

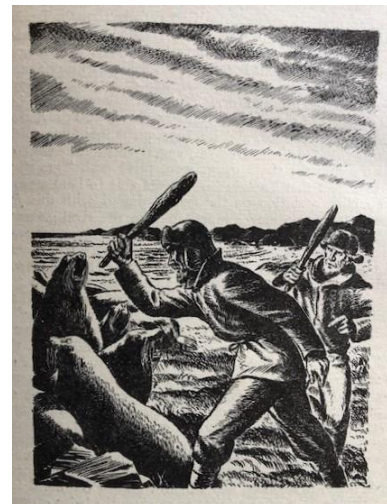
Auckland Islands: It was through our instrumentality that they were secured for the British crown.

The whaling ship the *Samuel Enderby* finds a place in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. It was a real ship, belonging to the prominent English whaling company Samuel Enderby & Sons, established in the 18th C. The founding Samuel Enderby (1719-1797) had a son Samuel (1756-1829) and this Samuel in turn had three sons, including the eldest Charles (1797-1876), George and Henry, and these three took over the firm on their father's death in 1829. Melville talks about both the ship and the whaling company in his novel published in 1851.

But well before this, in 1792, the Enderby firm established the first sealing station in Dusky Sound, under the aegis of the far-reaching East India Company, which seemed to have claimed trading rights for just about the whole globe. In 1806 Captain Abraham Bristow of the Enderby whaler the *Ocean* landed on an archipelago some 300 km south of Rakiura, or Stewart Island.¹ He found the islands uninhabited, although now there is archaeological evidence of much earlier Polynesian settlements.² Since the *Ocean* was one of Enderby's ships, one of the islands in the archipelago was eventually named Enderby Island. The name 'Auckland' for the islands was applied by Bristow in honour of his friend William Eden, first baron Auckland, and father of the Lord Auckland who was Governor Hobson's patron, thus honoured in Hobson's new capital further north. The Eden family, without apparently doing anything for or in New Zealand, did well in its nomenclature.

Bristow returned the following year, claiming the islands for the crown. From that date on a whaling, and particularly a sealing industry, was established. It was hazardous, with some 11 out of over 80 sealing ships wrecked on the shores. Up until 1815, the islands were one of the principal sealing stations of the South Pacific, but the industry then declined with overkilling. There was a short revival in 1819, but by 1830, hardly a seal was to be found. Through to the 1840s, the islands were more notable for scientific research and discovery, particularly with the US exploring expedition under Lt. Charles Wilkes, the French voyage of Dumont D'Urville, and the Antarctic expedition of James Clark, all arriving there in 1840.³

Back in London, Charles Enderby was active in using his whaling ships to record information on land masses and on the subantarctic region generally, sufficient for him and his brother George to be on the Council of the Royal Geographic Society in the 1830s and 40s, and in 1841, Charles was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society for his geographical contributions, all without leaving home. He seemed to have been quite well-off, recorded as living in East Greenwich with a housekeeper and groom, but the whale oil business was declining, and although they



Sealers, McLaren 1948. P.25

¹ McLaren, F.B. The Auckland Islands: Their eventful history. Reed, Wellington, 1948. pp. 19-35.

² <https://teara.govt.nz/en/subantarctic-islands/page-4> Accessed 27 January 2024.

² <https://greenwichpeninsulahistory.wordpress.com/2014/12/17/the-enterprising-enderbys-whaling-for-oil/> Accessed 27 January 2024.

³ McLaren, F.B., op cit. pp 26-29.

thrived with ropemaking, with some 250 employees, all this pretty much came to an end with a fire in March 1841 which destroyed the factory⁴.

Enderby was clearly a man driven by enterprises. He and his brothers invested in the Anti-Dry Rot company, they lost money on Antarctic voyages, though getting their names and those of their captains attached to new discoveries, and Charles was a director of the unsuccessful British and American Steam Navigation Company, whose steamer the *President* sank without trace in 1841.⁵ There is a rather regular theme of lack of success, and the brothers Charles, George and Henry needed a new enterprise to fail in. They turned to familiar territory, the Southern Ocean.

Prior to this, in 1837 Charles had joined the New Zealand Association, forerunner of Wakefield's New Zealand Company. This was clearly an indication of an early interest in colonisation. The following year we find him giving evidence to the Select Committee of the House of Lords enquiring into the state of New Zealand.⁶



Charles Enderby, pencil and chalk drawing by William Brockedon 1849. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 2515(104)

“Your House has been for many Years concerned in the South Whale Fishery?

It has; my Father established the Fishery in this Country in the Year 1775, having previously carried it out through our Agents in the United States.

Have you many Ships in your Trade?

We have not so many as we had; we still have a good many.

Have you been accustomed to have a good deal of Communication with New Zealand?

A good deal from the Year 1794.

Was that the first Time that Whaling Ships visited New Zealand?

I think that was the first Time that they visited New Zealand.

Do they carry on the Fishing on the Coasts of New Zealand?

They do.

Do they go there at all for the Purpose of obtaining Supplies of any Kind? Refreshments, and occasionally a Supply of Stores; Timber for Masts, or any thing of that Kind.”

.....

“Have you ever mixed any New Zealanders with the Crews of those Ships?

We have; and have some at the present Time.

.....

What Sort of Characters do the Captains report of the New Zealanders as to their general Conduct and Behaviour?

⁵ <https://greenwichpeninsulahistory.wordpress.com/2014/12/17/the-enterprising-enderbys-whaling-for-oil/>

⁶ Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to enquire into the present state of the Islands fop 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. The House of Commons, 1838, pp iii, 374. (<https://onehera.waikato.ac.nz/nodes/view/2008>)

We find the New Zealanders in our Service behave much better than the British Seamen; we have invariably found them well-behaved good Seamen. I am sorry I cannot say the same of the British in all Cases."

There is much discussion on flax including a very technical description by Enderby, the rope manufacturer:

"Has the New Zealand Flax been within your Knowledge used for Cordage? It has; we have used it of our own Manufacture, and we use it now. It is brought over in a very rough State. It has not been generally introduced from its having been imported in a very indifferent State. This is the State in which it comes over (producing a Sample).

Is it not like ordinary flax ?

No, it is not; it is the Phormium Tenax.

You say you have manufactured it; to what Purposes have you applied it?

For Rope. It has been manufactured in a Variety of different Ways; it has been manufactured with Tar alone. The Fibre is naturally a very harsh and hard Fibre; with Tar it is still harder. It has been manufactured with a Species of Caoutchouc or India rubber; when immersed in Water the Caoutchouc separates from it and floats at the Top; the Fibre is no longer protected. We have combined a Composition of Caoutchouc with the Tar, and find that answers; but there has been a great Prejudice against the Flax in consequence of its having been badly prepared.

.....

