820, while assets were calculated at £16,200, without accounting for expected returns from *Samuel Enderby*. *Sir James Ross*, *Fancy* and *Lord Nelson* had already been sold and it was calculated that £10,000 would be required to outfit the remaining four ships in London. The Company considered that it could continue to operate from London until the affairs in the colonies became more settled, but *Brisk*, *Earl of Hardwicke*, and *Lord Duncan*, were all sold during early 1854 (*The Times*, 1853: 24 November, 5a-b).

The Company agreed to wind up the undertaking in March due to the 'impossibility of raising further funds to prosecute the enterprise'. Liabilities amounted to £10,000 while assets included *Samuel Enderby* and £6,000 cash (*The Times*, 1854: 1 March, 11d; 15 March, 10d). *Samuel Enderby* arrived in July, making a favourable return on its oil and whalebone, and after being sold a balance of £1, 149-15 remained. When the Company tabled its final accounts it showed that a capital of only £76,650, or 1,533 of the initial 2,000, £50 shares were ever committed. This left a return of 15 shillings per share for the investment. *The Times* considered that the losses were sustained 'owing to mismanagement on the part of the agent employed, coupled with the diversion of labour by the Australian gold discoveries' (1854: 30 November, 5a).

The Legacy

Enderby and the Southern Whale Fishery Company

Enderby returned to England via Australia, arriving in March 1854 and continued with his quest to restore his reputation. The Government considered the various charges raised as essentially a private matter and declined to get involved, beyond publishing the relevant correspondence. Enderby was aggrieved at this lack of support and continued to request for some official vindication of his character, without success (1855a; 1855b; 1855c).

Enderby published an account of the failure of the Company, stating:

My interest was identified with the success of the Company, since I had a much larger stake in the project than anyone else. All that I received from the Company for the previous two years was £250 on account of salary as Commissioner. My desire to retain office could not therefore, on that account have been an inducement. I had a reputation to uphold; had induced my private friends to invest money in the undertaking; and taken infinite trouble in the formation of the Company ... (1854).

He argued that the Company did not follow his proposals and suggestions regarding the management of the settlement. The ships had cost up to 65% over budget and their holds were not large enough to carry more than 115 tuns of oil, compared to the 185 tuns proposed, effectively limiting the potential catch (Chatterton, 1925: 152). Enderby also complained that the whalers employed were too old, and lacked experience (1850b: 22).

The failure have been described as: 'owing partly to the company's lack of capital and partly to its employees' lack of technical skill' (Brooke, 1941: 171), 'there were not enough whales near at hand to pay, visiting ships were irregular, and there were various sorts of dissension' (Falla, 1948: 143), 'a lack of capital' (Aagaard, 1929: 23) and 'like many another enterprise, the Southern Whale Fishery colony at Auckland Island failed, chiefly through miscalculation' (Gordon, 1939: 29). The total income for the Company is estimated as £129,000, generated through: shares (£77,000), whale products (£25,000) and asset sales (£27,000). Expenditure on the ships was approximately £60,000 and the cost of the settlement was said to be £30,000 (Gordon, 1939: 29). The ships operational costs are difficult to determine, for although the Company had previously calculated the costs to be 70% of whaling income it was probably higher. The balance remaining would appear to be a significant bill for administration.

The Auckland Island Colony

While in Wellington, Enderby wrote to the Colonial Office suggesting the Auckland Islands be used as a penal settlement and desired to be reappointed Lieutenant-Governor, if this eventuated. Newcastle replied that the Government had no such intention (1853). The de-facto, although largely disinterested, control over the islands by the government of New

Zealand, was given formal recognition in 1863. A Bill was passed with the sole purpose to amend the territorial boundary from 50°S to 53°S (Great Britain, 1863: 157-158).

The Auckland Islands were later known for the number of shipwrecks on their shores and the site of the whaling station was reported to be overgrown in 1865 (Campbell, 1976: 111). The remaining house from the colony, served as a survivors' hut and depot for many years (Falla, 1972: 940; Dougall, 1888: 9). Enderby wrote to the Government in 1868 providing advice about the islands and recommending that a depot should be occupied to guard against plunder. He also volunteered to go out to set up such a settlement. In 1873, the New Zealand Government granted a 21 year lease to Dr F.A. Monckton, to farm the islands and set up survivor depots but the venture lasted for a few years only before the lease was forfeited (Cumpston, 1968: 79-81; Kerr, 1976: 73).

The Auckland Islands colony shared many difficulties with other pioneering settlements of the period. Eccles considered that 'had not Jones agricultural settlement been in so flourishing a condition the Free Church colony to Otago in 1848 would have all but perished'. He made a similar comparison with John Deans, and his assistance to the Canterbury association in 1850 (1949: 48).

When Ross visited the Falkland Islands in 1842 the islands had about 76 people which was a similar number to those at the Auckland Islands eight years later (1847: II-261). The colony was reliant on Government funding, which totalled £9,800 in 1845 (*The Times*, 1851: 29 March, 6d). In 1852 the Falkland Islands Company was granted a Royal Charter. The capital of £100,000 was forecast to provide an annual profit of £20,000, principally from the wild cattle, which were also described by Ross. Colonisation was considered an 'adjunctive benefit', with additional revenue expected from the whale and seal fisheries and from peat. Despite the confident predictions for success the directors considered winding up the company in 1853 due to poor returns and high capital outlay. Government funding of the colonial administration helped the company to continue until the 1860s when sheep farming and purchase of freehold land assured its success. The Falkland Islands Company is now the last survivor of the overseas trading companies formed by Royal Charter in the Victorian era (Robert, 1969: 168-173).

The Antarctic Potential

Despite the lack of success of *Brisk*, there was widespread belief that Bowhead or Right whales occurred in the Antarctic. This resulted in several proposals for a whaling or exploratory voyage to determine the reliability of Ross's observations (*Dundee Advertiser*, 1892: 31 August; Fowler, 1895; Gray, 1874). Voyages departing from Scotland and Norway failed to find any Right whales in the Antarctic but the potential to hunt the largest rorqual whales now existed. Svend Foyn developed a technique of utilising a steam chaser boat, a cannon mounted explosive harpoon, an accumulator to ease the strain on the line and compressed air to keep the dead whale afloat (Matthews, 1968). During the early 1900s a number of shore whaling stations were established on South Georgia Island, and by moored

factory ships in the South Orkney and Shetland Islands, pursuing the prize that Enderby had sought in vain.

The dominant whaling nation was now Norway. The great American industry appeared to have suffered a similar fate to the British. In 1878, Starbuck wrote that it had declined due to: the scarcity and shyness of whales, extravagance in fitting out and refitting, the character of the men engaged and the introduction of coal oil. America, like Britain 30 years earlier, may have outgrown it and found better things to invest in, or perhaps it was no longer able, or willing, to achieve efficiency gains by reducing expenditure. Morton explains the dilemma:

What happened to British whaling was simply what happens even today to the basic industries of any nation which ... has proceeded further than its competitors in industrial and bureaucratic organisation. The overhead costs of this high development are distributed downwards into the simpler basic industries, thus allowing competitors from less developed and less costly economies to out-compete them (1982: 153).

Conclusion

The Southern Whale Fishery Company was a product of a diverse set of circumstances involving ambition, personal and national pride, mercantile interest, pioneering endeavour, economic change, political will and social expectation. These were juxtaposed in varying ways and it was attended by a degree of chance and uncertainty. None of this, however, should be taken to consider that the formation, operation and demise of the Company were anything extraordinary. It accurately reflected the period in economic, political, social and ecological considerations.

The failure can be attributed to insufficient capital, overestimation of revenue, underestimation of cost and a poor appreciation of internalisation costs as opposed to the benefits of internal expenditure. These mistakes were made well before the Company departed for the islands and they merely played out the inevitable conclusion. The discovery of Right whales in the Antarctic may have kept the Company afloat if it encouraged major capital investment, but it is probable that returns from the Antarctic would have been variable due to weather and ice conditions and the short season in which to prosecute the fishery. There was no opportunity of Government support to allow the Company to struggle on until an opportunity for diversifying came along, so the end was not long in arriving.

The colonists, whatever discouragement they may have felt, had received free transport, guaranteed work and sustenance and a generally healthy start to life in the colonies; which was more than many others received. The investors essentially lost their investment and although this caused some frustration, and probably bitterness, whaling had always been regarded as a speculative enterprise and £77,000 spread over several hundred investors was not going to result in a major inquiry. The Government probably wished that they had retained their initial reserve, but a colonial failure was not new, and as the Auckland Island colony was a private enterprise it could, and did, wash its hands of the affair and be thankful that it had not subjected the Government to any pecuniary loss. The Auckland Islands themselves recovered quickly from the best efforts of man to make his mark upon them and although the whales have been slow in recovering, the Right whales can be seen today, possibly in greater numbers than when the colony existed.

As for Enderby, much could, and has, been said, but perhaps it is sufficient to regard the words of Governor Sir George Grey, one who had more right than most to judge:

It is not in my power to add anything to the information I have already afforded upon this subject of the differences which arose between Mr. Enderby and the Commissioners of the Southern Whale Fishery Company; but I think it due to Mr. Enderby to state, that whilst he was acting as Lieutenant-governor of the Auckland Islands, I visited those islands, and was, in common with other persons, struck with the enterprise which he had shown, and the energy with which he had exerted himself to try to develop their resources (Great Britain, 1855: 46).

References

- Aagaard, Bjarne. 1929. Antarctic whaling and exploration. *The Scottish Geographical Magazine* volume xlv: 23-81.
- Alcock, Rutherford. 1877. Address to the Royal Geographical Society delivered at the anniversary meeting on the 28th May, 1877. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 221 (5): 407-477.
- Armstrong, H. 1868 Cruise of the brig Amherst - official report. *Southland Provincial Government Gazette* 6 (9): 51-56. Invercargill: Southland Provincial Government.
- Aston, B.C. 1909 The soil and soil-formers of the Subantarctic Islands. In: Chilton, Chas. (editor). *The Sub-Antarctic Islands of New Zealand*. Vol. 2. Wellington: Philosophical Institute of Canterbury: 745-777.
- Balleny, J. 1839. Discoveries in the Antarctic Ocean, in February 1839, extracted from the journal of the schooner Eliza Scott, commanded by John Balleny; communicated by Messrs. Enderby. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 9 (3): 517-528.
- Barclay, Bevan & Tritton. 1849. Ledger book, 54 Lombard St. Barclays Group Archives 27/271.
- Barclay, Bevan & Tritton. 1849-1850. Ledger book, 54 Lombard St. Barclays Group Archives 27/5.
- Barclay, Bevan & Tritton. 1850-1851. Ledger book, 54 Lombard St. Barclays Group Archives 27/273.
- Barclay, Bevan & Tritton. 1851-1854. Loan Ledger, 54 Lombard St. Barclays Group Archives 27/251.
- Bartlett, Harley Harris. 1940. The reports of the Wilkes expedition, and the work of the specialists in science. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 82: 601-706.
- Bathurst, L. 1847. Direction from the Court at Buckingham Palace to the Board of Trade: 17 June. PRO: BT 1/466 p 1863.
- Bennett, Frederick Debell. 1840. *Narrative of a whaling voyage around the globe from the year 1833 to 1836 comprising sketches of Polynesia, California, the Indian Archipelago etc. with an account of southern whales, the Sperm whale fishery and the natural history of the climates visited*. Volume II. London: Richard Bentley.
- Biscoe, J. 1833. Recent discoveries in the Antarctic Ocean. From the log-book of the brig Tula, commanded by Mr John Biscoe, R.N. Communicated by Messrs Enderby. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, 3 (second edition): 105-112.
- Bonner, W. Nigel and Richard M. Laws. 1964. Seals and sealing. In: Priestly, Raymond, Raymond J. Adie and G. de Q. Robin (editors). *Antarctic research*. London: Butterworths.
- Broeze, F.J.A. 1977. Whaling in the southern oceans - the Dutch quest for southern whaling in the nineteenth century. *Economisch en Sociaal-Historisch Jaarboek* 40: 66-112.
- Brooke, Jean Ingram. 1941. *International rivalry in the Pacific Islands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bruemmer, F. 1983. Sea lion shenanigans. *Natural History* 92 (7): 32-40.
- Campbell, D.J. & M.R. Rudge. 1976. A case for controlling the distribution to the Tree Daisy (*Oleria lyallii*) Hook.F. in its type locality, Auckland Islands. *Proceedings of the New Zealand Ecological Society* 23: 109-115.

- Carr, William. 1901. Grey, Sir George (1812-1898). In: Lee, Sidney (editor). *Dictionary of national biography* supplement 2. London: Smith, Elder & Co.: 357-364.
- Carrick, Ro. 1892. *New Zealand's lone lands: being brief notes of a visit to the outlying islands of the colony*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Carrick, Ro. 1903. *Historical records of New Zealand prior to 1840*. Dunedin: Otago Daily Times.
- Chatterton, E. Keble. 1925. *Whales and whaling*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- Clark, A.H. 1887. The Antarctic Fur Seal and Sea Elephant industries. In: Goode, G.B. *The fisheries and fishing industries of the United States*. Washington: Government Printer.
- Clemens, Brian. 1995. From plunder to preservation. *The Press* April 17: 13.
- Cockayne, L. 1904. A botanical excursion during midwinter to the southern islands of New Zealand. *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* 36 (26): 226-333.
- Cockayne, L. 1909. The ecological botany of the Sub-Antarctic Islands of New Zealand. In: Chilton, Chas. (editor). *The Sub-Antarctic Islands of New Zealand*. Vol. 1. Wellington: Philosophical Institute of Canterbury: 182-235.
- Cockayne, L. 1910. *New Zealand plants and their story*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- Cockayne, L. 1958. *The vegetation of New Zealand*. Weinheim: H.R. Englemann.
- Colledge, J.J. 1987. *Ships of the Royal Navy* volume 1. London: Greenhill Books.
- Coopers Guild of London. 1813-1824. Rough Court Minute Books, meetings 23 November 1819; 5 November 1825. Guildhall Library manuscripts section 5603 volume 29.
- Coopers Guild of London. 1824-1827. Rough Court Minute Books, meetings 4 October 1825. Guildhall Library manuscripts section 5603 volume 30.
- Corporation of London. 1808-1825. Alphabet of freedoms; November 1819. Corporation of London Records Office CF1/1455.
- Cumpston, J.S. 1977. *Shipping arrivals and departures Sydney 1788-1825*. Canberra: Roebuck Society (Roebuck Society Publication 22).
- Cumpston, J.S. 1968. *Macquarie Island*. Canberra: Antarctic Division, Department of External Affairs.
- Davis, J.E. 1869. On Antarctic discovery, and its connection with the transit of Venus in 1882. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 13: 114-121.
- Davis, Lance E. and Robert E. Gallman. 1993. American whaling, 1820-1900: dominance and decline. In: Basberg, Bjorn L., Jan Erik Ringstad and Einar Wexelsen (editors). *Whaling and history - perspectives on the evolution of the industry*. Sandefjord: Kommander Chr. Christensens Hvalfangstmuseum (Publikasjon nr. 29): 55-65.
- Dawbin, W.H. 1986. Right whales caught in waters around South Eastern Australia and New Zealand during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In: Brownell, Robert L., Peter B. Best and John H. Prescott (editors). *Right whales: past and present status*. Cambridge: International Whaling Commission (Reports of the International Whaling Commission Special Issue 10): 261-267.
- Decker, Robert Owen. 1973. *Whaling industry of New London*. York: Liberty Cap Books.

- De Lisle, John Felix. 1965. The climate of the Auckland Islands, Campbell Island and Macquarie Island. *Proceedings of New Zealand Ecological Society* 12: 37-44.
- De Pradel de Lamase, M. 1950. Rappel historique de la mission de Dumont d'Urville. *La Revue Maritime* 49: 657-664.
- Desart, Earl of. 1852. Letter to J.D. Powles: 19 November. British Library manuscripts 35563 ff 415..
- Dieffenbach, Ernest. 1843. *Travels in New Zealand with contributions to the geography, geology, botany, and natural history of that country*. 2 volumes. London: John Murray.
- Dingwall, P.R. 1981. The Changing Image of the Auckland Islands. *Landscape* 9: 8-15.
- Dougall, William. 1888. *Far south: Stewart Island, The Snares, Auckland, Campbell, Antipodes and Bounty Islands*. Invercargill: Southland Times.
- Dundas, G. and T.R. Preston. 1852. Letter to the Governors of New South Wales, New Zealand and Van Diemen's Land: 27 March. National Archives of New Zealand G-13-2.
- Dundas, J.W.D. (chairman). 1849. *Proceedings at a public dinner given to Charles Enderby, Esq., F.R.S., at the London Tavern, Bishopgate Street, April 18, 1849*. London: Pelham Richardson.
- Eccles, Alfred and A.H. Reed. 1949. *John Jones of Otago - whaler, coloniser, shipowner, merchant*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1824. Lord Auckland's group of islands. Supplement to the fourth, fifth and sixth editions: volume the second. Edinburgh: Archibald, Constable and Company.
- Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 1842. Lord Auckland's group of islands. Seventh edition: volume IV: 217. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black.
- Enderby, C. H. & G. 1833. Letter to Captain Biscoe: 9 July. Alexander Turnbull Library; Hydrographic Department III: E215.
- Enderby, Charles. 1841. *National store and dock banks*. London.
- Enderby, Charles. 1842.: *Currency inquiry solicited; but general declamation, without reasoning, disregarded*. London: Hatchard and Son.
- Enderby, Charles. 1843a. *To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Bart. ([A letter from] C. Enderby)*. London.
- Enderby, Charles. 1843b. *To the Right Honourable W.E. Gladstone ([A letter from] C. Enderby)*. London: W. Lewis & Son.
- Enderby, Charles. 1843c. *The distress of the nation, its causes and remedies*. London: W. Lewis and Son.
- Enderby, Charles. 1845a. Letter to Sir Robert Peel: 8 July. British Library manuscripts add. 40458 f 308.
- Enderby, Charles. 1845b. Letter to Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade: 20 December. PRO: BT 1/463 number 1418.
- Enderby, Charles. 1846a. Letter to Rt. Hon. W.E. Gladstone, (with written notes on it by Lyttelton referring to earlier correspondence): 9 January. PRO: CO 209/13 p 111.
- Enderby, Charles. 1846b. Letter to J.G. Shaw Lefevre: 27 January. PRO: BT 1/463 number 1418.

Enderby, Charles. 1846c. Letter to J.G. Shaw Lefevre: 22 May. PRO: BT 1/463 number 1418.

Enderby, Charles. 1846d. Letter to J.G. Shaw Lefevre: 10 July. PRO: BT 1/463 number 1418.