..... I've used it for Whale Lines; we prefer it for whale Lines to any other Description of Rope, and the Whale Lines are the most important Lines we have in our Vessel. A whole School of Whales may be lost by the parting of a whale Line; Property to the Amount of 2,000l. or 3,000l. may depend perhaps on a Whale Line."

And then a strange concern over a very non-New Zealand worry about pirates.

"Are the Harbours of New Zealand many?

They are very extensive and very numerous.

Are they adapted or likely to become the Scene of piratical Enterprise if no Law is established there?

We have every Reason to fear they will; the Whaling Vessels are so well suited for that Purpose, to be converted into piratical Vessels; the Nature of the Crews likewise, from their disorderly and unmanageable Description; they are almost always in a State of Mutiny when they go into Harbour.

What Temptation will any one have to convert a Whaler into a piratical Vessel?

The great Chance they would have of capturing Vessels from and to New South Wales.

The great Chance would be of capturing Vessels at Sea; but not of plundering the inhabitants of New Zealand?

I do not infer that they would plunder the Inhabitants of New Zealand; but

Almost every time a Vessel goes into Port, not only in the Bay of Islands but in various other Parts of the World, the Men go on shore and get into a state of Drunkenness in the numerous Liquor Shops established by Men who have quitted other Ships, and who incite the Crews to mutiny....”

There is an extended discussion on whalers, the conduct of crews, the need for laws and taxes at the ports, Māori taken on as seamen, some previously slaves, and then more, and more, on flax. Enderby was one of a number of business men, most investing in the New Zealand Company, who strongly urged the Government to annex New Zealand. He had his own claims, for the Crown, in the Auckland Islands.

In 1846, Enderby established the Southern Whale Fishery Company. He put out a pamphlet, or prospectus in 1847, which must have had some unforeseen popularity, or Enderby was an enthusiastic publicist, since it had 2nd and 3rd editions issued in the same year.⁷ The Company was incorporated by Royal Charter on January 16, 1849, with Lord Hardwick RN as Governor, and Enderby appointed its Chief Commissioner and Lieutenant-Governor of the Auckland Islands.⁸ In the same year Enderby’s book on the Islands and the potential for colonisation was published.

Enderby, Charles. *The Auckland Islands: a short account of their Climate Soil, & Productions and the advantages of establishing a Settlement at Port Ross for carrying on the Southern Whale Fisheries.* London, John Ollivier 1849. vi [7]-57 pp. Folding map, panorama in pocket. Bagnall 1815.

The book is very rare, particularly with map and panorama, though has been digitised⁹. From the start, Enderby puts himself on the line: ‘*The following pages are submitted to the public in the full conviction that the advantages held out to settlers to locate themselves on the Auckland Islands will be fully realized; while to show that my intentions are bonâ fide, I have determined on proceeding to the islands myself, purposing to reside there until every department in the colony shall be fully and efficiently organized.*’ He describes the panorama of Port Ross, attached at the back of the book, the port named after Sir James Clark Ross who headed the expedition that visited the islands in 1840. Ross’s naturalist on board, Robert McCormick, provided the sketch used by Enderby for the panorama etching. His subsequent description of the islands is based on the accounts of Morrell of 1829, Ross, D’Urville and Wilkes. The ‘*.... climate is mild, temperate, and salubrious. I have been told, by men of the first respectability and*



‘*Baie de Sarah’s Bosom (Îles Auckland)*’. Plate No. 174 from Jules-Sébastien-César Dumont d’Urville, *Voyage au Pôle Sud et dans l’Océanie, sur les corvettes l’Astrolabe et la Zélée, exécuté par ordre du roi pendant les années 1837–1838–1839–1840* (Paris: Gide, 1846)

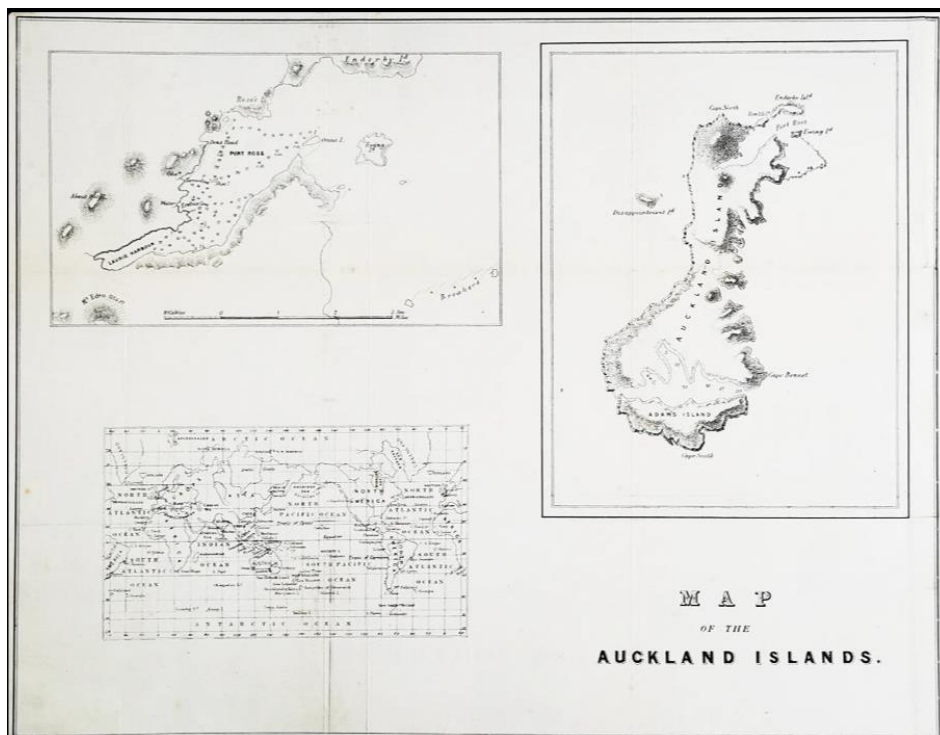
⁷ Enderby, Charles, Proposal for re-establishing the British southern whale fishery. Through the medium of a chartered company, and in combination with the colonisation of the Auckland Islands, as the site of the Company’s whaling station. London, Effingham Wilson, 1847.

⁸ <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-CarHist-t1-body-d15-d3.html>

⁹ <https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=kRHbH3GcFsEC&pg=GBS.PA3&hl=en>

talent, who have visited the island in the month of July, the dead of winter in this island, corresponding to our January,'.