Enderby, Charles. 1846e. Letter to J.G. Shaw Lefevre: 4 August. PRO: BT 1/463 number 1418.

Enderby, Charles. 1847a. *Proposal for re-establishing the British southern whale fishery, through the medium of a chartered company, and in combination with the colonisation of the Auckland Islands, as the site of the company's whaling station.* London: Effingham Wilson.

Enderby, Charles. 1847b. *The fallacy of our monetary system, as deduced from its authors, Sir R. Peel's definition of a 'pound'.* London.

Enderby, Charles. 1847c. *Our money laws the cause of the national distress.* London: Pelham Richardson.

Enderby, Charles. 1847d. Letter to C. Jackson: 27 July. Royal Geographical Society archives.

Enderby, Charles. 1847e. Letter to The Board of Trade: 4 December, with notes by S.H. Northcote: December. PRO: BT 1/466 p 3536.

Enderby, Charles. 1847e. Letter to J.G. Shaw Lefevre: 21 December. PRO: BT 1/466 p 3536.

Enderby, Charles. 1848a. Letter to Dr. Humble: 2 February. Royal Geographical Society archives.

Enderby, Charles. 1848b. British southern whale fisheries. Statement, explanatory of the necessity and means of re-establishing the above important branch of the national. *The New Zealand Journal* 232: 246-247.

Enderby, Charles. 1848c. British southern whale fisheries prospectus. *The New Zealand Journal* 232: 252.

Enderby, Charles. 1848d. *Emigration and superabundant population considered in a letter to Lord Ashley, by Amicus Populi.* London: Pelham Richardson.

Enderby, Charles. 1849a. *The Auckland Islands: a short account of their climate, soil, and productions; and the advantages of establishing there a settlement at Port Ross for carrying on the southern whale fisheries.* London: Pelham Richardson.

Enderby, Charles. 1849b. Letter to the President of the Board of Trade: 30 June. PRO: BT 1/472 p 1912.

Enderby, Charles. 1850a. *Abstract of reports from the commissioner of the Southern Whale Fishery Company to the directors.* London: Pelham Richardson.

Enderby, Charles. 1850b. *The Auckland Islands.* London: Privately Published by the Southern Whale Fishery Company.

Enderby, Charles. 1854. *A statement of facts connected with the failure of the Southern Whale Fishery Company at the Auckland Islands; with a vindication of the measures proposed to be adopted for its success.* London: Richardson Brothers.

Enderby, Charles. 1855a. Letter to Sir William Molesworth: 20 August. PRO: CO 209/134 p 303.

Enderby, Charles. 1855b. Letter to Sir William Molesworth: 13 September. PRO: CO 209/134 p 323.

Enderby, Charles. 1855c. Letter to Sir William Molesworth: 8 October. PRO: CO 209/134 p 328.

Enderby, Charles. 1858. Note on Sabrina Land, &c. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 2 (1-6): 171-172.

Enderby, Charles. 1859. *Redress of national grievances, whereby every man will obtain full and constant employment, with liberal support to the aged and infirm*. London: Richardson Brothers.

Enderby, Charles. 1861. Letter to Dr. Shaw: 4 April. Royal Geographical Society archives.

Enderby, Charles. 1864 (estimated). *Proposal for the formation of a joint-stock company for the breeding and importing live stock*. London: [Entered at Stationers' Hall Court].

Enderby, Charles. 1868. *A cure for Irelands wrongs as appeared in a trial at the Court of Queen's Bench, the Queen v. Lord Stanley, 1889, taken from the shorthand writers notes, by Young Ireland*. London: Harrison and Sons.

Enderby, Charles. 1872. *A proposition from England to America; how to arrange, settle and avoid disputes between the two nations*. London: Elliot.

Falla, R.A. 1948. The outlying islands of New Zealand. *New Zealand Geographer* 4 (2): 127-154.

Falla, R.A. 1972. The wreck of the General Grant. In: *New Zealand's heritage - the making of a nation* 3 (34): 937, 940-942.

Fieldhouse, D.K. 1965. *The colonial empires - a comparative survey from the eighteenth century*. London: MacMillan Press.

Fitzgerald, J.E. 1848. Letter to W.E. Gladstone: 10 December. British Library manuscripts add. 44368 ff 44-45.

Fogg, G.E. and David Smith. 1990. *The explorations of Antarctica - the last unspoilt continent*. London: Cassell.

Foot, M.R.D. and H.C.G. Matthew (editors). 1974. *The Gladstone Diaries* volume 4. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Fowler, William H. 1895. Whales, and British and colonial whale fisheries. *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* 3: 152-177.

Fraser, C. 1986. *Beyond the roaring forties: New Zealand's Sub-Antarctic*. Wellington: Government Printing Office.

Fraser, F.C. 1964. Whales and whaling. In: Priestly, Raymond, Raymond J. Adie and G. de Q. Robin (editors). *Antarctic research*. London: Butterworths

Gambell, R. 1983. Outstanding whale assessment problems requiring analysis of historical data. In: Michael F. Tillman and Gregory P. Donovan (editors). *Historical whaling records*. Cambridge: International Whaling Commission (Reports of the International Whaling Commission Special Issue 5): 15-17.

Gaskin, D.E. 1967. The whaling potential of the New Zealand sub-region. *Fisheries Technical Report* 16. Wellington: New Zealand Marine Department.

Gladstone, W.E. 1855. *Our colonies - an address delivered to the members of the Mechanics Institute, Chester, on Monday, the 12th November 1855, by the Right Honorable W.E. Gladstone, M.P. Late Chancellor of the Exchequer.* London: John W. Parker and Son.

Gordon, C.H. 1938. "The vigorous Enderby's" - their connection with New Zealand I. *The New Zealand Railways Magazine* 1 December: 28-30.

Gordon, C.H. 1939. "The vigorous Enderby's" - their connection with New Zealand II. *The New Zealand Railways Magazine* 2 January: 26-29.

Gray, David and John Gray. 1874. *Report on new whaling grounds in the southern seas.* Peterhead: Privately Published.

Gray, David. 1891. *Report on new whaling grounds in the southern seas.* Peterhead: David Scott.

Great Britain, Parliament; House of Lords. 1838. Report from the select committee of the House of Lords appointed to inquire into the present state of the islands of New Zealand and the expediency of regulating the settlement of British subjects therein; with the minutes of evidence taken before the committee, and an index thereto. *Parliamentary Papers*, 680: iii.

Great Britain. 1840. Letters patent designating the colony of New Zealand: 16 November.

Great Britain. 1842. Letters patent correcting original description of the limits of the colony of New Zealand: 4 April.

Great Britain. 1846. Opinion of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations: 4 April. PRO: BT 6/286 p168.

Great Britain. 1847. Opinion of the Lords of the Committee of Council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to Trade and Foreign Plantations: 21 July. PRO: BT 6/286 p 420.

Great Britain. 1849. Letter from the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Trade to the solicitors of the Southern Whale Fishery Company, Messrs. Tatham, Upton and Johnson: 29 March. PRO: BT 1/471 p 785.

Great Britain. 1852. Bills public: (3); session 3 February - 1 July 1852.

Great Britain. 1853. Departments of State and Official Bodies, Colonial Office; Auckland Islands. *Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 13 December 1852, for "copies of correspondence, if any, relating to the absence of Mr. Enderby from the Auckland Islands" and of the lease or charter granted.*

Great Britain. 1855. Departments of State and Official Bodies, Colonial Office; Auckland Islands. *Return to an address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 14 March 1855, for "copies or extracts of correspondence relating to Mr. Enderby the late Lieutenant-Governor of the Auckland Islands"*.

Great Britain. 1863. Bills public: (3); session 5 February - 28 July. London.

Gressitt, J.C. and K.A.J. Wise. 1971. *Entomology of the Auckland and other islands south of New Zealand.* Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum (Pacific Insects Monograph 27).

Grey, Earl. 1846. Letter to James Stephens: 2 September. Cambridge University Library manuscripts Stephens papers 7888/II/10.

Grey, Earl. 1847a. Letter to the Governors of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand: 14 May. PRO: CO 209/134 p 15.

- Grey, Earl. 1847b. Letter to James Stephens: 30 October. Cambridge University Library Stephens papers 7888/II/12.
- Grey, Earl. 1849. Letter to Governor-in-Chief Sir George Grey: 9 October. National Archives of New Zealand G-1-24 number 60.
- Grey, George. 1847a. Letter to Captain Maxwell: 21 December. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1 p 253-254.
- Grey, George. 1847b. Letter to Captain Maxwell: 28 December. National Archives of New Zealand G-3-1 p 255.
- Grey, George. 1848a. Letter to Captain Maxwell: 6 January. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1.
- Grey, George. 1848b. Letter to Captain Maxwell: 25 January. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1.
- Grey, George. 1848c. Letter to Captain Maxwell: 27 March. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1.
- Grey, George. 1848d. Letter to Captain Maxwell: 27 October. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1 p 277.
- Grey, George. 1850. Letter to Commander Oliver: 14 October. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1 p 295.
- Grey, George. 1850. Letter to Commander Oliver: 28 October. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1 p 82.
- Grey, George. 1850. Letter to Commander Oliver: 13 November. National Archives of New Zealand G-33-1 p 83.
- Haddington, Earl of. 1846. Letter to Sir Robert Peel with enclosure provided by Charles Enderby: 25 January. British Library manuscripts add. 40458 ff 305-307.
- Hamilton, R.V. 1870. On Morrell's voyage in the year 1823, with remarks on the advantages steam will confer on future Antarctic explorers. *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society* 14 (1-5): 145-156.
- Hamilton, W.A.B. 1849. Letter to Herman Merivale: 19 September. National Archives of New Zealand G-1-24 enclosure 4.
- Harmer, Sidney F. 1928. *The history of whaling*. London: The Linnaean Society of London.
- Hawes, B. 1849. Letter to J.D. Powles: 8 September. National Archives of New Zealand G-1-24 enclosure 3.
- Hay, C.H., N.M. Adams and M.J. Parsons. 1985. *The marine algae of the Subantarctic Islands of New Zealand*. Wellington: National Museum (National Museum of New Zealand Miscellaneous Series 11).
- Hay, R.W. 1832. Notices of New Zealand from original documents in the Colonial Office. *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*. Volume the Second: 133-136.
- Headland, Robert K. 1993. Geographical discoveries in Antarctica by the whaling industry. In: Basberg, Bjorn L., Jan Erik Ringstad and Einar Wexelsen (editors). *Whaling and history - perspectives on the evolution of the industry*. Sandefjord: Kommander Chr. Christensens Hvalfangstmuseum (Publikasjon nr. 29): 191-202.

- Higham, T. (editor). 1991. *New Zealand's Subantarctic Islands: a guidebook*. Wellington: Department of Conservation.
- Hjort, Johan, Gunnar Jahn and Sigurd Risting (editors). 1930. *International whaling statistics*. Oslo: Det Norske Hvalrads Statistiske.
- Hodgson, E.A. 1962. Hepatics from the Subantarctic Islands of New Zealand including "Cape Expedition" collections from the Auckland and Campbell Islands. *Dominion Museum Records* 4 (11): 101-132.
- Hohman, Elmo Paul. 1928. *The American whaleman - a study of life and labour in the whaling industry*. New York: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Home, Everard. 1852. Letter to Messrs. Dundas and Preston: 31 March. PRO: CO 209/134 p 13.
- Ingram, C.W.N. and Wheatley, P.O. 1961. *New Zealand shipwrecks 1795 to 1960*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.
- Jackson, Gordon. 1993. Why did the British not catch rorquals in the nineteenth century? In: Basberg, Bjorn, L., Jan Erik Ringstad and Einar Wexelsen (editors). *Whaling and history - perspectives on the evolution of the industry*. Sandefjord: Kommander Chr. Christensens Hvalfangstmuseum (Publikasjon nr. 29): 111-119.
- Johnston, T., Harvey and S.J. Edmonds. 1953. Acanthocephala from Auckland and Campbell Islands. *Dominion Museum Records* 2 (2): 55-61.
- Jones, A.G.E. 1970. Captain Abraham Bristow and the Auckland Islands. *Notes and Queries*: October, 369-371.
- Jones, A.G.E. 1981a. The British southern whale and seal fisheries. *The Great Circle* 3 (1): 20-29.
- Jones, A.G.E. 1981b. The British southern whale and seal fisheries - part II: the principal operators. *The Great Circle* 3 (2): 90-102.
- Jones, A.G.E. 1986. *Ships employed in the South Seas trade 1775-1861* volume 1. Canberra: Roebuck Society (Roebuck Society Publication 36).
- Jones, A.G.E. 1991. *Ships employed in the South Seas trade 1775-1859* volume 2. Canberra: Roebuck Society (Roebuck Society Publication 46).
- Kerr, I.S. 1976. *Campbell Island - a history*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.
- King, Michael. 1989. *Moriori - a people rediscovered*. Auckland: Penguin Books.
- Kingsford, M.J., D.R. Schiel and C.N. Battershill. 1989. Distribution and abundance of fish in a rocky reef environment at the subantarctic Auckland Islands, New Zealand. *Polar Biology* 9 (3): 179-186.
- Lacroix, L. 1938. *Les derniers baleiniers Francais*. Nantes: privately published.
- Langdon, Robert (editor). 1984. *Where the whalers went - an index to the Pacific ports and islands visited by American whalers (and some other ships) in the 19th century*. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Lefevre, J.G. Shaw. 1846. Letter to Charles Enderby: 30 July. PRO: BT 1/463 number 1418.
- Linnean Society of London. 1833. Recommendation for fellowship - Charles Enderby: 18 June. Linnean Society of London archives.

- Macdonald, Bruce. 1993. Our subantarctic heritage. *Historic Places* July: 23-26.
- Mackintosh, N.A. 1942. The southern stocks of whalebone whales. *Discovery Reports* 22: 199-300.
- Malone, R. Edmond. 1854. *Three years' cruise in the Australian colonies*. London: Richard Bentley.
- Marr, James W.S. 1935. The South Orkney Islands. *Discovery Reports* 10: 283-382.
- Martin, R. Montgomery. 1856. Islands occupied or claimed by Great Britain in the Southern Ocean and in the Western Pacific. In: *The British colonies; their history, extent, condition and resources* volume 3. London: London Printing and Publishing Company: 357-377.
- Marvin, Charles F. 1939. *Smithson meteorological tables*, fifth revised edition. Washington: Smithsonian Institution (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections Volume 86).
- Mateoro. 1852. Letter to Sir George Grey: 23 April. National Archives of New Zealand G-13-2.
- Matthews, L. Harrison. 1937. Notes on the Southern Right whale 'Eubalaena australis'. *Discovery Reports* 17: 169-184.
- Matthews, Leonard Harrison. 1968. *The Whale*. London: George, Allen & Urwin.
- Maury, M.F. 1851. *Whale chart*. Washington: National Observatory.
- McCormick, R. 1884. *Voyages of discovery in the Arctic and Antarctic seas, and round the world: being personal narratives of attempts to reach the North and South Poles; and of an open boat expedition up the Wellington Channel in search of Sir John Franklin and her Majesty's Ships Erebus and Terror, in Her Majesty's Boat Forlorn Hope, under command of the author* in two volumes London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington.
- McLaren, F.B. 1948. *The Auckland Islands: their eventful history*. Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed.
- McLintock, A.H. 1958. *Crown colony government in New Zealand*. Wellington: Government Printer.
- McLintock, A.H. (editor). 1966. *An encyclopaedia of New Zealand*. 3 volumes. Wellington: Government Printer.
- McNab, R. 1907. *Murihiku and the southern islands*. Invercargill: William Smith.
- McNab, R. 1909. *Murihiku. A history of the South Island of New Zealand and the islands adjacent and to the south, from 1642 to 1835*. Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- McNab, R. 1913. *The old whaling days: a history of southern New Zealand from 1830 -1840*. Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs.
- Merivale, H. 1849. Letter to Captain Hamilton: 8 September. National Archives of New Zealand G-1-24 enclosure 2.
- Mill, Hugh Robert. 1905. *The siege of the South Pole: the story of Antarctic exploration*. London: Alston Rivers.
- Mill, Hugh Robert. 1930. *The record of the Royal Geographical Society 1830-1930*. London: Royal Geographical Society.

- Morrell, Abby Jane. 1833. *Narrative of a voyage to the Ethiopic and South Atlantic Ocean, Indian Ocean, Chinese Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean in the years 1829, 1830, 1831*. New York: J. & J. Harper.
- Morrell, Benjamin. 1832. *A narrative of four voyages*. New York: J. & J. Harper.
- Morton, Harry. 1982. *The whales wake*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*. 1835. Voyage of the Tula towards the South Pole. *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*: 265-275.
- Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*. 1839a. Newly discovered land in the Southern Ocean. *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*: 563-564.
- Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*. 1839b. Antarctic discovery. *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle*: 734-738.
- Newcastle, Duke of. 1853a. Letter to Governor Sir George Grey: 21 January 1853. National Archives of New Zealand G-1-35 number 4.
- Newcastle, Duke of. 1853b. Letter to Governor Sir George Grey: 20 April 1853. National Archives of New Zealand G-1-35 number 39.
- Newcastle, Duke of. 1853c. Letter to Charles Enderby: 5 September 1853. PRO: CO 394/1 number 3..
- New Zealand, 1853. New Zealand Constitution Act; together with correspondence between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand in explanation thereof. Wellington.
- New Zealand Journal*. 1846. Associations for whaling in the south seas. *New Zealand Journal* 180: 278-280.
- Nicholson, I.H. 1983. *Shipping arrivals and departures, Tasmania 1803- 1833*. Canberra: Roebuck Society (Roebuck Society Publication 30)
- Nicholson, Ian. 1990. *Log of Logs - a catalogue of logs, journals, shipboard diaries, letters, and all forms of voyage narratives, 1788 to 1988, for Australia and New Zealand, and surrounding oceans*. Canberra: Roebuck Society and Ian Nicholson (Roebuck Society Publication 41).
- Nicholson, Ian. 1993. *Log of Logs - a catalogue of logs, journals, shipboard diaries, letters, and all forms of voyage narratives, 1788 to 1993, for Australia and New Zealand, and surrounding oceans*. Canberra: Ian Nicholson (Roebuck Society Publication 47).
- Northcote, S.H. 1847. Letter to Charles Enderby. PRO: BT 1/466 p 3536.
- Northcote, Stafford H. 1848. Letter to Mr. Ker. PRO: BT 1/466 p 1863.
- Parrott, A.W. 1958. Fishes from the Auckland and Campbell Islands. *Dominion Museum Records* 3 (2): 109-119.
- Pasquier, T.Du. 1982. *Les baleiniers Francais au XIXeme siecle (1814-1868)*. Grenoble: Terre et Mer.
- Paul, Herbert. 1901. Gladstone, William Ewart. In: Lee, Sidney (editor). *Dictionary of national biography* supplement 2. London: Smith, Elder & Co.: 280-329.
- Peel, F. 1853a. Letter to J.D. Powles: 18 April. PRO: CO 209/120 p 330-331.
- Peel, F. 1853b. Letter to J.D. Powles: 16 May. PRO: CO 209/120 p 331.