He goes on for several pages of physical description, quoting his sources on the geography, flora and fauna, harbours, fisheries, and then clarifies his position on the islands. *'In consideration of the Auckland Islands having been discovered by the captain of a vessel belonging to the author's father, and of other services rendered by the latter to the country, as also for the more recent discoveries of the southern continent by Capt. Biscoe whilst in the employment of the author and his brothers, Her Majesty's Government has been graciously pleased to grant these islands to them on very advantageous terms for the purposes of the whale fishery, as a station at which to discharge the cargoes and refit the vessels.....A royal charter of incorporation having been obtained for the purpose of enabling a Company to carry on the fishery and colonize the islands, without the shareholders incurring any risk beyond the amount of their respective subscriptions, the author and his brothers have consented to surrender to the Company their title to the lands on terms which have been considered liberal: the author is, therefore, no longer restrained by motives of delicacy from entering into such details of the advantages to be anticipated from the colonization of the islands as might otherwise have appeared to be the result of interested motives.*



Map of the Auckland Islands. From Enderby, C., 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. 1847.

Enderby then discusses colonisation and has read his Wakefield. *'All measures of colonization should have some more definite object than that of merely getting rid of superabundant population: they should be based on the principle of selecting a position for a colony from whence some product at least can be obtained as good as, and at a cheaper rate than elsewhere, and the inducement for the colonist should be to produce that article which is in demand by the mother country. A recent publication, by E. G. Wakefield, Esq., entitled "A View of the Art of Colonization," although containing much valuable information, is deficient on this part of the subject, which is scarcely noticed.'* As examples, there is no point in a new colony producing sugar for England

when it is cheaper from Cuba or Brazil, nor wool unless the Spanish production can be controlled. His answer is to establish the industry first then colonise: *'In the measure which we are about to advocate, it will be seen that we first settle a trade in an article of general consumption, (oil,) and then propose a measure of colonization, in the full confidence that they possess the elements of national as well as individual prosperity.'* He had been attacked for establishing a whale fishery – what could it offer that was not already available elsewhere? *'Had it been intended to colonize, for agricultural purposes only, so insignificant a spot of land as the Auckland Islands, containing but 120,000 acres, we should doubtless have been allowed to pursue our course free from the usual attacks.'* The answer was that the competition was largely that of *'the fact that the mere occasional visits of whaling vessels to New Zealand, the Marquesas, and Friendly Islands, & c. & c., and particularly the Sandwich Islands, have caused those places to spring into importance? If then the mere visits of whaling vessels to these various islands (when the expenditure of each, including advances to seamen, does not exceed £100) confer great benefits on them, how much more advantageous must it be to a colony when such vessels make it their permanent station, and when the expenditure will probably exceed £1500 each? So a permanent station was the answer.*

Enderby goes on to talk about the immigrants. The Islands have plenty of wind and water, so they can grind corn and saw timber. He does his sums, and thinks big: *'The annual expenditure of the Southern Whale Fishery Company at the Auckland Islands, for an establishment and for the re-equipment of thirty vessels for the fishery, cannot fall much short of £ 40,000. This sum will embrace the salaries to the Company's officers and servants, and wages to sundry mechanics and labourers employed in laying out roads, constructing wharves, storehouses, houses, cottages, & c.; together with the expenses incidental to the fishery, such as for the capture of whales coming into the bays, boiling out the oil, and also the stores; purchasing 900 tierces of beef and pork, 150 tons of potatoes, 100 tons of biscuit, 50 tons of flour and other stores, fresh meat, poultry, vegetables, grocery, cheese, butter, & c. The above expenses may be estimated at £ 20,000, and if we add the wages of 700 seamen, estimated at £ 20,000 per annum more, the amount will be, as before stated, £ 40,000, the whole or greater part of which will probably be expended on the island.'*

There is an Appendix on the Royal Charter for the Southern Whale Fishery Company, once again with emphasis: *'It is the intention of Mr. ENDERBY, the projector of the enterprise, to proceed himself to the Auckland Islands, for the purpose of organising the business of the Fishery, and to remain there a sufficient time to place it on a sure foundation.'*, and a form for the application of shares, should you by now have been convinced. Overall, there is a feeling of oversell about the publication, and it strives to respond to criticisms on the suitability of a bleak set of sub-Antarctic islands for colonisation, without the author ever having been there.¹⁰

On the 18th April 1849, there was given a farewell public dinner at the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street¹¹. Along with the Officials, amongst whom George Fife Angas is familiar, the Chair was Lord Dundas who had a long and distinguished naval career, at this time being First Lord of the Admiralty and previously as an MP had held the Greenwich seat, Enderby's locale. The stewards continued down the alphabet for some 75 members, and there were around 200 attendees all up. There were four admirals, a handful of colonels, the President of the Board of Trade, the Governor of the Hudson Bay Company, and so it went on. There was not a woman in sight, though numerous toasts *'The toast having been drunk with three times three, amid great cheers and marked enthusiasm.....'* After the Army and

¹⁰ McLaren, F. B., op. cit. p. 47.

¹¹ Proceedings at a Public Dinner given to Charles Enderby Esq., F.R.S., at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate Street, on Wednesday, the 18th of April, '849. London, Pelham Ricardson, 1849.

Navy had been loudly toasted, there was one to Enderby: *'The Chairman then said, he begged to propose the toast of the evening (continuous cheering).'*' Enderby replied: *'Mr. ENDERBY rose, to return thanks, but appeared almost overcome by the intensity of his feelings, and could scarcely find language in which to express himself.'* However he pulled himself together and gave a long speech on his proposal for colonisation, the whale fishery, and gave grateful thanks to the Government. The Government, in the form of Mr Labouchere¹² replied, and then there was more cheering and a toast from The Hon. Francis Scott, M.P., to the House of Peers, by this time, wildly popular, with more cheering. The commons got their share too. *'Sir Roderick Murchison, in a humorous speech, proposed the health of "The Members of the House of Commons " Adverting to the circumstance of the Earl of Hardwicke's desire to accompany the first ships of the expedition to the Auckland Islands, he said he could not help thinking that it would be of the greatest advantage to the undertaking if some of the members of the House of Commons would imbibe a portion of the noble Earl's enthusiasm, and form a deputation to accompany Mr. Enderby.'* Lord Hardwicke didn't go, but got his name on the first settlement instead.¹³ The increasingly raucous evening ended with a toast to the City of London, but you got the feeling that no-one cared very much by then. And so Charles Enderby was off!