- Penniket, A., Garrick, A. and Dingwall, P. 1987. *Management plan for the Auckland Islands Nature Reserve*. Wellington: Department of Lands and Survey.
- Poesch, Jessie. 1961. *Titan Ramsay Peale 1799-1885 and his journals of the Wilkes expedition*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.
- Powles, J.D. 1849. Letter to Earl Grey: 3 August. National Archives of New Zealand G-1-24 number 60 enclosure 1.
- Powles, J.D. 1852. Letter to Sir J. Pakington: 3 November. British Library manuscripts 35563 ff 415.
- Powles, J.D. 1853a. Letter to Frederick Peel: 12 May. PRO: CO 209/120 p 330-331.
- Powles, J.D. 1853b. Letter to Sir J. Pakington: 17 June. PRO: CO 209/120 p 331.
- The Quarterly Review*. 1847. Review - a voyage of discovery and research in the southern and Antarctic regions during the years 1839-43. By Sir James Clark Ross R.N. *The Quarterly Review* 81: 166-186.
- Rayner, George, W. 1938. Whale marking. *Discovery Reports* 19: 247-286.
- Richards, Rhys. 1982. *Whaling and sealing at the Chatham Islands*. Canberra: Roebuck Society (Roebuck Society Publication 21).
- Richards, Rhys. 1984. The maritime fur trade: sealers and other residents on St. Paul and Amsterdam Islands. *The Great Circle* 6 (1): 24-42; (2): 93-109.
- Rickard, L.S. 1965. *The whaling trade in old New Zealand*. Auckland: Minerva.
- Rickard, L.S. 1971. The shore whalers. In: *New Zealand's heritage - the making of a nation* 1 (16): 427-432.
- Risting, Sigurd. 1922. *Av hvalfangstens historie*. Kristiania: Publikation Nr. 2 Fra Kommander Chr. Christensens Hvalfanstmuseum I Sandefjord.
- Robert, Rudolph. 1969. *Chartered companies and their role in the development of overseas trade*. London: G. Bell and Sons.
- Rosenman, Helen. (editor). 1987. *An account in two volumes of two voyages to the south seas by Captain Jules S-C Dumont D'Urville of the French Navy*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press.
- Ross, Angus. 1964. *New Zealand aspirations in the Pacific in the nineteenth century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ross, James Clark. 1847. *A voyage of discovery and research in the southern and Antarctic regions during the years 1839-1843*. London: John Murray.
- Ross, M.J. 1982. *Ross in the Antarctic - the voyages of James Clark Ross in Her Majesty's Ships Erebus & Terror 1839-1843*. Whitby: Caedmon of Whitby.
- Royal Institution of Great Britain. 1828-1838. Minutes of General Meetings volume IV. Royal Institution of Great Britain archives.
- Royal Society. 1837-1843. Presidential address by Spencer Joshua Alwyne Compton, second Marquis of Northampton. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London* 4: 250-253.

Royal Society. 1840. Certificate of a candidate for election - Charles Enderby Esq.: 18 June. Royal Society of London archives.

Rudolph, Robert. 1969. *Chartered companies and their role in the development of overseas trade*. London: G. Bell and Sons.

Sorensen, J.H. 1951. *Wild life in the Subantarctic*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs.

South Sea Company. 1847. Court Minute Book 49: meetings; 25 February, 25 March, 15 April. British Library manuscripts add. 25,542.

The Spectator. 1845. The United States Exploring Expedition: second notice: 15 February. British Library manuscripts add. 15716 f. 1.

Starbuck, A. 1878. *History of the American whale fishery from its earliest inception to the present day*. Washington: Government Printer.

Stephens, James. 1846. Letter to Charles Enderby: 8 October. PRO: CO 209/134 p20.

Strachan, R. (editor). 1873. *Contributions to the knowledge of the meteorology of the Antarctic regions*. London: E. Stanford.

Tatham, Upton and Johnson. 1849a. Letter to S.H. Northcote: 22 March. PRO: BT 1/471 p 785.

Tatham, Upton and Johnson. 1849b. Letter to Sir Dennis Le Marchant: 3 April. PRO: BT 1/472 p 1912.

Tyler, David B. 1968. *The Wilkes expedition - the first United States Exploring Expedition (1838-1842)*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society.

Viola, Herman J. and Carolyn Margolis (editors). 1985. *Magnificent voyagers - the U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Wace, Nigel and Bessie Lovett. 1970. *Yankee maritime activities and the early history of Australia*. Canberra: Australian National Library.

Wakefield, E. Jerningham. 1848. *The hand-book for New Zealand consisting of the most recent information compiled for the use of intending colonists*. London: John W. Parker.

Wright, Olive. 1955. *The voyage of the Astrolabe - 1840*. Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed.

Zotov, V.D. 1965. Grasses of the Subantarctic Islands of the New Zealand region. *Dominion Museum Records* 5 (15): 101-146.

Appendix 1

Abstract of the Meteorological Journal of HMS *Erebus* at the Auckland Islands 20 November - 12 December 1840 and Campbell Island 13-17 December 1840

Day	Mean Air Temperature		Sea Surface Temperature		Barometric Pressure		Wind		
	°F	°C	°F	°C	In.	hPa	Dir.	Force	Dir. m/sec
November									
20	44.6	7.00	42.7	6.00	29.332	993.3	WbS	5	259 9.4
21	47.0	8.33	45.5	7.50	29.468	997.9	WNW	4	293 6.7
22	47.1	8.39	45.0	7.22	29.305	992.4	W	6	270 12.3
23	46.2	7.89	44.2	6.78	29.553	1000.8	WNW	3	293 4.4
24	42.4	5.78	42.7	5.94	29.232	989.9	W	3	270 4.4
25	40.0	4.44	40.1	4.50	29.051	983.8	NSW	3	236 4.4
26	40.1	4.50	39.4	4.11	29.284	991.7	SSW	2	214 2.5
27	42.4	5.78	42.4	5.78	29.562	1001.1	W	1	270 1.0
28	46.8	8.22	44.5	6.94	29.481	998.3	WbS	2	259 2.5
29	47.8	8.78	45.6	7.56	29.535	1000.2	W	2	270 2.5
30	46.4	8.00	45.2	7.33	29.639	1003.4	NSW	2	236 2.5
December									
1	43.2	6.22	42.0	5.56	29.899	1012.5	SW	2	225 2.5
2	45.4	7.44	43.7	6.50	29.865	1011.3	W	1	270 1.0
3	44.9	7.17	44.3	6.83	29.757	1007.7	SW	3	225 4.4
4	45.1	7.28	43.9	6.61	29.698	1005.7	SW	5	225 9.4
5	47.1	8.39	45.2	7.33	29.941	1013.9	WSW	3	248 4.4
6	47.2	8.44	46.1	7.83	29.955	1014.4	SW	3	225 4.4
7	47.9	8.83	46.0	7.78	29.738	1007.0	WbS	3	259 4.4
8	47.9	8.83	46.2	7.89	29.628	1003.3	SW	2	225 2.5
9	50.1	10.1	48.4	9.11	29.453	997.4	WNW	3	293 4.4
10	47.5	8.61	47.1	8.39	29.240	990.2	SE	1	135 1.0
11	46.7	8.17	45.7	7.61	29.542	1000.4	WSW	3	248 4.4
12	48.8	9.33	46.6	8.11	29.829	1010.1	NW	4	315 6.7
Average	45.8	7.65	44.5	6.92	29.565	1001.2	WSW	3	250 4.4
13	48.8	9.33	46.4	8.00	29.830	1010.2	WNW	2	293 2.5
14	48.6	9.17	47.0	8.33	29.653	1004.2	WNW	2	293 2.5
15	46.7	8.17	45.2	7.33	29.649	1004.0	SWbW	2	236 2.5
16	44.3	6.83	42.6	5.89	29.962	1014.6	WSW	2	248 2.5
17	46.7	8.17	45.2	7.33	29.838	1010.4	W	4	270 6.7
Average	47.0	8.33	45.3	7.38	29.786	1008.7	W	2-3	268 3.3

Reference: Ross, 1847: 141-142; Marvin, 1939.

Appendix 2

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS,
THE PROPERTY OF HIS EXCELLENCY
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR ENDERBY,
WHICH WILL
BE SOLD BY AUCTION
AT THE EXCHANGE,
ON WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 17 1852.
BY
MESSRS. BETHUNE & HUNTER.

Sale to commence at Eleven o'clock precisely

Lot	
245	1 Parlour Printing Press, with type complete
246	Encyclopædia Britannica, 21 vols.
247	Clarke's Commentary, 6 vols.
248	Wilke's Voyage and Atlas, 6 vols.
249	Alison's Europe and Atlas, 11 vols. (The copy in <i>large type</i> now out of print)
250	Hooker's Roman History, 6 vols.
251	Gibbon's Decline and Fall, 8 vols.
252	Ferguson's Roman History, 5 vols.
253	Mitford's History of Greece, 8 vols.
254	Smith's Wealth of Nations, 4 vols.
255	Hallam's Middle Ages, 3 vols.
256	Webster's Dictionary, 2 vols., 4to.
257	Macgregor's Commercial Tariffs, 6 vols.
258	Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, 4 vols.
259	Kelly's Universal Cambist
260	Family Bible - large
261	Prayer Book -large
262	Family Lessons
263	Dictionary of Arts, by Ure, 2 vols.
264	Encyclopædia of Geography, 2 vols.
265	Operative Mechanic, 2 vols.
266	Wood's Zoography, 3 vols.
267	Dana's Mineralogy
268	Martin's Colonial Statistics
269	Royle on the productive Resources of India
270	White's Natural History of Selbourne, 2 vols.
271	Beechey's Voyage, 2 vols.
272	Beechey and Back's Voyage
273	Weddell's Voyage
274	Graah's Voyage
275	Jarman's Voyage

- 276 Memoir's of the Ethiopic Ocean
 277 Raleigh's Discovery of Guiana
 278 Vancouver's Island and Hudson's Bay, 2 books
 279 Byron's Narrative
 280 Pym's Ditto
 281 Woodard's Ditto
 282 Reid on Storms
 283 Fishbourne's Naval Architecture
 284 Shipbuilding
 285 Stephenson's Civil Engineering
 286 Lyell's Geology, 4 vols.
 287 Chamber's Information for the People, 1 vol.
 288 Chamber's Educational Course, 5 parts
 289 Martineau's Political Economy, 9 vols.
 290 Porter's Progress of the Nation
 291 British Tariff's, 1850-1
 292 McCulloch's Dictionary
 293 McCulloch on Taxation
 294 Watkin's Cyclopædia
 295 Magazine of Popular Science, 2 vols.
 296 Beale's Sperm Whale
 297 Brown's Whaling Cruise
 298 Wild Sports of the West
 299 Letters on Paraguay, 2 vols.
 300 Francis's Reign of Terror
 301 American Facts
 302 American Notes, 2 vols.
 303 Domestic Manners of America, 2 vols.
 304 Early Travels in Palestine
 305 Thierry's History of the Norman Conquest
 306 Roger of Wendover's Chronicle, 2 vols.
 307 Maunder's Treasury of History
 308 Maunder's Treasury of Biography
 309 Blumenbach's Elements of Natural History
 310 Woman's Journey Round the World, 2 copies
 311 Conquest of Mexico, 3 vols.
 312 Fitch's New South Wales
 313 Cruise's New Zealand
 314 Borneo by Rajah Brooke, 2 vols.
 315 The Emigrant
 316 The Scottish Tourist
 317 Brodie on the State of New Zealand
 318 British Colonisation
 319 William's Missionary Enterprises
 320 Cecil's Works, 2 vols.
 321 Jenk's Family Devotions
 322 Matthew's Sermons, 2 vols.
 323 Wheeler's Sermons, 2 vols.
 324 Archer's Sermons
 325 Forty-six Sermons
 326 Nicholl's Help to Reading the Bible
 327 McIlvaine's Evidences
 328 Henry's Miscellaneous Works
 329 Kelso Tracts
 330 Wilberforce on Christianity
 331 Noel's Sermons to the Unconverted
 Prize Essays on the Sabbath, by Working Men
 332 Homilies
 333 Taylor's Holy Living and Dying
 334 Gregory's Evidences
 335 Hall's Miscellaneous Works
 336 Pilgrim's Progress
 337 Pilgrim's Progress - Bagster's Illustrated Edition

- 338 The Last Day
Scott's Force of Truth
Philip on Christian Experience
Cottage Comforts
- 339 Conversations on the Parables
Winslow on Declension and Revival
Wealth, the Name and Number of the Beast
Bogtasky's Golden Treasury
- 340 True Peace
Companion to the Altar, 2 books
Psalms and Hymns, 2 books
- 341 White's Natural History of Selbourne
- 342 Life of Washington, 2 vols.
- 343 Lodge's Portraits, 8 vols.
- 344 Art Union Journal, 1848
- 345 Pictorial Half Hours, 4 vols.
- 346 Horsburgh's Directory
- 347 Arcana of Science
- 348 Orbs of Heaven
- 349 Murray's Grammar, 2 vols.
- 350 Tate's Modern Cambist
- 351 Tooke's History of Prices, 3 vols.
- 352 Elements of Electricity
- 353 Faraday's Chemical Manipulation
- 354 Thompson's Chemistry
- 355 Mawe's Gardener
- 356 The Alpaca
- 357 Southey on Colonial Wools
- 358 Liebig's Chemical Letters
- 359 Perils of the Nation
- 360 Lettres sur l'Amerique du Nord, 2 vols.
- 361 Aventures de Telemaque
- 362 Aristotle's Rhetoric, &c., 2 copies
- 363 Newman's System of Rhetoric
- 364 Walkers Pronouncing Dictionary
- 365 Ovid Translated
- 366 Homer Translated
- 367 Plato Translated, 2 vols.
- 368 Henry's Second Latin Book, 2 copies
- 368* Boyer's French Dictionary
- 369 Bonnycastle's Astronomy
- 370 Simson's Euclid
- 371 Babbage's Economy of Manufactures
- 372 Poor Laws
- 373 Gilpin on Landscape Gardening
- 374 Sweet's Hortus Britannicus
- 375 Johnson on Hydropathy
- 376 Travels in South of France
- 377 Boswell's Johnson, 4 vols., 2 copies
- 378 Hamel's Grammar, Exercises and Key, 3 vols.
- 379 James' Life of Henry IV, 3 vols.
- 380 The Sheep, by Youatt
- 381 Staunton's Chess Players' Handbook
- 382 Games at Whist
- 383 Games and Sports
- 384 Perils, Pastimes, &c.
- 385 Byron's Poems, 6 vols.
- 386 Book of English Song
- 387 Greener on Gunnery
- 388 Coleridge's Table Talk, 2 vols.
- 389 Southey's Lives of Uneducated Poets
- 390 Godfrey Malvern
- 391 Cruickshanks' Three Courses and Dessert

- 392 Lady Felicia, 3 copies
 393 The Pathway of the Fawn, 3 copies
 394 The Waverley Novels, complete, 48 vols.
 395 Waverley Anecdotes, 2 vols.
 396 Tom Burke of Ours (1 vol. missing)
 397 Charles O'Malley, 2 vols.
 398 Frankenstein
 399 Oliver Twist, 3 vols.
 400 Ten Thousand a year
 401 The King's Own
 402 Diary in America by Capt. Marryatt
 403 Japhet in Search of a Father
 404 Confessions of a Thug
 405 Mr. Midshipman Easy
 406 Peter Simple
 407 Newton Forster
 408 The Phantom Ship
 409 Snarley Yow
 410 Jacob Faithful
 411 Pasha of Many Tales
 412 Pirate and Three Cutters
 413 Poor Jack
 414 Michael Armstrong
 415 Gulliver's Travels - illustrated edition
 416 The Original
 417 The Pickwick Papers
 418 Martin Chuzzlewit
 419 Nicholas Nickleby
 420 Jack Hinton
 421 Harry Lorrequer
 422 Tower of London
 423 Valentine Vox
 424 Robinson Crusoe
 425 Red Rover
 426 Tales of the Colonies
 427 Letter Bag - Sam Slick
 428 The Clockmaker, 3 vols.
 429 The Attache, 1st and 2nd series, 4 vols.
 430 Sir F.B. Head's Narrative
 431 Census of Boston, 1845
 432 Beaumaris Eistedfod
 433 The Cooks' Oracle
 434 Facts and Figures
 State of the Nation
 Monetary System
 435 Facts in Chemistry
 English in China
 436 Popular Delusions, 2 vols.
 437 British Labourer's Protector
 Fallacies Regarding General Interests
 Rights of Industry, 2 copies
 438 Admiralty Manual

Reference: Bethune & Hunter, 1852.

Appendix 3

Whale sightings and comments on the whale fishery by Captain James Clark Ross, R.N. Made during the voyage of H.M. Ships *Erebus* and *Terror* in the Southern Ocean 1839-43

[Positions are at noon unless otherwise noted.]

1840

5 May - west of Kerguelen Island

A sperm whale, a seal and a shoal of porpoises were seen.

11 May - off Kerguelen Island

Many sperm whales were seen.

12 May to 20 July - Christmas Harbour, Kerguelen Island.

Some whales were seen at the entrance of the harbour, and by parties employed on surveying the coast. These creatures appear still to be found in great numbers, so that in 1843, when we reached the Cape of Good Hope, we heard that there were between five and six hundred whale ships fishing along the shores or in the immediate neighbourhood of this land; that most of them were nearly full; that from their great numbers constant accidents were happening in the thick fogs which prevail, by running foul of each other; and several vessels arrived at the Cape in a very shattered state. This fishery might be most successfully pursued from the Cape of Good Hope, but it is now chiefly carried on by American vessels.

11 November to 12 December - Rendezvous Harbour (Port Ross), Auckland Islands

Laurie Harbour is well calculated for the location of an establishment for the prosecution of the whale fishery: many black and several sperm whales came into the harbour whilst we were there; and from such a situation the fishery might be pursued with very great advantage. I am rejoiced to hear that the enterprising merchant, Charles Enderby, Esq., is making application to the government for a grant of the island for that purpose, and from the circumstance of their having been discovered by the commander of one of his ships, he may with some justice claim to be entitled to greater privileges than others.