<p style="text-align: center;">PROCEEDINGS of given to CHARLES ENDERBY, ESQ., F.R.S. REAR - ADMIRAL J. W. D. DUNDAS, C.B., M.P., in the chair.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Vice - Chairmen. ROBERT BROOKS, Esq. JOHN ENTWISLE, Esq. W. S. LINDSAY, Esq. FREDERIC SOMES, Esq.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Stewards. GEORGE FIFE ANGAS, Esq. COLONEL ARBUCKLE, R.A. THOMAS BARING, Esq., M.P. JOSHUA BATES, Esq. WILLIAM BEALE, Esq.</p>
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Enderby sailed for the islands in the *Samuel Enderby* and the *Fancy*, arriving in December 1849. A further ship, the *Brisk*, followed soon after. It was clear that there had been some business to finish up first. In the *New Zealander* of March 1850, we find: *The Old Firm of Charles H. and George Enderby – (the senior partner of which had sailed for the Auckland Isles on the 17 August as Lieutenant-Governor and Commissioner for the Southern Whale Fishing Company, of which a detailed account was copied into the last New Zealander), had announced their inability to meet their pecuniary liabilities. Messrs. Enderby had been for many years connected with the whaling trade, and more recently had been very extensive rope makers at Greenwich; but previously to Mr Charles Enderby's departure, the works at Greenwich had been disposed of, and the business of the house limited chiefly to Australian wool. It is stated that the difficulties of the firm did not in any way arise from the connection with the Southern Whale Fishery which only tended to their advantage.*¹⁴

The settlers included medical men, surveyors and a range of craftsmen and agricultural labourers. Their skills were soon enough needed as there was some dismay at the country they were confronted with; high winds, driving rain, peat swamps and scrub, and no sign of the southern England they were led to expect. But the settlers set to, erecting prefabricated cottages, establishing some sort of law and order with a magistrate appointed, and Enderby as Lieutenant-Governor worrying about Māori, who were not expected to be there. His ship had been met by a waka with local Māori aboard. A familiar

¹² Henry Labouchere (1798 – 1869) was at the time President of the Board of Trade. He was later raised to the peerage as Baron Taunton,

¹³ Admiral Charles Philip Yorke, 4th Earl of Hardwicke, (1799 –1873) had a long and distinguished naval and political career.

¹⁴ *New Zealander*, Volume 5, Issue 405, 2 March 1850, Page 2.

sequence later played out, with Enderby taking over Māori land, employing them as boatmen, suppliers of vegetables and general workers. During 1850, the colony progressed, though with trouble over delivery of external supplies, and a lack of whales to provide the all-important economic staple of oil. Expenditure went on however, though five married couples with eight children and three single men left for Sydney in May of that year. Governor George Grey visited for a few days in November, and the weather was terrible for most of his stay.

By the middle of 1851, there were serious doubts back in London over the viability of the enterprise. No returns on investment had been made and expenditure continued, forcing the appointment of two Special Commissioners, George Dundas MP and Thomas Preston, the Company's Secretary, to make the voyage out to see what was going on. It seems an extraordinarily short time in which to expect a return on investment, perhaps again evidence of an initial oversell. The inevitable ensued, with the Commissioners in conflict with Enderby, noting an expenditure of £30000 over a return from oil of £3000, and the two London gentlemen recommended that the adventure be quickly abandoned.



Port Ross, Auckland Islands. Artist unknown, though on the back of the watercolour is "Port Boys, N. Zealand, C. Enderby, Governor." This will have been painted around 1850 during the two years of the colony's existence.

Enderby announced he would resign his governorship, and there was dispute after dispute, with Enderby in the end arresting the two commissioners for forcing him to leave the islands, and for non-payment of his salary. It all rapidly came to an end. By July 1852, with Enderby no longer in charge, there were 306 people living at Port Ross, with most Māori having left. On the 5th of August the *HMS Fantome* sailed out of Port Ross, taking the remnants of the settlers and all they could carry with them, and the settlement died.

Enderby stayed in Wellington for about a year then returned to London, where he engaged in lengthy correspondence and litigation. The Southern Whale Fishery Company was eventually wound up, with the Directors putting the blame on Enderby himself, and after protracted dithering, the New Zealand Government extended its southern boundaries to the 53rd parallel, thus including the Auckland Islands within its sovereign territory. Enderby, in 1854, wrote a pamphlet in defence of his colony.¹⁵ He starts out:

'The project for re-establishing the British Southern Whale Fisheries from the Auckland Islands has been abandoned by the Directors of the Company, who have thought fit rather than acknowledge their own mismanagement, to throw the whole of the onus of the ill-success upon me; it therefore becomes a duty I owe to my friends who, at my solicitation, patronised it, and the public generally, (apart from a personal vindication of my character, which has been calumniated whilst I was absent,) to point out who were the real parties blameable; and I shall be able to shew the injustice of ascribing the failure of the project either to any misrepresentations made by me in a pamphlet, which led to the formation of the Company, or to any mismanagement on my part of the Company's affairs at the Auckland Islands whilst I had control over them.'

He says that the 20 months of the settlement is too short a time to judge success, and goes into considerable detail over the charges brought against him by the Court of Directors in London:

'I now come to the charges made against me by Messrs. Dundas and Preston, placing them in numerical order.

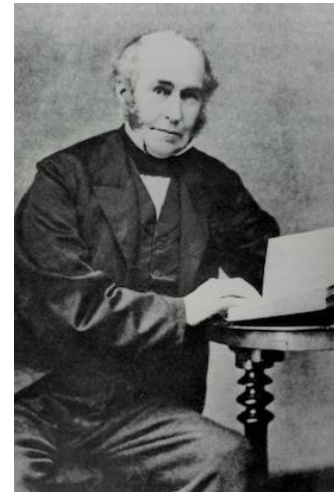
- 1. Disregard of instructions of the Court of Directors, especially as to the stores and accounts.*
- 2. Absence from the settlement on two occasions.*
- 3. Ruinous expenditure for want of system in procuring supplies.*
- 4. Detention of ships, breaking up the crews, withdrawing parties from ships to establish them on shore, and placing some in situations for which they were not qualified.*
- 5. Allowing persons to incur debts without a reasonable prospect of paying them.*
- 6. Wasteful expenditure of stores, as instanced by no account of rations having been kept; indifference to the care of the Company's property; and an ignorance of details.*
- 7. Conveying to the Court erroneous information respecting the soil, climate, production, and resources of the Islands, and withholding facts concerning them.*
- 8. Vacillation of purpose, impulsive action, and capricious conduct; want of firmness, misdirection of energy, and entire misconception of the duties as Company's Commissioner.*
- 9. Pursuing towards the Special Commissioners a factious course of proceeding, and canvassing the propriety of various of their acts for the establishing of order in the room of dis-order.*
- 10. Questioning, in discussion, the evidence of facts, and justifying every act complained of.'*

Enderby then counters each charge at length. There is real and understandable grievance: *'No person was so much interested in the success of the Company as myself, the project had emanated from me, and no person could more ardently desire its success than I did, neither was any one more alive to the success of the whaling and colonizing department, they being so identified that nothing could militate more effectually against my own interest than to attempt to promote the one in preference to the other.*

¹⁵ **Enderby, C.** 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. 1854.

Without arrogating to myself more than others will allow me, I think I was more competent to manage the whaling scheme than any one who had not been engaged in the trade.'

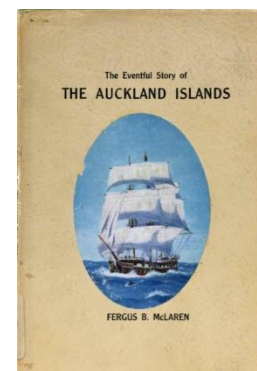
You can't disagree, but in the end the enterprise failed on two accounts. The islands were physically unsuitable for colonisation, and there was no back-up in case the economic case for success, the sale of whale oil, failed. In hindsight, that plan was, in the longer term, doomed because of the arrival of lighting alternatives replacing whale oil, such as alcohol mixes and kerosene and then electricity. Enderby's plan of a permanent whaling station was sound at the time, given that whalers were having to sail further and longer to harvest a diminishing catch. But if the whales didn't come, neither did the income. The pamphlet provides a vivid first-hand account of the whole venture, through Enderby's eyes. After some 60 pages, he ends with the accusation that the Company failed to carry out the enterprise according to the way he had laid it out. For Enderby, the failure was less that of an inappropriate colony, than one of a failed commercial venture. *'In conclusion, I have to observe that I cannot discover a single feature of my project for prosecuting the Whale Fisheries from the Auckland Islands, as recommended in my pamphlet, as having been adopted by the Southern Whale Fishery Company, with the exception of their having made the Islands their whaling station.'*



Charles Enderby, c. 1860s. Royal Geographic Society.

There was something of his contemporary, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, about Charles Enderby. He demonstrated an enduring interest in economics and the theories of immigration and colonisation, only to see his enterprise fail, largely from a lack of the pragmatism and the hard graft that marked the success of other settlements in New Zealand. Perhaps too much London, and not enough Aotearoa. Enderby wrote on economics over an almost 40 year period, from 1837 with a pamphlet on *'The Metallic Currency'* in 1837 through to 1872 with *A Treatise on Capital, Money, and Riches*, something which largely eluded him. But he never wanted for imagination and courage. He died, largely forgotten in London four years later.

There is a good early account of the islands by Fergus McLaren, written in 1936 but not published until 1948 after the author was killed in action in WWII, only 27 years old.¹ The pre-1840 years of the Islands also appear in a book on historical records of southern New Zealand.¹⁶ The most comprehensive account of Enderby's venture is that of Fraser from 2014.¹⁷ There has also been a publication of the diaries of two of the officers of the Company at the settlement. William Mackworth in reality was the manager of administrator of the colony, ending up as Acting Commissioner replacing Enderby when the latter was dismissed. William Munce,



¹⁶ Carrick, R. O., *Historical Records of New Zealand South prior to 1840*. Dunedin, Otago Daily Times, 1903.

¹⁷ **Fraser, Conon**. *The Enderby settlement; Britain's whaling venture on the subantarctic islands 1849-1852*, Otago, University Press, 2014. A broader account of the sub-Antarctic islands, including wrecks, can be found in: **Allan W. Eden**, *Islands of Despair, Being An Account of a Survey Expedition to the Sub-Antarctic Islands of New Zealand*. Andrew Melrose, London, 1955

from Australia, was appointed accountant to the Company and moved to the settlement in 1850. The diaries of the two men, with background information were published in 1999.¹⁸

There is another, largely forgotten, independent, account of the settlement by R Edmond Malone, paymaster and purser on *HMS Fantome*. Malone recorded his observation in his book published in 1854.¹⁹ The *Fantome* arrived at Sarah's Bosom on 8th May, 1852, sent there to prevent disturbances that might occur on the break up of the settlement. Malone describes the settlement as a large house for the governor, a zinc-covered store, a house for unmarried servants and about 25 other houses. It rained all the time, and walking over the soaked, peaty soil was difficult. There were a few attempts at farms which seemed to have failed, and the garden plots of potatoes and turnips were miserable. There were also about 47 Māori living in whares near the houses. Crew of the *Fantome* shot a sea lion, many birds, and went out with the whalers and caught a whale. They also recount a young married wahine who hanged herself after her husband took off with her sister. The man asked Malone if white people did the same. Malone says '*I was obliged to tell him yes*'. After mulling over the proposal that a penal colony might be established there (not a good idea because of the weather and inability to grow enough food), he '*left these miserable islands*' in the *Fantome* on the 5th August, with the buildings broken up and the men, women and children on board.

Shipwreck

How shall I admire your heroic courage, ye marine worthies, beyond all names of worthiness! – Hakluyt (from title page of Musgrave's book)

The other notable literature on the Auckland Islands concerns a shipwreck. After the departure of the settlers, some Māori stayed behind for a while, but there were no permanent residents over the next 40 or so years. The Islands, however, lay in the path of the southern shipping route for sailing vessels, and from 1864 through to the early years of the 20th C, some seven ships were wrecked on the Islands.

The most notable early wreck, because it was well-documented, was that of the schooner *Grafton* on the 3rd of January, 1864. It was captained by Thomas Musgrave, with as mate, his French business partner François Raynal. The brief story is that the schooner was wrecked in Carnley Harbour, foundering on a rocky beach on the north arm of the harbour. The crew of Thomas Musgrave, François Raynal, Alexander McLaren, George Harris and Henry Forgés, were able to get ashore safely and salvaged much from the ship. They survived there for 18 months, using supplies from the ship and then surviving on seals, fish, birds, and with an eye to scurvy, even on a beer brewed by Raynal from the rhizomes of *Stilbocarpa*, a perennial low-growing plant with fleshy cabbage-like leaves. Musgrave and Raynal were relying on their partners sending a ship to search for them but after about 18 months, and worrying about starvation and survival, they built a small craft and Musgrave, Raynal and, McLaren, set sail on July 19, 1865, arriving at Stewart Island 5 days later. They must have wondered why that didn't do this months before. They were taken on to Invercargill where they raised money for a ship to rescue the remaining two crew, which was achieved soon after. Unknown to the *Grafton* crew, another ship, the *Invercauld*, was

¹⁸ Enderby Settlement Diaries, records of a British Colony at the Auckland Islands 1849-1852 edited by PR Dingwall, C Fraser, JG Gregory, CJR Robertson, Wild Press and Wordsell Press, Wellington and Pakuranga, New Zealand, 1999

¹⁹ **Malone, R E.** Three Year's Cruise in the Australasian Colonies. London, Richard Bentley. 1854.

wrecked at the other end of the main Island only 4 months later, the two groups unaware of each other. Of the 25 crew, eventually only three survived, most dying from starvation.

There has been much written on the wreck and the survival of the castaways, attracting the attention of the public and the literary tradition.²⁰ A recent reprint of the English translation of Raynal's account includes an appendix with a case put forward by the French scholar Christiane Mortelier for Jules Verne using Raynal's book for his novel *L'Île Mystérieuse* or *The Mysterious Island*, of 1875.²¹ The two books of 19th C interest are journal-based accounts by Musgrave and Raynal.