23 December - 59°41'S 169°28'E

The albatross and smaller petrels hovered about in considerable numbers; and a few bottle-nosed whales were seen.

28 December - 62°40'S 174°44'E

A great many whales were seen this afternoon.

29 December - 64°06'S 172°37'E

We continued our course to the southward, amongst numerous icebergs and much drift ice. A great many whales were seen, chiefly of the common black kind, greatly resembling, but said to be distinct from, the Greenland whale: sperm, as well as hunchbacked whales, were also observed; of the common black species we might have killed any number we pleased: they appeared chiefly to be of an unusually large size, and would doubtless yield a great quantity of oil, and were so tame that our ships sailing close past did not seem to disturb them. During a short period of calm in the afternoon many marine invertebrata were taken, amongst them the *Clio borealis* and beautiful little *Argonauta arctica*, upon which, doubtless, the whales were feeding, as it is well known that these creatures constitute the whale's food in the northern seas.

1841

1 January - 66°30'S 169°45'E

Several whales were seen.

3 January - 65°39'S 170°48'E

Several whales, a few seals, and many white petrel, were seen during the day, also three penguins.

6 January - 68°17'S 175°21'E

Some whales were seen, but not in such numbers as near the pack edge.

12 January - 71°49'S 170°52'E

Some few whales and large flocks of Cape pigeons were seen.

14 January - 71°50'S 172°20'E

In the course of the day a great number of whales were observed; thirty were counted at one time in various directions, and during the whole day, wherever you turned your eyes, their blasts were to be seen. They were chiefly of large size, and the hunch-back kind: only a few sperm whales were distinguished amongst them, by their peculiar manner of "blowing", or "spouting", as some of our men who had been engaged in their capture called it. Hitherto, beyond the reach of their persecutors, they have here enjoyed a life of tranquillity and security; but will now, no doubt, be made to contribute to the wealth of our country, in exact proportion to the energy and perseverance of our merchants; and these, we well know, are by no means inconsiderable. A fresh source of national wealth is thus opened to commercial enterprise, and if pursued with boldness and perseverance, it cannot fail to be abundantly productive. We observed great quantities of molluscous and other minute marine animals, on which, no doubt, the whales were feeding; and large flocks of the young of the Cape pigeon were playing about, and feeding with them.

15 January - 71°56'S 171°51'E

Whales were also seen in considerable numbers during the day; and they who may hereafter seek them in these latitudes will do well to keep near and under the lee of extensive banks of ice to protect themselves from the heavy sea they will have to encounter.

25 January - 74°44'S 169°30'E

For several days past we had seen very few whales, which was the more remarkable on account of the very great numbers we met with not more than sixty or seventy miles to the northward. There must be doubtless some cause for their absence from this spot, which perhaps future observation may supply; for it is desirable to know where they are not to be found as well as where they are, that valuable time may not be thrown away by those who go in pursuit of them.

16 February - 76°32'S 166°12'E

A great number of whales of two different kinds were seen, the larger kind having an extremely long, erect back fin, whilst that of the smaller species was scarcely discernible.

28 February - 69°57'S 167°05'E

As we ran close along the pack edge we passed through several long streams of young ice, which being broken up the heavy swell offered but little obstruction to our progress; whales were seen in great numbers coming out from under the ice to "blow", and then returning under it again to feed or for protection.

1 March - 69°04'S 167°45'E

We saw a great many whales whenever we came near the pack edge, chiefly of a very large size; and I have no doubt that before long this place will be the frequent resort of our whaling ships, being at so convenient a distance from Van Diemen's Land, which affords every means and facilities for their equipment; and thus we may hope to become by degrees, through their exertions and enterprise, better acquainted with this part of the antarctic regions, which the setting in of winter so much earlier than we had expected had prevented our accomplishing so satisfactorily as I wished.

9 August - 33°40'S 165°E (approximate position)

Three sperm whales were seen, also a few flying fish, sooty albatross, and cape pigeons.

3 December - 47°S 174°W (approximate position)

Several sperm whales were seen this morning.

4 December - 49°17'S 172°28'W

Sperm whales, patches of seaweed and flocks of penguins were seen in such abundance, that I was in great hopes of meeting with land.

5 December - 50°S 171°W (approximate position)

A large shoal of bottle-nose whales played about the ship, and kept company for several hours.

10 December - 53°S 157°49'W

To-day a great number of grampuses were seen and a few whales.

17 December - 61°03'S 146°03'W

Some whales, numerous grey petrel, and Cape pigeons were seen.

18 December - 60°50'S 147°25'W

For the first time the beautiful snow-white petrel and the gigantic petrel were seen, also a few whales of the finner kind, and some small seals were basking on the ice. In the evening many whales were seen amongst the ice, and were so tame that the ship struck upon one in passing over it, without having done it any harm, although a shock was felt, but whether from the force with which the vessel struck the whale, or from a blow of its tail, given in return, we could not know.

20 December - 63°47'S 151°34'W

Numerous whales, seals, Cape pigeons, and white petrel were seen.

1842

11 January - 65°58'S 156°16'W

The whales which we saw here, though of large size, were by no means so numerous as we found them in other parts of the antarctic regions.

16 February - 75°06'S 172°56'E

A few whales and some finners were also seen during the day.

28 February - 70°54'S 175°36'W

Seals were comparatively few, but the small fin-backed whale, as also the piebald kind, were numerous along the pack edge.

27 March - 59°02'S 87°21'W

The Skua gull, stormy and gigantic petrel, a few sooty albatross, and a large company of bottle-nosed whales were seen during the day.

29 December - 63°40'S 53°42'W

We observed a very great number of the largest-sized black whales, so tame that they allowed the ship sometimes almost to touch them before they would get out of the way; so that any number of ships might procure a cargo of oil in a short time. Thus within ten days after leaving the Falkland Islands, we had discovered not only new land, but a valuable fishery well worthy the attention of our enterprising merchants, less than six hundred miles from one of our own possessions.

31 December - 63°57'S 55°28'W

Great numbers of the largest-sized black whales were lying upon the water in all directions: their enormous breadth quite astonished us. The colour of the sea was a dirty brown, probably occasioned by minute ferruginous infusoria, which were found in the greenish-coloured mud that was brought up by the deep sea clams from a depth of two hundred and seven fathoms.

1843

1 March - 67°06'S 9°W

Several whales, sooty albatross, Cape pigeons, blue petrel and two or three white petrel were seen in the course of the day.

Reference: Ross, 1847.

Appendix 4

Whale-sighting in the Antarctic as extracted from the logbooks of H.M. Ships *Erebus* and *Terror* December 1840 - February 1843

1840

December

28	62°42'S 173°42'E	Saw a shoal of whales, and a few birds.
29	64°10'S 172°37'E	Whales and a few birds seen.
30	64 32'E 173°05'E	Saw several sperm whales, ...
31	66°00'S 171°50'E	Saw many whales, ...

1841

January

1	66°29'S 170°00'E	Many whales, ...
2	66°23'S 170°37'E	Several whales, a seal, ...
3	65°36'S 171°02'E	Several whales, many petrels, a seal.
4	65°22'S 172°42'E	A whale and some petrels.
5	66°49'S 174°35'E	Whales, seals, penguins, ...
6	68°17'S 175°21'E	Many penguins, ... seals, a whale.
7	68°30'S 175°40'E	A whale, seals, many penguins ...
9	69°16'S 176°15'E	Two whales, several seals, ...
10	70°21'S 174°33'E	Several whales, penguins, ...
11	71°15'S 171°13'E	Several whales, penguins, petrels.
12	71°51'S 170°56'E	... two finner and three black whales.
13	72°10'S 172°04'E	Many whales, ...
14	71°52'S 172°45'E	Many whales, ...
15	71°55'S 171°38'E	Several whales, penguins, Cape pigeons.
18	72°56'S 176°09'E	One whale, ...
19	72°31'S 173°27'E	Shoal of grampuses, two seals, ...
25	74°44'S 169°36'E	A whale, ...
26	75°03'S 169°01'E	... two whales, a seal.
28	76°57'S 169°28'E	White petrels, ... a whale.
30	77°36'S 178°31'W	White and other petrels, two whales.
31	77°06'S 170°55'W	Several whales, two seals, ...

February

1	77°06'S 171°28'W	Numerous whales, white petrels.
2	77°46'S 173°00'W	Many whales, ...
3	77°19'S 174°36'W	Many whales, ...
4	77°00'S 167°41'W	Two whales, several seals ...
5	77°11'S 167°25'W	Several whales, seals, ...
6	77°02'S 171°36'W	Several whales, penguins, ...
7	77°01'S 173°37'W	Some whales, white petrels, &c.
8	77°39'S 173°10'W	Several whales, white petrels.
9	77°55'S 169°35'W	An amazing number of finner whales and grampuses, especially when near to the barrier
10	77°32'S 173°26'W	Several whales, white petrels, a seal.
13	76°52'S 177°42'W	A whale, ...
16	76°32'S 166°08'E	Many whales, ...
17	76°35'S 165°15'E	Whales, white petrels, seals, penguins.
18	76°06'S 166°06'E	A whale, seals, penguins, ...
19	75°04'S 168°37'E	A whale, many white petrels.
24	70°14'S 167°50'E	... a shoal of spotted whales.
25	70°07'S 167°30'E	Two whales, some white petrels, &c.
26	69°50'S 167°38'E	Some whales, a seal ...
28	69°57'S 167°33'E	Several whales, ...

March

1	69°04'S 167°54'E	Many whales; white, ash coloured
2	68°29'S 167°52'E	Many whales, ...
3	67°40'S 166°56'E	Many whales, ...
5	65°34'S 167°40'E	Many whales, ...
6	65°51'S 164°41'E	Several whales, ...
7	65°31'S 162°09'E	Many whales, ...
8	64°39'S 162 48'E	Several whales, ...
9	64°20'S 164°09'E	Three whales, two shoals of porpoises,
10	64°08'S 163°28'E	Numerous petrels, ... three whales.
11	64°04'S 163°12'E	Some whales, ...
12	64°10'S 161°23'E	Some whales, ...
15	64°00'S 155°39'E	Two whales, ...
16	64°14'S 154°10'E	A few whales, ...
19	64°21'S 148°44'E	Several porpoises having a white streak from the tail to the head.
20	65°15'S 143°58'E	Several whales, ...
21	64°20'S 140°34'E	Two whales, several porpoises going WSW
22	62°57'S 139°09'E	A whale, some Cape pigeons.
23	62°12'S 136°05'E	A penguin, many porpoises, ...
24	61°24'S 133°31'E	A whale, ...

December

17	61°04'S 146°04'W	Many Cape pigeons and several whales.
18	62°50'S 147°18'W	... grampuses, seals, and many whales.
19	63°22'S 150°02'W	... seal, whales, also a penguin.
20	63°45'S 151°41'W	Many petrels, ... seals, and whales.
21	64°53'S 153°34'W	Terns, ... seals, whales.
22	65 29'S 154°42'W	... whales, and many seals.
23	65°55'S 155°43'W	Petrels, penguins, seals, whales.
24	65°57'S 155°55'W	... also whales, seals, petrels, ...
26	66°05'S 155°58'W	... penguins, seals, whales.
27	66°15'S 156°20'W	... penguins, seals and a whale.
28	66°16'S 156°52'W	... many seals, two whales.
29	66°21'S 156°25'W	... seals, whales, also a porpoise.
30	66°23'S 156 49'W	... two whales, two seals.
31	66 30'S 156°49'W	Saw finner whales.

1842

January

1	66°36'S 156°32'W	... a whale, two seals.
2	66°36'S 156°28'W	Some whales, ...
3	66°32'S 156°38'W	Two whales, a seal, ...
4	66°32'S 156°23'W	A whale, two seals, ...
6	66°09'S 156°02'W	... seals, two finner whales, ...
7	66°17'S 156°00'W	Four whales, seals, ...
8	66°09'S 155°42'W	Four whales, seals, ...
9	66°04'S 155°49'W	Three whales, a few seals, ...
10	65°59'S 155°57'W	Eleven whales, ...
11	65°56'S 156°29'W	Many whales, seals, ...
12	65°50'S 156°34'W	Several whales, ... a grampus, ...
13	66°11'S 156°54'W	... some whales, seals, ...
14	66°07'S 157°38'W	Some whales, seals, ...
15	66°00'S 157°34'W	A grampus, some seals, ...
17	65°51'S 158°02'W	Two finner whales, seals, ...
18	65°55'S 158°45'W	Two finner whales, seals, °...
21	66 43'S 157°10'W	A whale, a seal.
26	67°12'S 156°48'W	... four finner whales, seals, ...
27	67°31'S 156°33'W	Two whales, seals, ...
28	67°43'S 155°51'W	Four whales, seals, ...

February

1	67°15'S 158°19'W	A whale, seals, ...
2	67°57'S 160°07'W	A whale, some Cape pigeons, ...
3	68°23'S 159°53'W	A whale, ...
4	68°50'S 160°27'W	A whale, a few petrels, ...
7	70°19'S 169°55'W	Some whales, seals, ...
8	70°18'S 173°58'W	Several whales, ...
9	70°39'S 174°29'W	Some whales, a penguin, ...
10	70 02'S 175°52'W	Many whales, ...
12	71°02'S 179°08'W	Several whales, ...
13	72°28'S 178°37'W	Many whales, ...
14	73°23'S 177°57'E	Some whales, petrels, Cape pigeons.
16	75°06'S 173°03'E	Some whales, a seal, ...
17	75°52'S 175°24'E	Whales, petrels, Cape pigeons.
19	76°43'S 173°46'E	Three whales, ...
20	76°44'S 167°28'E	Several whales, ...
21	75 49'S 164°59'E	Whales, white petrels, Cape pigeons.
22	76°43'S 166°02'E	Whales, petrels, Cape pigeons.
23	77°49'S 162°36'E	Some whales, several penguins, ...
24	76°56'S 161°20'E	Shoals of grampuses, several whales, ..
25	74°55'S 165°45'E	A whale, some white petrels, penguins.
26	72°50'S 170°40'E	Whales, penguins, ...
27	72°00'S 172°20'E	Many whales, ...
28	70°55'S 175°50'E	Several whales, a seal, ...

March

1	69°52'S 179°55'E	Many whales and seals; ...
2	68°04'S 176°41'W	Some whales, ...
3	67°28'S 174°19'W	Some whales, ...
4	67°22'S 171°57'W	A school of small finner whales; ...
5	67°06'S 171°51'W	A shoal of porpoises, many whales, ...
6	65°06'S 167°50'W	Two schools of porpoises, many whales,
7	63°31'S 165°42'W	Some whales, ...
10	60°18'S 156°08'W	Several whales, albatrosses, ...
11	60°17'S 151°32'W	A shoal of porpoises, ...
12	60°15'S 147°23'W	Some porpoises and petrels.
18	60°20'S 123°03'W	A shoal of porpoises, some albatrosses,

December

25	62°14'S 52°06'W	Saw a whale ...
26	62°29'S 51°49'W	Saw a shoal of finner whales, ...
27	62°18'S 51°50'W	Saw many penguins, whales, ...
28	62°20'S 53°46'W	Saw ... whales, and a seal.
29	63°38'S 53°57'W	Saw many whales, grampuses, ...
30	63°55'S 54°19'W	Saw many whales, penguins, ...
31	63°57'S 55°28'W	Saw many whales, white petrel, ...

1843

January

1	64°15'S 55°44'W	A few whales, seals, ...
4	64°36'S 55°38'W	Many whales, penguins, ...
5	64°12'S 56°55'W	About 30 whales, seals, ...
10	64°42'S 56°51'W	Several whales, seals, ...
15	64°34'S 56°35'W	Several whales, seals, ...
17	64°22'S 56°36'W	Many penguins, several whales, ...
18	64°02'S 54°37'W	Several whales and grampuses; ...
19	64°22'S 54°24'W	Many whales, some porpoises, ...
20	64°18'S 55°39'W	Many whales, some penguins, ...
21	64°18'S 55°48'W	Many whales, seals, ...
22	64°12'S 56°01'W	Numerous whales, seals, ...
23	64°21'S 55°49'W	Numerous whales, seals, ...
24	64°20'S 55°10'W	Many whales and penguins, ...

25	64°16'S 55°52'W	Whales, grampuses, seals, ...
27	64°07'S 56°01'W	Whales, seals, penguins, ...
28	64°09'S 55°53'W	Whales, grampuses, seals, ...
29	64°06'S 55°57'W	Many whales, grampuses, seals, ...
30	64°09'S 56°08'W	Many seals, some whales, ...
31	64°01'S 55°18'W	Whales, seals, penguins, ...
February		
1	63°57'S 55°22'W	Whales, penguins, ...
2	64°19'S 55°19'W	Many whales, grampuses, seals, ...
3	64 17'S 54°31'W	Whales very numerous, some grampuses,
4	64°13'S 54°46'W	Many whales, seals, ...
5	63°32'S 52°43'W	Many whales, seals, ...
7	64°05'S 51°58'W	A few whales, dusky albatrosses, ...
8	63°49'S 51°09'W	Some whales, Cape pigeons, ...
9	64°18'S 50°23'W	Some whales, penguins, ...
10	64°37'S 47°44'W	A few whales, some terns, ...
11	64°38'S 45°41'W	Several whales, terns, ...
13	64°54'S 42 54'W	Some whales, penguins, ...
14	65°05'S 41°18'W	Some whales, seals, ...
15	64°38'S 39°30'W	Some penguins ... two whales.
16	63°57'S 38°09'W	Some whales, penguins, ...
18	62°38'S 31°44'W	Cape pigeons, ... a seal, a whale.
19	62°16'S 29°02'W	... seals, penguins, two whales.
20	61°58'S 26°18'W	Several whales, seals, ...
21	61°41'S 23°51'W	Several whales, Cape pigeons, ...
22	61°33'S 22°03'W	Many whales, ...
23	61°39'S 19°09'W	Cape pigeons, ... two whales.
24	62°39'S 15°58'W	... two whales; ...
26	64°33'S 12°07'W	Some penguins, ... a whale.
27	65°10'S 10°00'W	A few whales, some blue petrels ...
28	66°01'S 6°45'W	Many Cape pigeons, some whales, ...
March		
1	67°05'S 8°46'W	Several whales, Cape pigeons, ...
2	68°13'S 12°13'W	Numerous whales, dusky albatrosses, ...
3	68°31'S 12°50'W	Numerous whales, Cape pigeons, ...
10	68°07'S 15°18'W	Numerous whales ... a seal.
11	65°57'S 13°19'W	A few bergs, some whales, ...