Musgrave, T. *Castaway on the Auckland Islands: a narrative of the wreck of the 'Grafton', from the private journals of Capt. Thos. Musgrave, with a map, and some account of the Aucklands.* Edited by John J. Shillinglaw F.R.G.S. Melbourne, H T Dwight, 1865. vii, 112 pp. Double map, green paper covers. Bagnall 3694, Hocken 239.



The crew of the Grafton. Back, Raynal, McLaren, Harris; front, Musgrave, Forgés. From Raynal, 1870.

A second edition was published in London a year later, expanded (174 pp) with an account of the Aucklands as Appendix II, plus an account of the wreck of the *Invercauld* (Bagnall 3695).²² Thomas Musgrave (1832-1891) was born in Durham, though Raynal says he was an American, going to sea first when only 16 in 1848. His family moved to Australia in 1858, and according to Raynal had made a number voyages between Australia and New Zealand. The voyage was a venture from a partnership among Musgrave, Raynal, Charles Sarpy who was a draper friend of Raynal's, and Musgrave's uncle. The intent was to look for a tin mine purported to be on Campbell Island, and if not, then pursue seals for skins and oil. Raynal had mining and sailing experience but didn't want to lead the expedition, hence Musgrave's involvement. The five sailed from Sydney on 12 November, 1863. Reaching Campbell Islands, Raynal became ill and the mining expedition was abandoned. So they set sail for seals and disaster in the Aucklands.

After later reuniting the *Grafton's* crew in Invercargill, including bringing back some artefacts from their castaway life, such as Raynal's bellows (now apparently in a Melbourne museum), Musgrave returned to Melbourne, separately from Raynal, McLaren and Forgés who also sailed back. Harris remained in New Zealand to go gold mining. Musgrave was reunited with his wife Catherine, whom he had married in Canada in 1854, and to please his wife with no more voyages, became a lighthouse keeper, pursuing this vocation in a number

²⁰ See McLaren, op. cit.; Edén, A. W. *The Wreck of the Grafton. Islands of Despair.* Anchor Press. 1955.

Druett, Joan, *Island of the Lost: An Extraordinary Story of Survival at the Edge of the World.* Algonquin Books. 2007..

²¹ [François-Edouard Raynal]. *Wrecked on a Reef, or, Twenty months in the Auckland Isles.* Wellington, Steele Roberts, 2003.

²² Musgrave, T. *Castaway on the Auckland Islands: a narrative of the wreck of the 'Grafton' and of the escape of the crew after twenty months' suffering. From the private journals of Captain Thomas Musgrave. Together with some account of the Aucklands.* edited by John J. Shillinglaw F.R.G.S. London: Lockwood and Co., 1866.

of lighthouses in Australia until his death at 59, in the same year as that of his wife, and after fathering 16 children.

Musgrave's book comprises his journal, which was written in seal's blood after he ran out of ink. The introduction from his editor includes an account of subsequent efforts to persuade Australian State Governments to finance a voyage to look for survivors of other wrecks. Musgrave sailed in the HMCSS *Victoria* in October 1865, but found no-one, The three survivors of the *Invercauld* had been rescued by a Peruvian vessel earlier in May of that year.

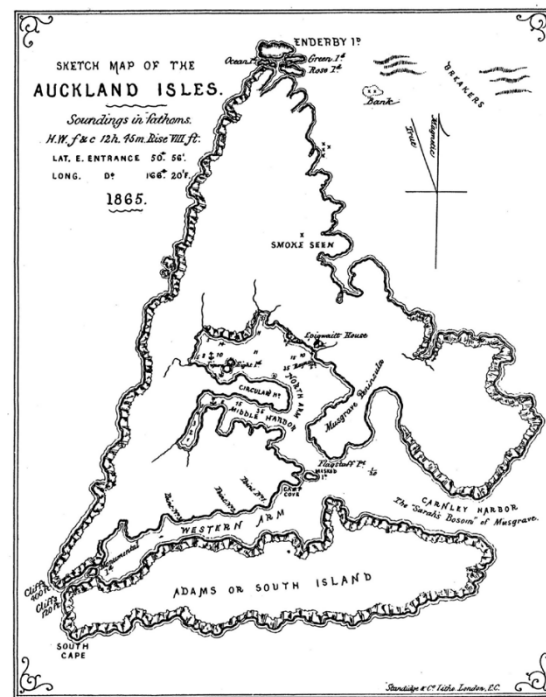
Musgrave's diary starts on Wednesday December 30 1863 when they first made the Auckland Group, and ends on Friday September 15 1865 when he returns on the *Flying Scud* to Invercargill with his two crew members rescued:

'And thus with a grateful heart, I end my journal: with what deep thankfulness to a gracious providence for saving myself and my companions from a miserable fate, I trust I need not set down here.' There are three Appendices, on sealions, the Auckland Islands, and the wreck of the *Invercauld*. The map in the front is the Islands, with little Enderby Island at the top and Adam or South island at the bottom, enclosing the harbour an coves, with soundings along the coastline.

The book is a good read, with a lot of surveying and nautical data, much on killing, skinning and eating sealions, shooting birds, there is a lot of time for bible readings, and two months taken out of writing to build their boat. This is hampered by snow for three weeks, *'then followed heavy rains and continues wet stormy weather, up to the present time, in which we, and myself in particular, persisted in working; and we were all seized with a violent attack of dysentery about the same time.'* It is a remarkable story for lack of any self-pity or despair. They make their beer: *'It is not very good, but is still preferable to cold water. It is made from the root which now forms a very material part of our food, and, as I have before stated, contains a considerable quantity of sugar. To make the beer, we grate the root on a large grater (as we do for eating), boil it, let it ferment, then put it into a cask and draw off as we use it. In using the root for food we fry it in oil (seal oil). It eats something like sawdust....'* And so five young men, in their late twenties and thirties show how to get on and survive while others less resourceful are dying at the other end of the island.



Thomas Musgrave, Frontispiece from his journal published in 1865 and 1866.

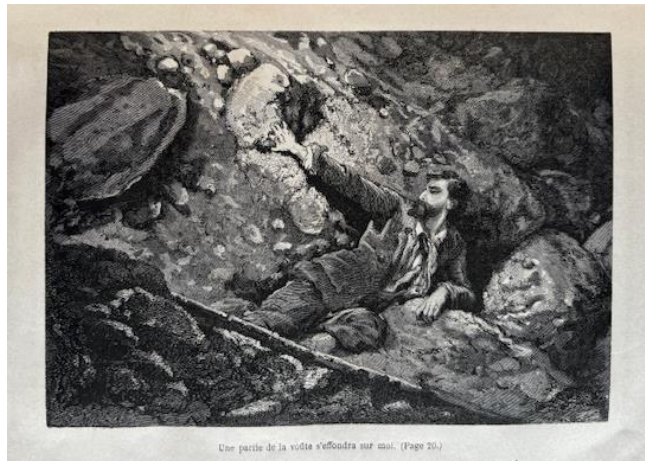


The other narrator of the events, François Édouard Raynal (1830 – 1898), lacks a biographer, but we probably learn more about him from his book than we might from a few scattered biographical lines. It's worth recounting his early life as he writes in his book, since it has all the marks of the adventures that young men in the middle of the 19th C undertook, leaving often difficult circumstances at home, wanting to make a fortune, the stuff of much fiction, but also recorded in numerous first-hand accounts.



Raynal was born at Mossiac, Tarn-et-Garonne, pretty much equidistant from the Bay of Biscay and the Mediterranean. At the age of 14, his parents seem to have had financial difficulties which resulted in Raynal and his brother and sister being withdrawn from school and the family moving to Bordeaux where his father, previously trained in law but until then living a life of ease, needed to work. Raynal decided, in relieving his parents of his financial burden, to go to sea, with the objective, *'un jour rétablir leur fortune'*, to recover his parents' fortune, and the only way to do this *'c'était de m'embarquer, de me faire marin, d'aller chercher à l'étranger, au bout du monde, s'il le fallait, les ressources que a France ne pouvait m'offrir'*, to go to sea, to the other end of the world to get the resources that France could not offer. His parents did not object (likely with relief) and the young Raynal was taken on as a midshipman on the *Virginie-et-Gabrielle*, under Capt. Loquay, a family friend, and bound for India sailing on December 23, 1844.

Raynal was away for nearly 18 months, then returned to his family who had moved to Paris, where he stayed for 6 months. He was then summoned by Capt. Loquay and they were off to the West Indies. On their return, Raynal had decided that a seaman's life was not for him and he decided to settle in a colony so embarked for Mauritius, the Isle de France. There he worked as a sugar planter, became exhausted, survived typhoid and decided to go and mine for gold in Australia. He left in February, 1853, undertook on arrival to learn English, was shipwrecked when sailing from Melbourne to Sydney, clinging to the mast top with others overnight before being rescued the next day. He says he spent 11 years in Australia. He dug for gold for three years, unsuccessfully and escaping death and blindness, the final event being buried under a mine collapse, resulting in some internal injury, with which he had to go to Sydney for treatment, ending his gold mining days.



Half buried under the mass of stone and earth. From Raynal 1870, p.30. Also in the English translation, 1880

You would think that he might decide to look for a quieter life. However, in Sydney, Raynal, as noted, was encouraged by his friend Charles Sarpy to go on the voyage to look for an argentiferous tin mine in the Campbell's, and go sealing if unsuccessful. In the event of finding the mine, he was to return quickly to obtain a mining concession from the Australian Government, and then return

with men and become the administrator of the Island (a few shades of Enderby here.) And so the story proceeds as given in Musgrave's journal.

Raynal, F.E. *Les naufrages ou vingt mois sur un récif des Iles Auckland.* Paris, Librairie de L. Hachette, 1870.

viii, 374 pp, 40 plates, 1 double map. Title page in red and black. Embossed red cloth covers, gilt on spine and page edges. 1 edition. Bagnall 4778.

Raynal, F.E. *Wrecked on a reef; or, twenty months in the Auckland Isles. A true story. From the French of F. E. Raynal. With forty engravings by Alfred de Neuville.* London, T. Nelson and Sons. 1874.

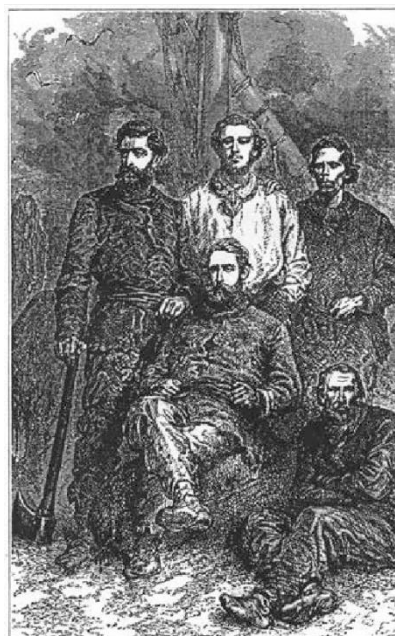
xi, 350 pp, double frontispiece, 39 plates. Illustrated green cloth covers. 1 edition Bagnall 4783, Hocken 330 (later 1880 ed).

Raynal's account was first published in a series of three articles in the French travel magazine *Le Tour du la Monde* in 1869²³, then as a book a year later. It was highly popular, running into a number of editions, with a 6th in 1892 (Bagnall R88) and reprints through to 1912, and probably beyond. It is an attractive volume, small 4to, the numerous engravings giving a romanticised view of shipwrecks, survivors and rescue. The English translation was first published in 1874, with further editions through to 1896 (Bagnall R89a), clearly later pitched, at times to a 'boys own' audience, as a true adventure story. There were translations into German, Norwegian and Italian.

It is a livelier account than that of Musgrave. After setting sail from Sydney on 12th November 1863, Raynal takes leave of his readers to describe his companions.

'..Thomas Musgrave, our Captain,a man of good heart and clear intelligence. George Harris....was an Englishman, about twenty years old, simple even to naïveté, as brave as he was stalwart, already knowing something of his profession, and not without a certain amount of education.....Alexander Maclaren....was a Norwegian, about twenty-eight years of age, of a taciturn character, seldom smiling, able to neither read nor write, but obedient, civil, and a complete sailor. Henry Forges, our cook, - familiarly named Harry - was Portuguese, twenty-three years old, small of stature, thick-built, and very ugly. This ugliness arose from a disease - a species of leprosy - which had eaten away the most prominent portion of his face, nothing remaining of his nose but a scar.'

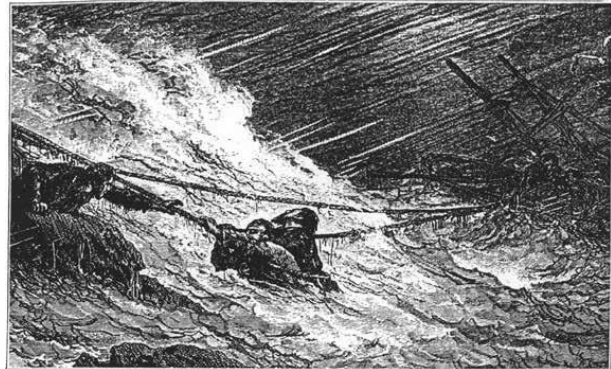
They reach Campbell Island on December 2, and there is not a seal in sight. Raynal then fell ill. 'Soon I was obliged to retire to my cabin and throw myself on my bed, which I did not quit for upwards of a month.....Musgrave gave up all hope of my recovery, and went in search of a suitable spot for my grave. This he afterwards confessed to me.' Musgrave also searched for the tin mine, and failed to find it. So they sailed on to the Auckland Islands, ...'I am still so weak I can scarcely stand upright, or totter forward a few steps.' They reach land and sail into Carnley Bay, and there are