Reference: Strachan, 1873

Appendix 5

Whale Sightings in the Antarctic by Surgeon Robert McCormick, R.N. 1840-1843

1840

December

29 ... several whales about us, the latter blowing and sending up jets of vapour and spray, and then descending with tail uppermost; ...

1841

January

1 ... several icebergs in sight and whales spouting, ...

14 Saw two or three large whales blowing within a hundred yards of the ship.

February

5 Saw two whales spouting.

8 For the past two or three days we have been beating up for the pack-edge in an open sea, having only a berg or two in sight, with several whales.

10 Whales were numerous here, spouting in all directions, and many white petrels. At four a.m. a whole line of finners were sending up jets of vapour so high as to appear above the barrier. As we coasted the line of the barrier we fell in with many whales, both finners and spermaceti. One large black one rose close under our bows, and actually dived under the hull of the ship; several others at the same time passed very close to us. A very successful whale-fishery might be carried on here; the whales are of the very largest size, especially the spermaceti, perhaps the most valuable of all; could but ships fitted in the ordinary way make their way through the vast and heavy intervening packs, a somewhat arduous affair, however.

16 We passed a whole line of large whales, whose remarkably long, pointed, black, fins bristled above the surface of the water, finners doubtless; but so little of the outline of the back of the whole is seen above the water; ...

18 A small whale swam round the ship with a seal.

24 A shoal of spotted whales passed on our port quarter.

March

12 In the evening several large finners passed to leeward, sending up large jets of spray, with a loud spouting noise, the upper surface of their backs alone visible, leaving a track of foam in their wake.

December

16 Saw ... a group of black and white porpoises.

18 Saw several whales spouting in the distance; one finner passed close to the ship, and another dived down under her bottom from the bows.

20 Sailing through loose ice, several whales blowing near the ship.

23 Two whales passed the ship.

1842

January

6 ... a very large finner whale, seventy or eighty feet in length, passed very near the ship.

17 Two finner whales, seventy or eighty feet in length passed close to the ship, having a large fin above the water abaft, and humps forward.

22 Saw a whale blowing.

December

28 Two large finner whales were blowing astern of us.

31 Many whales about us.

1843

January

17 The whales are very numerous in this locality.

22 The whales very numerous again today; and I witnessed this evening a singular habit of the birds I had never before noticed. A flock of about 100 Cape petrel following the whales, hovered over their wake in the water, and the whale had no sooner risen to the surface to blow than these birds pounced down in a body into the very jet of vapour spray sent up by him in a broad column, when a momentary scramble commenced for something they obtained from the water, either small creatures discharged in the jet, or parasites attached to his skin; or probably both as in one instance I saw two birds alight on the ales back, but from which they were almost as soon unshipped by his diving below the surface; although only to come up again a few fathoms farther off for another blow, which the petrels anticipating, followed close in his wake, all ready for another scramble as he rose again above the surface of the deep.

25 I also saw a group of the small piebald whales, having a long black scimitar-shaped fin appearing high above the water.

March

2 ... a number of large whales sporting about, spouting up jets of vapour and spray to the height of from twelve to twenty feet.

3 I saw several whales.

Reference: McCormick, 1884.

Appendix 6

Letter from C. H. and G. Enderby to Sir Robert Peel, 8 July 1845

13 Great St. Helens
8th July 1845

To the Right Hon^{ble}
Sir R. Peel

Sir,

It is unnecessary for us now to trouble you with the causes that have annihilated the British South Sea fishery, it is sufficient to notify that such is virtually the fact and that the fishery from the United States of America has increased to 710* ships. (* on the 14 October 731 ships).

We now take the liberty of calling your attention to the opinions of our Mr. C. Enderby by expressed before a committee of the House of Commons and in his letter to yourself of the 29th December 1842 in which he stated that the islands of New Zealand contained the most eligible stations for carrying on the whale fisheries, but that at least 10 years would lapse before they would be sufficiently settled to encourage capitalists to embark in the trade from thence.

The unfortunate position in which our communications are placed with the natives of those islands renders it hopeless to expect that the fishery from thence will extend itself beyond the bays in the immediate neighbourhood of the stations and be carried on in boats from the shore.

Under these circumstances we are induced to apply to you for a grant of the Auckland Islands situated in Lat. 51°S Long. 166 comprising less than 90,000 acres of land. The British claim to the Auckland Islands rests on their discovery by a vessel (the *Ocean*, Captⁿ Bristow) belonging to our father, the second island being named Enderby's Island after him and they were again visited by another of his vessels in 1807 when some pigs were landed the progeny of which are now we are informed most numerous.

These islands possess good harbours, an abundant supply of fresh water with rich soil, but the wood is only fit for firing, the distance however of these islands from New Zealand does not exceed 260 miles where they can obtain any quantity required.

The Auckland Islands have now been discovered 38 years they are uninhabited and we conceive them to be well situated to hold out strong inducements for an extensive Whale Fishery Station. They are sufficiently close to the fishery and the climate is such that the oil may be discharged from the vessels as they arrive and be laid up for transshipment without leakage or the risk of plunder and the natives of New Zealand and other of the South Sea Islands may doubtless be obtained in any number and these when absent from their respective Islands, we have always found to be good seamen and orderly and quiet when on shore and with the addition of 3/4 Englishmen or the inhabitants of the Shetland or Orkney Islands we doubt not a profitable trade may yet be carried on if conducted on a sufficiently extended scale in vessels of from 170 to 200 tons each. It is however important to the success of the undertaking that the establishment should be isolated and not open to the evils of competitors on the same island, of liquor shops or others which are the recipients of stolen property.

We do not rest our claim to these islands solely on account of our father having been the discoverer of them but suppose we had occupied them our title to the land would scarcely now have been disputed; we consider ourselves and family however to have far stronger claims of the nation for valuable services performed. Our father established the southern whale fishery from this country in 1775 and it was carried on by him with a spirit of enterprise unequalled by any other person; three out of five of the spermaceti whale fisheries did he open and from them oil to the value of nearly forty millions sterling has been imported into England and America, his ships visited every part of the ocean and made many discoveries, but for the whaling ships the islands in the South Seas would have been as little known at this time as when Captⁿ Cook visited them, for the missionaries would not establish themselves where they could not communicate with their friends.

The settlements in Australia are likewise indebted to our father for their existence, he sustained and nursed them when first established at Botany Bay, and but for his vessels they must have been starved, the master of one of them was applied to, to remove them but refused supplying them with provisions, he also was enabled to afford the Admiralty during the War much valuable information particularly relating to the passage into the Pacific Ocean by Cape Horn which after the disastrous voyage of Lord Anson was for a period long dreaded. In referring to the immediate services of ourselves we have to observe that we equipped two vessels in 1830 and discovered the Southern Continent (sought for in vain by Captain Cook, Vancouver and others) they first discovered Enderby

Land situated in Lat. 66 So. Long. 43 running East and West 200 miles and then Grahams Land in Lat. 67 Long. 71 - 250 miles running N.E. and S.W. we subsequently equipped two other expeditions the latter in 1838 and discovered the Balleny Islands situated Lat. 66 So. Long 163 E and Sabrina Land Lat. 65 Long. 121 E. These discoveries have been confirmed and extended at enormous expense by the American, French and British Governments: altho by these expeditions we sustained very considerable loss yet we have greatly extended geographical knowledge and have saved to the nation the credit (otherwise due to the American Exploring Expedition) of being the discoverers of a continent.

Resting our claims on the foregoing statement and the national benefit likely to result from the re-establishment of a whale fishery, we trust our application for the grant of these Islands either outright or conditionally may be acceded to for we should not be disposed to submit the subject for the consideration of others when a large outlay for the store houses, cooperages &c. would be necessary, unless we have some sure grounds on which to proceed.

We have the Honor to remain,
Sir your mo obed^t Serv^t

C, H & G Enderby

Reference: Enderby, 1845a.

Appendix 7

Re-establishing the Southern Whale Fisheries

The Times. 1848. Letters to the Editor: 8 November, 3e.

We have received the subjoined letter regarding the project of Mr. Enderby for re-establishing our Southern Whale Fisheries:

Sir,

The public, no less than Mr Enderby, have to thank you for giving weight to his efforts to revive an important but neglected branch of our commerce - the South Sea Whale Fishery; and they have further to thank you, in publishing his plan, for not absolutely pronouncing in favour of it.

'Lord of the Auckland Isles', it is natural that Mr Enderby should choose them as the favoured region upon which to pour forth a part of the capital of the wealthy company he desires to form and to benefit. But with yourself and the public the question will be 'Are the Auckland Isles the most promising site for the operations of the company'? Mr Enderby may conscientiously believe they are. They who are interested in New Zealand will unhesitatingly pronounce in favour of the latter. Let the public, turning from either party, attend to the simple facts of the question.

On the south east extremity of New Zealand, and directly facing the main fishery ground, lies the harbour of Otago, 13 miles long and averaging three wide. Midway in length, it is nearly crossed by a peninsula on one side, and a promontory on the other, and small islands in between them. The first is the site of the nascent sea port, Port Chalmers, with deep water and abundant anchorage, all round, and nearly close to its shore, where in six weeks may be lying the *Ajax*, of near 800 tons, now on her way with the sixth ship load of superior settlers of various grades. The majority of proprietors have bought land freely at £ 2 an acre (a high colonial price) and acquired grazing rights under the conviction that on raising produce abundantly for victualling ships the South Sea whale trade would revive, and Otago offer an admirable depot for the oil to be conveyed by carrying vessels to Europe according to the obvious and judicious views of Mr Enderby. With this view they are now breaking up the rich soil for grain crops, and are importing stock from Australia at a heavy cost for grazing the boundless open downs inland. With fresh water, coal, wood, freestone, and all other natural resources in abundance, a whaling company would find Port Chalmers rise up with quays, warehouses and well-filled granaries, demanding on their part no other aid but custom, their capital remaining wholly available for fishing. Why then try to divert the natural and expected course of trade, and by the force of capital to make the Auckland Islands the depot? In the wide whaling region, of which Otago is quite as near the centre as they are, it were idle to contend for the geographical superiority of either two localities only six degrees apart; while Otago is somewhat nearer to England nautically for returning ships, which all come home by way of Cape Horn.

Of the character of those cold, uninhabited islands thus speaks no mean authority* - 'The Auckland Islands, in the boisterous ocean south of New Zealand, are covered with dense, and all but impenetrable thickets of stunted trees, or rather shrubs, gnarled by gales from a stormy sea'. Why, when Otago is ready for the accommodation of the company, spend money anew on such drear spots? Have we not competition enough at home, that our countrymen must go to the Antipodes to dissipate their powers in wasteful rivalry? Let the company fix on Otago, and they may have all the whaling to themselves, with abundant supplies on the spot, and none of the risk of raising it. As to Mr Enderby himself, he would be, of all others, the man to occupy the Lieutenant-Governorship to be formed at Otago over Southern New Zealand - a vast and noble country, where his laudable ambition might have far better scope than tangled amidst the 'gnarled bushes' of his bleak and boisterous little poleward realm. At all events, if his affections are too firmly riveted to the small islands he has so long wooed, let not the company undertake the superfluous expense of supporting them, of forcing Otago to establish a rival company, whose fleets being fed by the soil, shall ship their oil on the bosom of her waters.

I am Sir, your faithful servant,
"J.J"

* Sommervilles Physical Geography II p 124.

These views seem not unreasonable, but it is believed that they were all taken into consideration before the Auckland Islands were finally determined upon as the site of the projected company. If we are rightly informed, facilities for carrying out his scheme were equally presented to Mr Enderby in Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand, and it was therefore for no reason beyond that of a sense of peculiar fitness that the Aucklands were selected. We have it on the authority of Captain Ross that, "in the whole range of the vast Southern Ocean no spot could be found combining so completely the essential requisites for a fixed whaling station "and amongst the especial points urged in support of this opinion are - 1. The necessity that whaling stations should always, if possible, be isolated so as to preclude the chance of the population being attracted fitfully to other pursuits, while at the same time the stores would be more safe from plunder. 2. That in the high southern latitudes there is a most extensive fishery as yet undisturbed. 3. That the blubber in its raw state would not admit being taken for the purpose of being boiled into a climate so warm even as that of Van Diemen's Land or New Zealand; and 4. The freedom from the immediate presence of any competitors. As regards the gales and general dreariness of the islands these features, even if they prevailed to a considerable extent, would be of little importance to the class for whom the colony is proposed to be established; but the concurrent testimony of most voyagers by whom the region has been visited seems to show that it deserves a better description than such characteristics would convey. D'Urville speaking of the principal harbour says 'It is one of the finest that I know, while the east coast is stated to have exhibited "here and there" a fine sandy beach upon which the sea scarcely broke, and intersected by numerous streams and inlets'. Dubouzet, also one of the French officers, alludes to the probability of colonists being attracted by 'the fine harbour of the islands and their temperate climate', and Lieutenant Wilkes speaks of it as a very desirable place at which to refit. The statement of scientific persons moreover, as to the soil is that it is 'generally good and highly productive and that the climate, although somewhat humid, and subject to heavy squalls, is nevertheless very healthy'. It is not contended but that whaling may be carried on profitably both from New Zealand and Australia, and these fields will still be open to individual enterprise; but the point maintained is that for all the permanent requisites of a public company the Aucklands are much more favourably situated, and the correctness of this opinion has long been admitted, not only by the most experienced persons in England, but also in Australia, where great benefits (which would equally reach New Zealand) are expected to arise, both directly and indirectly, from the success of the contemplated scheme.

Appendix 8

A Public Dinner given to Charles Enderby, Esq., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.R.G.S.

The dinner took place in pursuance of the following announcement:

REVIVAL OF THE BRITISH SOUTHERN WHALE FISHERY

A Royal Charter of Incorporation having been obtained by Mr. Charles Enderby for the prosecution of the Southern Whale Fishery, together with a grant of the Auckland Islands by the Crown, in furtherance of this object, and it being the intention of Mr. Enderby to proceed thither, a Public Dinner will be given to that Gentleman, in testimony of the sense which is entertained by the British public of his laborious and persevering services in laying the foundation for the restoration to this Empire of the above important branch of our maritime commerce.

The dinner will take place at the London Tavern, on *Wednesday*, the 18th of *April* instant,

Rear Admiral Sir James Whitley Deans Dundas, C.B., M.P., in the chair

Besides Mr. Enderby, who was seated on the right of the Chairman, the Company comprised the under-mentioned nobleman and gentlemen, viz.:-

Captain Lord Colchester, R.N., F.R.G.S.
The Right Hon. Henry Labouchere, M.P., President of the Board of Trade
The Hon. Francis Scott, M.P.
Sir William Clay, Bart., M.P.
Sir John Henry Pelly, Bart., Deputy-Master of the Trinity House,
and Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, F.R.G.S., F.H.S., F.Z.S.
Vice Admiral Sir Charles Malcolm, Honorary President Bombay
Geographical Society, F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S.
Vice Admiral Sykes
Vice Admiral Sir George Francis Seymour
Captain Sir George Back, R.N., F.R.S., F.R.G.S.
Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, G.C.St.S., F.R.S., Corresponding Member of
the Institute of France, F.R.G.S.
Sir John Campbell, K.C.H.
Sir George Hayter
Major General Thomas
John Bagshaw, Esq., M.P.
S+GB Thomas Baring, Esq., M.P.
S Matthew Forster, Esq., M.P.
Alexander Matheson, Esq., M.P.
S Mr. Alderman Sidney, M.P.
S Mr. Alderman Thompson, M.P.
S Mr. Alderman Finnis
Professor Airey, Astronomer Royal
Colonel Middleton
Lieutenant Colonel Edward Sabine, R.A., F.R.S.
S+D Lieutenant Colonel J.N. Colquhoun, R.A., F.R.S., F.R.G.S.
S Colonel Arbuckle, R.A.
Rev. W.A. Soames
Henry Enderby Esq.
George Enderby Esq., F.R.G.S.
William Enderby Esq.
John Allan Esq.
S George Fife Angas, Esq.
Thomas Ashton, Esq.
S.W. Atkins, Esq.
J.E. Barnett, Esq.
John Barnett, Esq.
S+O William Beale, Esq.

	Alexander Beattie, Esq.
	Henry Beaumont, Esq.
S+O	Elhanan Bicknell, Esq.
S	H.D. Blyth, Esq.
	A. Blyth, Esq.
S	James Blyth, Esq.
	John Blyth, Esq.
S	Charles Booth, Esq.
	J.R. Bousfield, Esq.
O	George Bowes, Esq.
O	George Bowes, Jun., Esq.
S	Mark Boyd, Esq.
S	Edward Lennox Boyd, Esq., F.R.G.S.
	Maitland Boyd, Esq.
S+RI	Thomas Brandram, Esq.
	A. Brandram, Esq.
S	T.H. Brooking, Esq., F.R.G.S.
VC+S+D	Robert Brooks, Esq.
S	Samuel Browning, Esq.
	Thomas Browning, Esq.
	W.R. Burgess, Esq.
	William Cannon, Esq.
	John Carter, Esq.
	Dr. Joseph Cauvin, LL.D.
S	Thomas Chapman Esq.
S+DB	Joseph B. Chapman, Esq.
	William Chapman Esq.
	G. Churchward, Esq.
	George Collin, Esq.
S	Captain William Cook
	Edward B. Cox, Esq.
S+O+C	Benjamin Thomas Crichton, Esq.
	J.J. Cummins, Esq.
	Charles Deacon, Esq.
	- Deacon, Esq.
	Thomas Devas, Esq.
S	Captain Drayner
	Alexander Druce, Esq.
S	Henry William Eaton, Esq.
S	Henry Edwards, Esq.
	George Edwards, Esq.
	Welbore Ellis, Esq.
	R. Ellis, Esq.
S	Thomas England, Esq.
VC+S+D	John Entwistle, Esq.
S	Charles Ferguson, Esq.
	Thomas Ferguson, Esq.
	James Edward Fitzgerald, Esq.
	J.J. Frost, Esq.
	John Fuller, Esq., F.R.G.S.
	William Game, Esq.
	J. Gardner, Esq.
	Francis Garford, Esq.
	T.A. Gibb, Esq.
S+D	John Gilmore, Esq., R.N.
S+D	William Gladstone, Esq.
	Lemuel Goddard, Esq.
	J.R. Godley, Esq.
	Captain G.T. Gordon, R.N.
	Frederick R. Gore, Esq.
	John Gore Jun., Esq.
	Charles Graham, Esq.
S+D	Robert Alexander Gray, Esq.