²³ *Le Tour du Monde. Nouveau Journal des Voyages.* Ed. Édouard Charton. Deuxieme Sèmentre. Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1869. July issue.

seals: *"There is no longer any doubt", I said, "they are seals; one has just lifted up his head; they are very numerous;" and fatigued, I returned to Musgrave his telescope.'*

They find a small bay, afterwards called Wreck Bay, and anchor, but a storm rises up and in the middle of the night *'there we felt the first shock..'* and then soon after midnight *'...a shock more terrible than any of its predecessors made the vessel shiver from stem to stern...'* They are driven onto the rocks, holed, and the crew gather everything they can from below, and sit it out under a canvas against the hatchway of the poop cabin, until dawn. Eventually, with the aid of the schooner's undamaged canoe and some stout ropes, they all made it to shore, salvaging pots, knives, charts, instruments, and provisions including salt, flour, biscuit, tea, coffee, sugar, salt meat, beef and pork, *'half a bottle of mustard'* nearly a pound of pepper, tobacco, and a small iron tea kettle. Not too bad a haul to live on for a while.

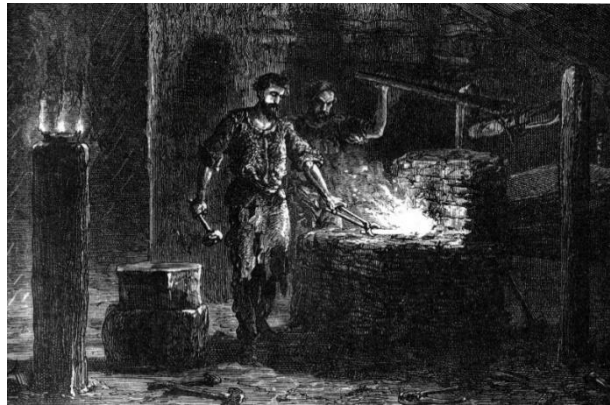


They set about creating shelter, fire, and Raynal has doubts as he wanders from the others, kneeling *'on the humid soil'* and prays, pulls himself together, and his companions: *"we must not allow," I said, "a moment of trial to unman us. We are men; let us prove it..."* and they are off on an 18 month survival adventure. This involves learning how to slaughter sealions with axe and cudgels, and building a house. This was from the ship's timbers, local stones for a chimney with cement from seashells, and for the chimney pot, copper off the ship. There is much praying and reading from the bible, and you can see why they survived; these are guys you'd want to be shipwrecked with. They were able to explore the adjacent coastline with the ship's canoe, and set up a signal post on a nearby hilltop.

Raynal is astute, realising that there has to be order in their little community, suggesting that they should elect a Chief under six points. The Chief had to maintain order, *'with gentleness, but also with firmness'*, *'..put aside every subject that might lead to controversy'*, adjudicate on disputes, direct the hunting and all other labours, *'In urgent circumstances he would not be allowed to give a decision without the assent of all, or at least of a majority of his comrades'*, and, a nice touch, to be deposed by the community (all five) if he *'abuses his authority, or employ it for personal and manifestly selfish reasons.'* Musgrave was proposed as their first Chief, and they ran a little competition to name their hut. Names were put in a hat and Musgrave's was drawn: *Epigwait'*, a North American word for *'near the shore'*. All that remained was to find a way to occupy their evenings. Two of them could neither read nor write so it was agreed that the others would teach them, and each would teach the others their native language. So life went on.

Come December, and summer, 12 months from their arrival, they decide that they will not be rescued and need to get away, and so set out to build a stronger boat. Raynal builds a forge and makes seal-skin bellows, and using material from the wreck, local wood,

and their ingenuity, it takes them about seven months to build a suitable craft. On the 12th of July it is launched, and seven days later, complete with compass, ballast, sails and provisions, Raynal, Musgrave, and McLaren sail off, leaving Harris and Forgés to await their return. On the 24th of July, they sailed into Port adventure on Stewart Island. *'A few moments, and our boat touched the shore. The crowd surrounded it. The feverish energy which had supported us in our desperate struggle abandoned us. Alick swooned. It wax with the utmost difficulty that Musgrave and I could falter out any answer to the questions addressed to us.'*



As Musgrave reported, he sailed back and it took almost two months before he returned with his two companions who had been left behind.

Raynal, after about 20 years in Australian and the surrounding waters, returned to France where he eventually did lead a quiet life, as a tax official. At the end of his book he says: *'They [the inhabitants of Melbourne] showed a strong desire to become possessors of my pair of bellows, which I had not parted with. I gave it to them, as well as a pair of seal-skin shoes, and some little implements manufactured by me during our captivity at Auckland Island'*. He says they *'now figure as curiosities, in the Melbourne Museum.'*²⁴ He travels on to Sydney where he berates his partners for not coming to rescue them. They are full of excuses. He sails on to London, arriving on the 22nd August 1867 *'after a delightful voyage, too beautiful for my taste, and much too long....A few days later, and with a heart overflowing with joy, I landed in France; I trod my native soul. Twenty years had elapsed since I last saw it.'* He died in Valance in 1898, 67 years old.



Remnants of the huts, forge, the *Grafton* and other artifacts have been described²⁵, along with numerous fictional and non-fictional accounts of the wreck and the survivors. The *Grafton* wasn't the only wreck of course, the most famous being that of the *General Grant*. On her way from Melbourne to London, under calm weather, she ran into the cliffs of Auckland Island on May 13, 1866. The ship was driven by the swell into a huge cavern where it sank. Only 15 people of 83 survived, and interest in the wreck has continued to modern times because of the gold bullion she was carrying. The wreck, and bullion, has never been found.

One more thing. The Auckland Islands are now a notable conservation site. Part of the conservation project involve the culling, and preservation of the Enderby cattle. The

²⁴ A web search of Melbourne Museum fails to bring up anything under Raynal or Auckland Islands.

²⁵ **Petchey, Peter.** The *Grafton* wreck and Epigwaitt hut site, Auckland Islands. Department of Conservation heritage Assessment Series 1. Wellington, Department of Conservation, 2003.

<https://www.doc.govt.nz/Documents/science-and-technical/has1entire.pdf>

cattle had been introduced towards the end of the 19th C in another failed attempt at establishing farming. The attempt was abandoned in 1910, but the cattle lived on, becoming recognised as a separate breed, rather short-legged, sturdy, and happy to feed on scrub and seaweed. The last of these animals was removed in 1993, and with embryo transplantation and cloning, a few specimens still exist.²⁶

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²⁶ <https://www.rarebreeds.co.nz/enderby.html>