S B.B. Greene, Esq.
 Smith Greenwell, Esq.
 Samuel Gregson, Esq.
 George Gull, Esq.
 S W.D. Haggard, Esq.
 S F.T. Haggard, Esq.
 Henry Haggard, Esq.
 Captain Hall
 James A. Hallett, Esq.
 William Hamilton, Esq., R.N.
 George Hammond
 Captain Hartley
 S George Hayter, Esq.
 Captain Haultain
 S T.C. Hayward, Esq.
 Alexander Henderson, Esq.
 Jacob Herbert, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 Rev. Thomas Hill, M.A.
 Captain Holiday
 S Robert Holmes, Esq.
 - Hooper, Esq.
 T.B. Horsley, Esq.
 S Thomas Howell, Esq.
 Mark Hunter, Esq.
 Henry Huth, Esq.
 Louis Huth, Esq.
 - Jones, Esq.
 Murray Johnson, Esq.
 Robert Knox, Esq.
 Dr. Langmore
 H.B. Langmore, Esq.
 S Captain Edward Lawson, Esq.
 Francis Le Breton, Esq.
 S George Lennox, Esq.
 John Lidgett, Esq.
 VC+S+D W.S. Lindsay, Esq.
 Thomas Lindsay, Esq.
 - Linklater, Esq.
 O William Lisle, Esq.
 S C.D. Logan, Esq.
 Joseph Longden, Esq.
 S Captain C. Mangles, R.N., F.R.S., F.R.G.S.
 Frederick Mangles, Esq.
 George Marshall, Esq.
 Joseph Maynard, Esq.
 W.R. Maynard, Esq.
 S+DB Michael M'Chlery, Esq.
 Robert M'Cormick, Esq., R.N.
 W. M'Kay, Esq.
 T.J. Miller, Esq.
 Joseph Mills, Esq.
 William Miskin, Esq.
 George Moore, Esq.
 G. Moore, Esq.
 Lewis Mortimer, Esq.
 John Moser, Esq.
 W.H. Mullins, Esq.
 E.B. Neill, Esq.
 E. Norris, Esq.
 W.L. Olgilby, Esq.
 Dr. Oropeza
 Charles Pannell, Esq.
 Dr. W.V. Pettigrew

S+D	Charles Phelps, Esq. Captain William Pixley Stewart Pixley, Esq. Ralph Potts, Esq.
S+O+D	John Diston Powles, Esq. Henry Powell, Esq.
Hon. Sec.	Thomas Robert Preston, Esq. Frederick T. Price, Esq.
S	H.T. Prinsep, Esq. Thomas Pryer, Esq. Antonio Ralli, Esq. H.C. Read, Esq.
S	G. Clavering Redman, Esq. Stephen Redman, Esq. C.J. Redpath, Esq.
S	John Richardson, Esq. William Richardson, Esq. John Ritchie, Esq. - Roberts, Esq. David Roberts, Esq., R.A. John Robertson, Esq. Lieutenant Rogers, Esq. Lieutenant Rouse, R.N. Henry Sandford, Esq.
S	George Scamell, Esq. John Scott, Esq. W.A. Scripps, Esq. Isaac Sewell, Esq. J.H. Shears, Esq. D.T. Shears, Esq. T.A. Shuter, Esq. - Shuter, Jun., Esq. - Shuttleworth, Esq.
O	S.W. Silver, Esq.
S	N. P. Simes, Esq.
O	James Scott Smith, Esq.
O	George Smith, Esq. Evan Smith, Esq. H.F. Smith, Esq.
S	John Smith, Esq.
O	Joseph Smith, Esq. William Smith, Esq. Captain H. Smith, R.N.
VC+S+O+D	Frederic Somes, Esq. Isaac Sparks, Esq. Robert Spence, Esq. C. Teighe, Esq.
S	James Thompson, Esq. John Timbs, Esq. John Torrance, Esq. Augustus Toulmin, Esq. Edwin Trent, Esq.
S	Samuel Tudor, Esq. E. Tudor, Esq. Frederick Twynam, Esq.
Sol.	Robert B. Upton, Esq. Lieutenant Waghorne, R.N.
S	Joshua Walker, Esq. William Wall, Esq. W. Wansey, Esq. S. Watson, Esq.
S+Ship.	Captain Whish, R.N. Money Wigram, Esq.

Robert Wilcoxon, Esq.
 A.W. Wilkinson, Esq.
 John Williams, Esq.
 William Wilson, Esq.
 S Samuel Wimbush, Esq.
 Joshua Wimbush, Esq.
 Henry Wimbush, Esq.
 J. Wingfield, Esq.
 Henry Wise, Esq., F.R.G.S.
 Charles Wix, Esq.
 S+O+C+VGB George Frederick Young, Esq.
 John Young, Esq.
 Sidney Young, Esq.

Key:

S Steward
 VC Vice Chairman of the Dinner
 D Director of the Southern Whale Fishery Company
 Hon. Sec. Honorary Secretary of the Southern Whale Fishery Company
 Sol. Solicitor for the Southern Whale Fishery Company
 Ship. Shipbuilder for the Southern Whale Fishery Company
 O Previous owner of whaling ships
 C Member of the Coopers Guild of London
 GB Former Governor of the British Whale and Seal Fishery Company
 VGB Former Vice Governor of the British Whale and Seal Fishery Company
 DB Former Director of the British Whale and Seal Fishery Company
 RI Member of the Royal Institution of Great Britain

Abbreviations of Fellowships, Honours and Academic, Political and Military titles:

F.R.S. Fellow of the Royal Society of London
 F.R.A.S. Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society
 F.R.G.S. Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society
 F.H.S. Fellow of the Heraldry Society
 F.L.S. Fellow of the Linnean Society of London
 F.Z.S. Fellow of the Zoological Society
 K.C.H. Knight Commander of Hanover
 G.C.St.S. Grand Cross of St Stephen
 M.A. Master of Arts
 LL.D. Doctor of Laws
 M.P. Member of Parliament
 R.N. Royal Navy
 R.A. Royal Artillery

Note:

A total of 240 people were recorded present at the dinner.

Reference to attending the dinner by Surgeon Robert McCormick, R.N.:

'This evening I dined at the "London Tavern", Bishopgate Street, to which I had been invited by the directors of the Auckland Islands Company. About 300 sat down to dinner; Admiral Dundas in the chair, with Mr. Charles Enderby on his right. I was seated next to Admiral Sir George Back, a place allotted me by Charles Enderby, by whom I was introduced to the old Arctic explorer, who shook hands with me, and said he had noticed my name on the plate next to his. I shook hands with Sir Edward Sabine, who took his seat just opposite to mine, and next to Sir Roderick Murchison: the latter wore a large glittering star on his breast. I had a long talk with Sir George Back about my plans of search [for Sir John Franklin's Arctic expedition], which he said he entirely approved of; but added that he feared the Admiralty could not be moved to do anything more than already done'.

References: Dundas, 1849; Lee, 1898; McCormick, 1884: 302.

Appendix 9

Vessels owned or employed by the Southern Whale Fishery Company

Vessel: *Artemisia*

Type: Bark, 558 tons

Master: Captain J.P. Ridley

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

17 February 1850 - (intended date of sailing) departed Sydney for the Auckland Islands

7 March 1850 - arrived at Port Ross with 300 sheep, 80 cattle and stockmen to care for the livestock

March 1850 - departed Port Ross

Vessel: *Auckland*

Built: England

Type: hatch-boat

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Master: William Whitelock

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

6 March 1850 - launched and named [adjacent to Amherst Point]

May 1850 - circumnavigation of Auckland Islands (proposed in April)

Weekly - to Enderby Island to uplift the meat slaughtered for consumption at the settlement

5 August 1852 - William Whitelock remained behind with the hatch-boat to take charge of the stores, buildings and livestock and to procure seal oil and skins and to possibly prosecute the shore whale fishery; it is expected that he made frequent trips around the islands for this purpose with a crew of New Zealanders

18 August 1854 - departed Port Ross with Whitelock, a crew of eight New Zealanders and a group of Maori and Moriori under Mateoro quitting the islands for Port Adventure, Stewart Island; left Mateoro and group at Stewart Island with some provisions and sailed onto Wellington, via Pigeon Bay, Bank Peninsula, to trade 114 seal skins and 10 casks of young albatross and ascertain prospects of the Southern Whale Fishery Company; one Englishman and a group of New Zealanders remained on the islands along with 600 skins and 9 tons of oil, procured during the previous two years

Vessel: not known

Built: brought out in frame, assembled at Port Ross, early 1850

Type: small cutter; 24ft x 6ft

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Vessel: not known

Built: Port Ross, early 1850, out of native timber

Type: small cutter; 25ft long

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Vessel: *Augusta*

Type: bark, 418 tons

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

1849 - departed London, chartered by the Southern Whale Fishery Company to carry general stores and some colonists

27 February 1850 - arrived at Port Ross

April 1850 - departed for Sydney with six-eight colonists who had been dismissed by Enderby for striking (for increased allowances) or theft, and two officers who had resigned (one due to heart palpitations)

Vessel: **Black Dog**

Type: schooner

Sold to: Southern Whale Fishery Company, as arranged by Captain Robert Towns, the agent of the Company in Sydney

Re-registered: Sydney, 1850 (in the name of Charles Enderby); Port Ross, March 1851 (by Charles Enderby into the name of the Southern Whale Fishery Company)

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

1 August 1850 - departed Port Ross, Lieutenant-Governor Charles Enderby embarked, for Wellington

13 August 1850 - arrived Wellington

14 September 1850 - arrived at Port Ross, Governor Enderby embarked

August 1851 - departed Port Ross for New Zealand, Governor Enderby embarked

29 August 1851 - arrived at Auckland

September 1851 - departed Auckland for Sydney

16 October 1851 - departed Sydney for Port Ross with sheep and stores for the settlement

24 April 1852 - departed Port Ross for Wellington, Governor Enderby, and the Special Commissioners of the Southern Whale Fishery Company, Mr. George Dundas, M.P. and Mr. Thomas Robert Preston, embarked

18 May 1852 - arrived at Wellington

June 1852 - departed Wellington (after 15th) for Sydney, Mr. Dundas and Mr. Preston embarked

early July 1852 - departed Sydney, Mr. Dundas embarked

11 July 1852 - arrived at Port Ross

Vessel: **Brisk**

Built: Chatham 1819 for H.M. service

Type: Brigantine, 267 tons; 2 decks, 3 masts; 96.3' x 22.6' x 16.2'; square rig, standing bowsprit, carvel built, sham galleries, female head

Owner: Benjamin Thomas Crichton, 6 Griffin Place, Shadwell, cooper and ship owner

Sold to: Southern Whale Fishery Company on 19 July 1849

Re-registered: 26 July 1849

Masters: Thomas James Tapsell, London; 26 July 1849

James Eber Bunker, Port Ross; 8 April 1850

Charles Freeman, Port Ross; 23 March 1851

Christopher Loutit, Sydney; 4 February 1853

Alexander Maurice, London; 24 August 1853

Mortgaged: John Diston Powles, 2 May 1853

Released from mortgage: not known

Sold to: T.M. Weguelin, Old Broad St., merchant; William Gladstone; John Hodgson, Old Broad St., merchant; George Duncan, New London St., ship owner, 23 August 1853

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

11 August 1849 - departed West India Dock, London for River

13 August 1849 - at Deal, Kent

17 August 1849 - sailed for Auckland Islands

11 December 1849 - arrived Port Ross

20 January 1850 - departed Port Ross on a whaling voyage to the Antarctic with a mixed crew of volunteers including two New Zealanders. Reported to have sighted the Balleny Islands and sailed to the westward at a higher latitude than Wilkes without sighting land. Saw many Humpback, Finbacks [Fin] and Sulphur-bottom [Blue] whales but no Right whales

17 March 1850 - arrived at Port Ross, an empty ship

early April 1850 - departed Port Ross on a whaling voyage with instructions to return in November unless 'in with the whales', recorded that they had 60 barrels of Sperm oil

February 1851 - arrived at Port Ross

late March 1851 - departed Port Ross for the whaling grounds

5 February 1852 - arrived at Port Ross; three seamen, ill with scurvy, sent ashore to recover

March 1852 - departed Port Ross for Macquarie Island

March 1852 - arrived at Macquarie Island embarking 14 men from sealing gang but poor weather precluded the uplifting of approximately 14 tuns of Elephant seal oil

5 April 1852 - departed Macquarie Island for Port Ross

February 1853 - departed Sydney for London

1853 - arrived London

Vessel: *Chieftain*

Built: Gainsborough

Type: ship, 382 tons

Owners: Sweeting

Master: M'Clelland

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

August 1851 - chartered to take the Special Commissioners of the Southern Whale Fishery Company, Mr. George Dundas, M.P. and Mr. Thomas Robert Preston to the Auckland Islands

18 December 1851 - arrived at Port Ross

27 December 1851 - departed for Wellington with most of the shipwrecked crew of *Countess of Minto* rescued by *Lord Duncan* 2 December; five men remained behind, presumably after having been offered employment

3 January 1852 - arrived at Wellington

Vessel: *Earl of Hardwicke*

Built: West Cowes, 1850; by Thomas & John White

Type: 247 tons; 2 decks, 3 masts; 94.3' x 22.6' x 16.2'; square rig, square stern, carvel built, mock galleries, male head

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Masters: George Browne, West Cowes; 13 March 1850

Edward Wing Oliver, Sydney; 26 October 1850

Robert Young, Port Ross; 28 November 1851

William Dunning, Sydney; 29 October 1852

William Henry Kemp, Sydney; 15 March 1853

Mortgaged: George, Francis, Henry and George Bowes, Old St., oil brokers and merchants, 22 March 1852

Released from mortgage: 5 May 1853

Sold to: John Robertson, William Gladstone, Liverpool and others, 18 January 1854

Re-registered: 1 February 1854

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

1 April 1850 - departed London in ballast

10 April 1850 - sailed from Deal for the Auckland Islands

17 May 1850 - reported at 9°N 24°W en-route Auckland Islands

August 1850 - arrived at Port Ross sustaining some damage on entering harbour, reportedly due to negligence by the pilot

September 1850 - departed for Sydney to undertake repairs

October/November 1850 - departed Sydney on a whaling cruise

November/December 1850 - reported off Lord Howe Island with 80 barrels sperm whale oil

1851 - Sydney agent, Robert Towns, reported the ship was en-route for the Auckland Islands, with a full cargo, in position 34°S 159°40'E

early February 1852 - departed Port Ross on a whaling voyage

31 May 1852 - arrived at Port Ross from a four month whaling voyage with 40 barrels of oil; one man dead and some of the crew ill with scurvy

August 1852 - departed Port Ross with members of staff of the Southern Whale Fishery Company and property (including the Governors house which was offered for sale) for Otago

late August 1852 - arrived at Port Chalmers

September 1852 - departed Port Chalmers for Sydney with staff of the Southern Whale Fishery Company wishing to settle in Australia or proceed to the gold diggings in Victoria

October 1852 - arrived at Sydney

3 November 1852 - departed Sydney for the Auckland Islands

December 1852 - departed Port Ross for the whaling grounds

March 1853 - arrived at Sydney from the whaling grounds

March 1853 - departed Sydney for London

11 July 1853 - berthed at London Dock

Vessel: *Fancy*

Built: Sunderland, 1846

Type: 321 ⁷³¹/₃₅₀₀ tons; 2 decks, 3 masts; 92' x 24.4' x 17'; square rig, standing bowsprit, square stern, carvel built, no gallery, womans bust

Sold to: Southern Whale Fishery Company, 12 July 1849

Masters: David Davidson, London; 26 July 1849
Thomas James Tapsell, Auckland Islands; 6 November 1850
James Smith Stone, Auckland Islands; 13 January 1851
William H. Henderson, Sydney; 16 November 1852

Mortgaged: John Diston Powles, Gracechurch St., merchant; 2 May 1853

Sold to: T.M. Weguelin, merchant, ⁴⁸/₆₄; George Dawson, ¹⁶/₆₄; 27 July 1853

Re-registered: 25 October 1853

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

August 1849 - departed London for the Auckland Islands, William Augustus Mackworth embarked
27 December 1849 - arrived Port Ross with 30 barrels of Sperm oil, taken 'on the line' [near the equator]

2 January 1850 - Charles Enderby, Commissioner, dismissed Captain Davidson from the Company's service, giving James Eber Bunker the command. *Fancy* was moored off Ocean Point due to concerns regarding its seaworthiness and to pursue bay whaling for the migrating Right whales. The ship did not proceed out of the harbour until 1851 and it does not appear that command of Bunker was properly recorded

January 1851 - departed Port Ross on a whaling voyage with instructions to return by November

late June 1852 - a female Right whale was captured by boats from shore or from the *Fancy* and was towed to the ship for cutting up and boiling down after first sinking and re-floating two days later (5 tuns of oil obtained)

August 1852 - departed Port Ross

November 1852 - arrived at Sydney

1853 - arrived at London

Vessel: *Governor*

Type: Brig

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

18 August 1850 - arrived at Port Ross with stores ordered by the Commissioner in April

Vessel: *Lord Duncan*

Built: Northam, Southampton, 1850; by Money Wigram & Sons

Type: Bark, 215 ³/₁₀ tons; 2 decks, 3 masts; 92.9' x 22.5' x 15.8'; carvel, standing bowsprit, square stem, no gallery, mans head

Registered: 24 October 1850

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Master: Robert George Barton, Portsmouth; 1850

Sold: 1854 (prior to 1 March)

Re-registered: Bristol, 18 May 1854

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

13 November 1850 - depart Portsmouth for Auckland Islands

March 1851 - arrived at Port Ross

late November 1851 - departed Port Ross for Macquarie Island

early December 1851 - arrived at Macquarie Island; rescued the crew from the *Countess of Minto*, which was wrecked on 2 December; left 14 sealers under John Cook

5 December - departed Macquarie Island for Port Ross

11 December 1851 - arrived at Port Ross with shipwrecked crew

1853 - arrived at London

Vessel: *Lord Nelson*

Built: West Cowes, 1850; by Thomas & John White

Type: Bark, 247 tons

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Masters: Benjamin Dobson; 1850

Sold: 1853

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

30 August 1850 - departed London in ballast

2 September 1850 - departed Deal for Auckland Islands

22 January 1851 - arrived at Port Ross, clean

February 1851 (estimated) - departed Port Ross for the whaling grounds

8 February 1852 - arrived at Port Ross from the whaling grounds; 300 barrels of sperm oil; some of the crew ill from scurvy (one, a seaman named Downs, died onshore 21 February following poor treatment and care)

March 1852 - departed Port Ross for the whaling grounds (after the 8th)

19 March 1852 - arrived at the Bay of Islands, clean

1853 - arrived at London

Vessel: *Lucy Ann*

Type: cutter

Owner: Captain Robert Towns

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

9 February 1850 - arrived at Port Ross, having been sent from Sydney by the Company's agent, Robert Towns, without charge to the Company, to provide any assistance considered appropriate and to return some stockmen to Sydney

mid February 1850 - took a small party including Lieutenant-Governor Charles Enderby and Captains Erskine and Stewart on an exploratory voyage along the east coast of the Auckland Island; anchored at Chapel Bay overnight and surveyed the reefs near Ewing Island

March 1850 - departed Port Ross for Sydney, stockmen brought out on *Artemesia* embarked (except for one who requested to remain and was employed as a stockman and butcher on Enderby Island)

Vessel: *Samuel Enderby*

Built: West Cowes, 1834; by Thomas White

Type: Ship, 422 ⁵⁷/₉₄ tons; 2 decks, 3 masts; 107'9" x 29' 10" x 6'4" (between decks)

Registered: 9 October 1834

Owners: C., H. & G. Enderby, Gt. St. Helens

Sold to: 10 October 1834; ¹⁰/₆₄ to William Lisle, Heath St., Commercial Row

1843; ¹¹/₆₄ to William Lisle, Bromley St., Commercial Rd.

1844; ²¹/₆₄ to Elhanan Bicknell, Newington Butts, sperm oil refiner

1849; ²²/₆₄ to Elhanan Bicknell, Newington Butts

Re-registered: 30 June 1837; 1 August 1849

Masters: William Henry Henderson; 1849

Edward Wing Oliver, Sydney; 3 December 1852

Thomas Lloyd, Sydney; 10 February 1854

Mortgaged: Messrs. Bowes, 23 March 1852

Released from mortgage: 5 May 1853

Sold to: Thomas Cape Bradmore, Idd Lane, Tower St., merchant; 12 December 1854

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

7 August 1849 - departed Gravesend for Hobart, Lieutenant-Governor Charles Enderby embarked

20 November 1849 - departed Hobart, for Brury Island

21 November 1849 - departed Van Diemen's Land for the Auckland Islands

2 December 1849 - 'fell in with a prodigious number of blackfish [Pilot whales]', but due to fog only took one

3 December 1849 - 1900; viewed smoke ashore and were shortly afterwards boarded by three New Zealanders, one of whom consented to pilot the ship into Port Ross

4 December - 1100; arrived at Port Ross

early April 1850 - departed Port Ross for the whaling grounds expected to return by December to make the anticipated date of the first shipment of oil to England; reported with 60 barrels of sperm whale oil on 5 May

19 December 1850 - arrived at Port Ross with 191 barrels of Sperm oil; the indifferent success was attributed to the master deviating from instructions by cruising in different latitudes from those prescribed, the voyage nevertheless being reported to be as good a one as the average of those of the whalers he had met in the seas in which he had visited

January 1851 - departed on a whaling voyage with instructions to return by November

3 February 1852 - arrived at Port Ross

early April 1852 - departed Port Ross for Sydney

April 1852 - arrived at Sydney

April/May 1852 - departed Sydney for the whaling grounds

October 1852 - arrived at Sydney

4 November 1852 - departed Sydney for whaling grounds

1853 - prosecuted the Bowhead whale fishery in the Sea of Okhotsk

20 January 1854 - arrived Sydney from whaling grounds, Lord Howe Island; 1000 barrels of Bowhead oil, 90 barrels of sperm oil and 8 tons of whalebone, estimated total value of £7000
February 1854 - departed Sydney for London
3 July 1854 - berthed at London Docks

Vessel: *Sir Edward Parry*

Built: Dundee, 1850; by Calman & Martin

Type: Bark, 257²⁹¹⁹/₃₅₀₀ tons; 2 decks, 3 masts; 95.3' x 22.6' x 16.6'; carvel built, standing bowsprit, square stem, no gallery, male head

Registered: 26 September 1850

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Masters: Alexander Distant, 1850

Charles Freeman, 1853

Sold to: H.H. Willis, Crosby St., merchant plus others; 1854

Re-registered: 16 February 1854

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

5 October 1850 - departed London in ballast

9 October 1850 - at Gravesend

10 October 1850 - departed Deal for Plymouth

16 October 1850 - departed Plymouth for Auckland Islands

21 January 1851 - arrived Port Ross, clean, after what was considered to be a short passage (97 days)

February 1851 (estimated) - departed Port Ross for the whaling grounds

1853 - arrived at London

Vessel: *Sir James Ross*

Built: Plymouth, 1850; by William Moore & Son

Type: Bark, 226⁵⁶⁴/₃₅₀₀t.; 2 decks; 3 masts; 92.8' x 25.9' x 14.6'(in hold); square stem; carvel standing bowsprit, no gallery; mans head

Registered: 13 March 1850

Owners: Southern Whale Fishery Company

Masters: Charles Freeman, Plymouth; 13 March 1850

Simpson; 1852

George Daniel Terry; 22 May 1853

Sold to: George Duncan, New London St. and others, 4 October 1853

Re-registered: 29 October 1853

History of employment in the Southern Whale Fishery Company:

1 April 1850 - departed London in ballast

10 April 1850 - departed Deal for Auckland Islands

20 January 1851 - arrived at Port Ross with 22 barrels Sperm whale oil obtained near the Comorro Islands and 81 barrels Right whale oil en-route from the Comorro Islands

13 December 1852 - arrived at Sydney from Auckland Islands

12 July 1853 - reported en-route to Pernambuco; 500 barrels Right whale oil, 50 barrels of Sperm whale oil

September 1853 (estimated) - arrived London

References: Cumpston, 1968; Enderby, 1850a; 1850b; Gordon, 1939; Great Britain, 1853; 1855; Jones, 1986; Jones, 1991; King, 1989; *The Lyttleton Times*, 1854: 25 October, 4c-5a; Malone, 1854; *The New Zealander*, 1850: 30 March, 4a-b; Nicholson, 1990; Nicholson, 1993; *The Southern Cross & New Zealand Guardian*, 1850: 15 October, 4c-d; Syme, 1987; *The Times*, 1849: 23 October, 5a; 1850: 22 November, 3e; 1850: 26 November, 3e; 1850: 26 February, 6c; 1851: 1 July, 7f-8a; 1852: 6 February, 7c; 1854: 1 March, 6d; 31 March, 10f; *Wellington Independent*, 1850: 13 March, 2b

Appendix 10

Vessels of the Royal Navy visiting the Auckland Islands 1848-1852

Vessel: *Calliope*

Type: 6th rate frigate, 770 tons

Guns: 26

Crew: 205

Captain: Captain Sir James Everard Home, R.N. (Senior Officer New Zealand and Australia Station)

Commissioned: 30 December 1850

Sailed from England: 2 March 1851

Visits to the Auckland Islands:

28 March 1852 - arrived at Port Ross

31 March 1852 - departed Port Ross for Hobart

April 1852 - arrived Hobart; *Fantôme* ordered to the Auckland Islands to oversee the breaking up of the settlement at Port Ross

Vessel: *Fantôme*

Built: Chatham Dockyard, 30 May 1839

Type: Sloop, 483bm; 105ft x 33½ft

Guns: 16

Crew: 132

Captain: Commander John Hena Gennys, R.N.

Commissioned: 13 December 1850

Sailed from England: 2 March 1851

Visits to the Auckland Islands:

30 April 1852 - departed Hobart for Port Ross, with orders to oversee and assist with the abandonment of the settlement

8 May 1852 - arrived at Port Ross; expected to depart early June but a special request by the Acting Commissioner, William Augustus Mackworth, led to the ship remaining until the settlement was finally abandoned

5 August 1852 - departed Port Ross for Tasmania

11 August - arrived at Hobart

Disposal: Sold 7 October 1864 to Castle & Beech

Vessel: *Fly*

Built: Pembroke Dock, 25 August 1831

Type: Sloop, 485bm; 114½ft x 32ft

Guns: 14

Crew: 130 (87 seamen, 23 boys, 20 marines)

Captain: Commander Richard Adworth Oliver, R.N.

Commissioned: Devonport, 14 October 1847

Sailed from England: 16 November 1847

Visits to the Auckland Islands:

1848 - reported the presence of approximately 70 New Zealanders living at the islands

13 to 23 February 1850 - in company with *Havannah*

14 November 1850 - departed Wellington for the Auckland Islands with the Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, embarked

late November 1850 - arrived at Port Ross

early December 1850 - departed Port Ross

Disposal: Coal hulk 1855; broken up 1903

Vessel: *Havannah*

Built: Wilson, Liverpool, 26 March 1811

Type: 6th rate frigate, 949bm; 145ft x 38½ft

Guns: 20

Crew: 231 (163 seamen, 33 boys, 35 marines)

Captain: Captain J.E. Erskine, R.N. (Senior Officer New Zealand and Australia station)

Commissioned: Sheerness, 11 January 1848

Sailed from England: 6 April 1848

Visits to the Auckland Islands:

15 January 1850 - departed Sydney for Port Nicholson [Wellington]

January 1850 - arrived at Port Nicholson

6 February 1850 - departed Port Nicholson in company with HMS *Fly* for the Auckland Islands; the following were embarked as passengers: Captain the Honorary Keith Stewart, R.N., son in law of Sir Charles Fitzroy, Colonel Bolton, R.E. and Mr. Charles King, son of Captain P.P. King, R.N., of Paramatta [Charles King sought employment by the Company and remained at the islands]

13 February 1850 - arrived at Port Ross

mid February - Captains Erskine and Stewart and some other officers accompanied Lieutenant-Governor Charles Enderby on an overnight voyage on *Lucy Ann* along the eastern coast of Auckland Island, anchoring at Chapel Bay and surveying the reefs near Ewing Island on their return

23 February 1850 - departed Port Ross for Akaroa, Banks Peninsula

Disposal: Lent 19 March 1860 as a training ship; Sold 1905 to be broken up

Vessel: *Inflexible*

Built: Pembroke Dock

Type: Wooden steam paddle sloop, 1,112bm; 190ft x 36ft

Guns: 6

Captain: Commander J.C. Hoseason, R.N.

Visits to the Auckland Islands:

Proposed visit by the Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, Sir George Grey, for January 1848, cancelled due to government work in the Bay of Islands, Wellington and Nelson which delayed the voyage and necessitated Grey releasing the ship from Nelson, for it to proceed, in accordance with previous orders, to India for docking

Disposal: Sold 1864 to Castle & Beech

Note:

bm builders measurement is the estimated number of tuns (casks) of wine the ship could carry; therefore it is intended to indicate cargo carrying capacity which is not as important to Naval ships and should only be considered as a guide to their relative size

References: Admiralty, 1849; 1850; Colledge, 1987; Enderby, 1850a; 1850b; Great Britain, 1853; 1855; Grey, 1847a; 1847b; 1848a; 1848b; 1848c; 1848fd; Malone, 1854; *The New Zealander*, 1850: 2 February, 2b; *The Southern Cross & New Zealand Guardian*, 1850: 29 March; *The New Zealander*, 1850: 30 March, 2a-b; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 1850: 12 April, 2b; Syme, 1987; Wakefield, 1848; *The Wellington Independent*, 1850: 16 November, 2d

Appendix 11

Chronology of Vessels visiting the Auckland Islands, 1806 to 1863

Year Occurrence [Master]	[Vessel]	Entry No.
1805-06 British whaling voyage (from Portsmouth) Abraham Bristow	<i>Ocean</i> , ship 401t	1
This vessel, belonging to Messrs. Enderby, whaling merchants of London, departed 24 May. While returning to England from Hobart, Van Diemen's Land, discovered the Auckland Islands, 18 August 1806. Bristow did not land. {Encyclopædia Britannica, 1842; Jones, 1970; Nicolson 1990}		
1807-08 British whaling and sealing voyage (from London) Abraham Bristow	<i>Sarah</i> , ship 290t	2
Dispatched by Messrs. Enderby. Bristow landed and took formal possession of the Auckland Islands for the British Crown, 20 October; introduced pigs, obtained a full cargo of Fur Seal skins, and prepared a sketch chart of the islands (published by the Admiralty in 1823); remained until at least December. {Encyclopædia Britannica, 1824; Jones, 1970}		
1807-08 United States sealing voyage (from Boston) John Dorr	<i>Amethyst</i> , 270t	3
Departed Sydney December, 1807. Probably visited the Auckland Islands and left a sealing gang. {Wace, 1970}		
1808 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) Capt. Sirone (or Ceroni)	<i>Commerce</i>	4
Departed Sydney February 1808, via North Cape, Chatham Islands and Bounties before arriving at the Auckland Islands, possibly March, returned to Sydney 10 July with 3000 skins July.		
1808-09 British sealing voyage (from London) William Cox	<i>Fox</i>	5
Departed Sydney 30 September, probably visited the Auckland Islands took 13-14 000 Fur Seal skins and 190 whales teeth; arrived Sydney 15 March. {McNab, 1907}		
1808-09 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) John Grono	<i>Governor Bligh</i>	6
Visited the Auckland Islands, August 1808, took 10 000 Fur Seal skins, arrived Sydney 11 March. {McNab, 1907}		
1808-09 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) Samuel Rodman Chace	<i>King George</i>	7
Departed Sydney 27 August, probably visited the Auckland Islands; took 7000-8000 Fur Seal skins, 1800 gallons of oil, returned to Sydney 13 March. {Cumpston, 1977}		
1809-10 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) William Stewart	<i>Antipode</i>	8
Probably visited the Auckland Islands, visited the Chatham Islands and Antipodes Islands. {Richards, 1982}		
1809-10 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) Samuel Rodman Chace	<i>King George</i>	9
Departed Sydney June for the Auckland Islands. {Cumpston, 1977}		
1809-10 British sealing voyage (from London) William Cox	<i>Fox</i>	10
Departed Sydney 7 May, visited the Auckland Islands, later continued to Iles Kerguelen and Iles Amsterdam (where wrecked). {Richards, 1984}		
1809-10 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) Frederick Hasselburg	<i>Perseverance</i>	11
Visited the Auckland Islands in November-December 1809. Departed the Auckland Islands to search for new sealing grounds and discovered Campbell Island, January 1810. {Kerr, 1976}		

Year Occurrence [Master]	[Vessel]	Entry No.
1810-11 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney)		12
Owen Folger Smith	<i>Aurora</i>	
James Gordon	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
Samuel Rodman Chace and John Grono	<i>Governor Bligh</i>	
John Wilkinson	<i>Star</i>	
Visited Macquarie Island, the Auckland Islands and Campbell Island. (<i>Aurora</i> was a United States vessel under charter).		{Cumpston, 1968}
1810-11 British sealing voyages (from London)		13
Thomas Garbutt	<i>Concord</i>	
William Stewart	<i>Cumberland</i>	
Charles Feen	<i>Mary and Sally</i>	
Charles McLaren	<i>Sydney Cove</i>	
Daniel Cooper	<i>Unity</i>	
With the New South Wales vessels visited Macquarie Island for Fur Seal skins shortly after its discovery, some vessels made return visits in 1811 and visited the Auckland Islands and Campbell Island.		{Cumpston, 1968}
1814-16 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney)		14
Philip Goodenough	<i>Betsey</i>	
Landed sealing gangs on Macquarie Island and the Auckland Islands in February 1815; tried but failed to collect the Macquarie Island gang; blown off course and after weeks of starvation and the death of some of the crew, <i>Betsey</i> finally sank off New Zealand, where the survivors landed.		{McNab, 1907}
1815-18 United States sealing voyage (from Philadelphia)		15
Rufus Coffin	<i>Enterprise, 280t</i>	
Departed Philadelphia December, called at Hobart, 17 December 1816, visited the Auckland Islands and The Snares, where they rescued 3 men who were left stranded from <i>Adventure</i> seven years earlier (one other man had died). Reported in Hobart January, 1817. Arrived in Philadelphia 19 May 1818.		{McNab, 1907; Wace, 1970}
1816 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney)		16
James Miller	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
Departed Sydney 26 March, visited Macquarie Island, Campbell Island, and the Auckland Islands; rescued the sealing gangs left on Macquarie Island by <i>Betsey</i> in August 1815, and another gang possibly left by <i>Cumberland</i> .		{Cumpston, 1968}
1818 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney)		17
Jacob Shaw	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
Departed Sydney 6 August, visited Macquarie Island and probably Auckland Island and Campbell Island, arrived in Sydney with 26 tons of oil 21 December.		
1820-22 British mercantile voyage (from London)		18
Thomas Raine	<i>Surry</i>	
Visited Macquarie Island in 1821; Raine made notes on seals and birds. On the return voyage <i>Surry</i> visited the Auckland Islands and took a large number of albatross eggs to supplement food supplies.		
1821-22 British whaling and sealing voyage (from Liverpool)		19
S. West	<i>Indian</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands; Captain reported as killed by a whale.		{Carrick, 1903}
1823 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney)		20
Thomas Marshall	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
Visited Macquarie Island and Auckland Islands.		{McNab, 1907}
1823-24 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney)		21
William North	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
John Day	<i>Wellington</i>	
Visited Macquarie Island and the Auckland Islands.		{McNab, 1907}
1823-24 United States sealing voyage (from New York)		22
Robert Johnson	<i>Henry</i>	
Visited Auckland Islands, took 13 000 Fur Seal skins.		{Clark, 1887; Morrell, 1832}

Year Occurrence [Master]	[Vessel]	Entry No.
1823-24 British sealing voyage (from London) Joseph Thompson	<i>Midas</i>	23
Called at Sydney, visited Macquarie Island and arrived at the Auckland Islands, 27 August 1824; secured 1600 Fur Seal skins, departed for England in September. {Cumpston, 1968; McNab, 1907}		
1824-25 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) R. Jameson	<i>Queen Charlotte</i> , brig	24
Visited the Auckland Islands (named Bristows Island), departed 27 February; took 2200 Fur Seal skins. {McNab, 1907}		
1824-25 United States sealing voyage (from New York) Capt. Thayer	<i>Yankee</i> , schooner	25
Departed New York 1 August 1824. At Auckland Islands in 1825, reported meeting <i>Elizabeth and Mary</i> departed 26 July for Sydney, arriving 7 August; took 2000 Fur Seal skins. {Cumpston, 1977; Morrell, 1832; Wace, 1970}		
1824-25 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) R. Jameson	<i>Queen Charlotte</i> , brig	26
Departed Sydney 14 November, visited the Auckland Islands; took 2200 Fur Seal skins, 2 tons of oil, returned to Sydney 13 March. {McNab, 1907}		
1825 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney) John Day	<i>Wellington</i>	27
Departed Sydney 6 May visited Macquarie Island and Auckland Islands, returned to Sydney 18 September. {McNab, 1907; Cumpston, 1968}		
1825 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney) William North	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	28
Visited Macquarie Island and Auckland Islands, during July, continued to Campbell Island, arrived Sydney 8 December. {McNab, 1907; Cumpston, 1968}		
1825 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney) Andrew Drysdale	<i>Samuel</i>	29
Visited Macquarie Island and Auckland Islands, 5-22 December, then sailed for Sydney. {McNab, 1907; Cumpston, 1968}		
1825 Van Diemen's Land sealing voyage (from Hobart) John Lovett	<i>Sally</i>	30
Visited the Auckland Islands. {Nicholson, 1983}		
1825-26 Van Diemen's Land sealing voyage (from Hobart) John Lovett	<i>Sally</i>	31
Visited the Auckland Islands, arriving 3 November; lost 6 men and 2 boats, 6 November; took only 200 Fur Seal skins in 3 months; also visited Antipodes Islands and Bounty Islands. {McNab, 1907}		
1826 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney) A. Drysdale	<i>Samuel</i>	32
Arrived Sydney 28 May after visiting Auckland Islands, and Easy Bay, Stewart Island; returned with 3400 Fur Seal skins. {McNab, 1907}		
1826 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney) William North	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	33
Departed Sydney, 10 January, visited Macquarie Island and Auckland Islands, returned with 4000 Fur Seal skins, returned to Sydney 3 June. {Cumpston, 1968; Nicholson, 1977}		
1826 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney) William Kinnear	<i>Perserverance</i>	34
Visited Macquarie Island and Auckland Islands, returned with 3400 Fur Seal skins. {Cumpston, 1968}		
1826 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) Jack Guard	<i>Harriet</i>	35
Visited the Auckland Islands; left a gang of 2 at Port Ross, one, John Wilson, died and was buried there. {McLaren, 1948}		

Year Occurrence [Master]	[Vessel]	Entry No.
1826-27 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney)		36
William North	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
Departed Sydney 14 July, visited Macquarie Island and the Auckland Islands; 3000 seal skins and 10 tons of oil, returned to Sydney 12 March 1827. {Cumpston, 1968; McNab, 1907}		
1827 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney)		37
Daniel Taylor	<i>Sydney Packet and Lord Rodney</i>	
Visited Macquarie Island and the Auckland Islands. {Cumpston, 1968}		
1827-28 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney)		38
William North	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
Departed Sydney, 2 August, visited Macquarie Island, the Auckland Islands and the Chatham Islands, arrived in Sydney 30 March. {Cumpston, 1968; McNab, 1907}		
1827 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney)		39
William North	<i>Elizabeth and Mary</i>	
Daniel Taylor	<i>Sydney Packet and Lord Rodney</i>	
Visited Macquarie Island and the Auckland Islands. {Cumpston, 1968}		
1829-31 United States sealing voyage (from New York)		40
Benjamin Morrell	<i>Antarctic</i> , schooner	
Visited Iles Kerguelen; proceeded to the Auckland Islands, anchoring in Carnley Harbour 29 December 1829 to 30 January 1830 (reported absence of Fur Seals). Morrell was accompanied by his wife, Abby Jane Morrell. Both wrote accounts of the voyage. {Morrell, B. 1832; Morrell, A.J. 1833; Wace, 1970}		
1832-33 Van Diemen's Land sealing voyage		41
William Andrew Anglim	<i>Caroline</i>	
Vessel, based at Preservation Inlet, visited the Auckland Islands; took 1000 Fur Seal skins. [<i>Caroline</i> operated for several years around the sub-Antarctic islands of New Zealand.] {Cumpston, 1968}		
1833 New South Wales sealing voyages (from Sydney)		42
James Joss	<i>Sydney Packet</i>	
William Andrew Anglim	<i>Caroline</i>	
<i>Caroline</i> visited the Auckland Islands where a sealing gang discovered a shipwreck, including an oar inscribed 'Mosman'. Reported the find to <i>Sydney Packet</i> in Port Preservation which then reported the wreck in Sydney. The wreck was widely considered to be <i>Rifleman</i> , last reported seen in the Timor Sea, en-route to Jarkarta. The oar was probably from a whaling boat, from a ship belonging to a Sydney merchant, Mosman, which was separated and lost from its ship in the Tasman Sea. {Ingram, 1961}		
1836-37 United States sealing and whaling voyage (from New Bedford)		43
John Cole	<i>Huntress</i> , ship 391t	
Visited The Snares and Auckland Islands, February to June 1837, during a voyage from Sydney to the United States. {Richards, 1984; Wace, 1970}		
1837-39 French whaling and sealing voyages (from Le Havre)		44
James Walch	<i>Adèle</i>	
Alphonse Doucet	<i>Harmonie</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands, constructed a hut at Port Ross. {Carrick, 1903; Pasquier, 1982}		
1837-40 French whaling voyage (from Le Havre)		45
Antoine Le Bailly	<i>Manche</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands, worked from Port Ross. {Carrick, 1903}		
1838-39 French whaling voyage (from Dunkerque)		46
Capt. Gautraux	<i>Jean Bart</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands; anchored at the Chatham Islands, 16 February 1839; Gautraux committed suicide on arrival, the vessel was burnt and the entire crew was probably massacred by Maori or drowned. {Carrick, 1903}		
1838-39 British expedition (from Sydney)		47
John Biscoe	<i>Emma</i>	
Probably visited Auckland Islands, en-route to Campbell Island, where met John Balleny (<i>Eliza Scott</i>), January 1839. Reported to have reached latitude 75°S in the Ross Sea. {Jones, 1971a}		

Year Occurrence [Master]	[Vessel]	Entry No.
1839-40 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney) John Biscoe	<i>Emma</i>	48
Visited the Chatham Islands, Auckland Islands, and Campbell Island, left sealing gangs.		{Jones, 1986}
1839-40 Portuguese whaling and sealing voyage (from Lisboa) James Robinson	<i>Speculacão</i>	49
First vessel to take advantage of Portuguese Government subsidy to develop whaling trade; visited the Auckland Islands, 9 March to April 1840, where met Dumont d'Urville's expedition [Robinson was from Britain.]		{McLaren, 1948}
1838-42 United States Exploring Expedition Cadwallader Ringgold	<i>Porpoise</i> , brig 224t	50
Visited the Auckland Islands, 1840 after exploring in the Antarctic. Collected 50 species of plants, several species of birds and proceeded to the Bay of Islands.		{Barlett, 1940; Poesch, 1961; Tyler, 1968; Viola, 1985}
1837-40 French naval expedition (from Toulon) Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d'Urville (senior commander)	<i>Astrolabe</i> , corvette 380t	51
Charles-Hector Jacquinot	<i>Zélée</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands, 1840.		{De Pradel de Lamase, 1950; Rosenman, 1987}
1839-41 United States whaling and sealing voyage (from New London) Franklin F. Smith	<i>Chelsea</i> , ship 396t	52
Jeremiah Beebe	<i>Amazon</i> , ship 318t	
Visited the Auckland Islands; the tender <i>Amazon</i> lost Beebe and a boat's crew, 1840, Robert G. Smith took command.		{Starbuck, 1878; Wace, 1970}
1839-43 British naval expedition James Clark Ross	HMS <i>Erebus</i> , bomb ketch 378t	53
Francis Rawdon Moira Crozier	HMS <i>Terror</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands, 20 November - 12 December 1840 (reported pigs, cats, goats, and rabbits; introduced sheep and vegetables) and Campbell Island before proceeding to the Antarctic where they discovered and charted 900 km of coastline in Victoria Land, which was claimed for Queen Victoria on Possession Island, 12 January, and Franklin Island, 27 January 1841; discovered Ross Island and Ross Ice Shelf, reached a farthest south of 78°17'S, 23 February 1842. Joseph Dalton Hooker and Robert McCormick made botanical, ornithological and geological collections on the Auckland Islands.		
1841 Letters Patent creating New Zealand a separate Colony, distinct from New South Wales, issued by the British Government, 16 November. The southern boundary was 41°10'S, excluding the Auckland Islands.		54
1841-42 Van Diemen's Land sealing voyage (from Hobart) W. Smith	<i>Prince of Denmark</i>	55
Probably visited the Auckland Islands.		{Nicholson, 1983}
1842 New Zealand; Letters Patent relating to Her Majesty's 'Colony of New Zealand and its Dependencies' issued by the British Government, 4 April. the southern boundary was set at 53°S, including the Auckland Islands within New Zealand territory.		56
1842-43 Van Diemen's Land sealing voyage (from Hobart) Capt. Ward	<i>Scotia</i>	57
Visited the Auckland Islands and Campbell Island.		{McLaren, 1948}
1842-43 Van Diemen's Land sealing voyage (from Hobart) Capt. Ward	<i>Scotia</i>	58
Visited the Auckland Islands and Campbell Island.		{McLaren, 1948}
1843 New Zealand sealing voyage (from Wellington) Charles Heaphy	<i>Rodney</i>	59
Visited the Antipodes Islands, The Snares, Auckland Islands, and Chatham Islands, May.		{Richards, 1984}

Year Occurrence [Master]	[Vessel]	Entry No.
1843 Auckland Islands colonization (from Chatham Islands)		60
Capt. Ellis	<i>Hannah</i> , brig	
Ellis, a passenger aboard <i>Hannah</i> while en-route Wellington to the Chatham Islands, in September, killed the mate and piratically seized the vessel. At the Chatham Islands he agreed to transport a group of Maori and Moriori, led by Mateoro, to colonize the Auckland Islands ['Maungahuka']. Some of the intending colonists returned to the Chatham Islands aboard <i>Hannah</i> . A sealing gang was met in Carnley Harbour, but no details are known of the identity of the vessel which transported them there. Dogs, pigs and flax were introduced.		
		{Martin, 1856; McLaren, 1948}
1844-45 United States whaling and sealing voyage (from New Bedford)		61
Stephen S. Hathaway	<i>Tacticus</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands, Daniel H. Lincoln drew a sketch of them.		
1845-47 United States whaling and sealing voyage (from New London)		62
Nathaniel Middleton Jr.	<i>Alert</i> , ship 398t	
Departed New London 16 June 1845, returning 24 May 1847. Visited the Bounty Islands (26 December 1845), Auckland Islands (2 January 1847) and Chatham Islands (11 February 1847).		
		{Downey, 1986; Langdon, 1984; Wace, 1970}
1846 New South Wales sealing voyage (from Sydney)		63
Capt. Bruce	<i>Sydney Packet</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands.		
		{Carrick, 1903}
1846-47 French whaling and sealing voyage (from Le Havre)		64
Capt. Coupey	<i>Lamatine</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands and Campbell Island; wrecked off New Zealand, 10 March 1847.		
		{Lacroix, 1938}
1847 Auckland Islands leased for 30 years by the British Government to Charles, Henry and George Enderby on 1 March, with a right of renewal for a further 30 years.		65
1848 British naval voyage		66
Richard Aldworth Oliver	HMS <i>Fly</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands, reported presence of approximately 70 New Zealanders.		
1849 Auckland Islands ; The Southern Whale Fishery Company was granted a Royal Charter of Incorporation, 16 January 1849. Messrs. Enderby sublet their lease to the Company for the intention to establish a British colony and use the islands as a base for whaling. Charles Enderby was appointed Resident Commissioner for the Company and Lieutenant-Governor of the Auckland Islands, 29 June.		67
1849-54 British colonising expedition		68
Charles Enderby (Lieutenant-Governor)	William H. Henderson	
	<i>Samuel Enderby</i>	
Southern Whale Fishery Company vessel, departed London 7 August 1849, called in at Hobart en-route, and arrived 4 December. <i>Samuel Enderby</i> was based out of the Auckland Islands until 1852, after which it used Sydney as its base to prosecute the whale fishery. Returned to London 3 July 1854.		
		{McLaren, 1948}
1849-53 British colonising expedition		69
Thomas James Tapsell	<i>Brisk</i>	
Southern Whale Fishery Company vessel, departed London 11 August 1849, arrived at the Auckland Islands, 11 December. <i>Brisk</i> was based out of the Auckland Islands until 1852.		
		{McLaren, 1948}
1850 Auckland Islands whaling voyage (from Port Ross)		70
Thomas James Tapsell	<i>Brisk</i>	
Departed from the Auckland Islands 20 January for the Antarctic, sighted the Balleny Islands in February 1850 and thence sailed westwards to longitude 143°E in a higher latitude than the United States Exploring Expedition under Charles Wilkes, without sighting land. Sighted Humpback, Blue and Fin whales but no Right whales and returned to Port Ross, an empty ship, 17 March.		

Year Occurrence [Master]	[Vessel]	Entry No.
1850 British naval voyages		71
John Elphinstone Erskine	HMS <i>Havannah</i>	
Richard Aldworth Oliver	HMS <i>Fly</i>	
Departed Port Nicholson [Wellington] 6 February, arrived at the Auckland Islands 13 February, departed 23 February, arrived at Akaroa 28 February. HMS <i>Fly</i> also visited the islands late November to early December with Sir George Grey, Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand.		
1850 New South Wales voyage (from Sydney)		72
?	<i>Lucy Ann</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands colony, 9 February - March. Carried a survey party along the east coast of Auckland Island, mid-February. Returned to Sydney with stockmen from <i>Artemesia</i> .		
1849-50 British voyage (from London)		73
Capt. Barrett	<i>Augusta</i>	
Brought supplies and settlers to the Auckland Islands, 27 February. Departing for Sydney in April, carrying some people quitting the colony.		
1850 New South Wales voyage (from Sydney)		74
J. P. Ridley	<i>Artemesia</i>	
Visited the Auckland Islands during March bringing cattle and sheep from Sydney.		
1850-52 Auckland Islands voyages (from Sydney)		75
?	<i>Black Dog</i>	
Vessel purchased in Sydney, 1850, by the Southern Whale Fishery Company for transport between the Auckland Islands colony, and other ports.		
1850-53 British colonising expedition		76
George Browne	<i>Earl of Hardwicke</i>	
Southern Whale Fishery Company vessel, departed London 10 April, arriving at the Auckland Islands August. Based at the islands until 1852. {McLaren, 1948}		
1850 New South Wales voyage (from Sydney)		77
?	<i>Governor</i>	
Chartered vessel, bringing stores from Sydney for the Auckland Islands colony, arriving 18 August.		
1850-1853 British colonising expedition		78
Charles Freeman	<i>Sir James Ross</i>	
Southern Whale Fishery Company vessel, departed London 10 April 1850, arriving at the Auckland Islands 20 January 1851. Based at the islands until 1852. {McLaren, 1948}		
1850-53 British colonising expedition		79
Alexander Distant	<i>Sir Edward Parry</i>	
Southern Whale Fishery Company vessel, departed London 5 October 1850, arriving at the Auckland Islands 21 January 1851. Based at the islands until 1852. {McLaren, 1948}		
1850-53 British colonising expedition		80
Benjamin Dobson	<i>Lord Nelson</i>	
Southern Whale Fishery Company vessel, departed London 30 August, arriving at the Auckland Islands 22 January 1851. Based at the islands until 1852. {McLaren, 1948}		
1850-53 British colonising expedition		81
Robert George Barton	<i>Lord Duncan</i>	
Southern Whale Fishery Company vessel, departed Portsmouth 13 November, arriving at the Auckland Islands March 1851. Based at the islands until 1852. {McLaren, 1948}		
1851 Auckland Islands sealing voyage (from Port Ross)		82
Robert George Barton	<i>Lord Duncan</i>	
Landed a sealing gang on Macquarie Island, early December. <i>Lord Duncan</i> rescued the crew of <i>Countess of Minto</i> , which had been wrecked on Macquarie Island, 5 December. {Cumpston, 1968}		

- 1851-52 **New South Wales voyage** (from Sydney) 83
 Capt. M'Clelland *Chieftain*
 Chartered by the Southern Whale Fishery Company to transport its Special Commissioners to the Auckland Islands, arriving 18 December 1851. Departed for Wellington 27 December, with most of the shipwrecked crew from *Countess of Minto*. {Cumpston, 1968}
- 1852 **Auckland Islands sealing voyage** (from Port Ross) 84
 Charles Freeman *Brisk*
 Visited Macquarie Island and relieved the sealing gang left by *Lord Duncan* (1851, *q.v.*); they had taken only 147 Elephant Seals. {Cumpston, 1968}
- 1852 **British naval voyage** 85
 Sir James Everard Home *HMS Calliope*
 Visited the Auckland Islands, 28-31 March, acceded to a request to send a warship to oversee the abandonment of the colony. Arrived in Hobart, April and dispatched *HMS Fantôme*.
- 1852 **British naval expedition** 86
 John Hena Gennys *HMS Fantôme*
 Departed Hobart 30 April for the Auckland Islands colony, arriving on 8 May and remaining until 5 August 1852, to supervise dissolution of the Southern Whale Fishery Company's establishment. Two Europeans remained behind with the Maori and Moriori settlers, with stores and a hatch-boat, *Auckland*, for sealing at the islands.
- 1852 **Colony of New Zealand**, granted representative constitution by an Act of the British Parliament (15 Vic. c.72), 30 June. This Act defined the limits of the new colony as all territories and islands between latitudes 33°S and 50°S, longitudes 162°E and 173°W; excluding the Auckland Islands. Proclaimed by Sir George Grey, Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand, 18 January 1853. 87
- 1854 **Auckland Islands voyage** (from Port Ross) 88
 William Whitelock *Auckland*
 Departed the Auckland Islands, probably for Stewart Island where a group of Maori and Moriori under Mateoro were left to settle at Port Adventure. Proceeded to Wellington, via Pigeon Bay, Banks Peninsula, with a crew of eight Maori. [No vessels had called at Port Ross since December 1852 and supplies were exhausted, one European and some Maori remained.]
- 1855 **New Zealand expedition** 89
 Thomas J. Thomson *Mary Thomson*
 Visited the Auckland Islands; salvaged material from the abandoned colony at Port Ross; one house was left standing. {Cumpston, 1968}
- 1856 **United States chartered voyage** (from New Bedford) 90
 Ward *Lalla Rookh*, ship 323t
 Whaling vessel, chartered by Chatham Island Maori, proceeded to Port Adventure, Stewart Island and the Auckland Islands to bring back the remaining settlers to the Chatham Islands. {McLaren, 1948}
- 1863 **Boundary of the colony of New Zealand** amended by British Act of Parliament (26 Vic. c.23), 8 June, to extend southwards from 50°S to 53°S, including the Auckland Islands. 91

Reference: Headland, R. K. 1995. *Antarctic Chronology*; unpublished revision of *Chronological list of Antarctic expeditions and related historical events*. 1989. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.