



**HERITAGE
COUNCIL**
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

REGISTER OF HERITAGE PLACES

DRAFT – Register Entry

1. **DATA BASE No.** P26004
2. **NAME** *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory (c.1854)*
3. **LOCATION** Hillock Point, northwest of Port Gregory
4. **DESCRIPTION OF PLACE INCLUDED IN THIS ENTRY**
Gregory Town Lots 1, 2, 3, 4 & 55 (MB23/1616, ET1267, MB0/0, MB28/192, MB23/1616) and portions of Unallocated Crown Land as defined in HC Curtilage Map P26004-0
5. **LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA** Shire of Northampton
6. **CURRENT OWNER**
State of Western Australia (Responsible Agency: Department of Planning, Lands and Heritage)
7. **HERITAGE LISTINGS**
 - Register of Heritage Places: -----
 - National Trust Classification: -----
 - Town Planning Scheme: -----
 - Municipal Inventory: -----
 - Register of the National Estate: -----
 - Aboriginal Sites Register -----
8. **ORDERS UNDER SECTION OF THE ACT**

9. **HERITAGE AGREEMENT**

10. **STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE**
Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory, the remnants of a c.1854 whaling station set in the foredunes at Hillock Point, north of Port Gregory, including

subsurface remnant structures and surface artefact scatters, has cultural heritage significance for the following reasons:

the place is a rare archaeological remnant that has a significant potential to provide information on the operation and life at a domestic shore whaling station in the nineteenth century;

the place is associated with a period in the industry when the establishment of smaller, domestic (rather than international) whaling endeavours was encouraged to increase economic stability;

the place demonstrates the boom and bust nature of colonial expansion in general and the whaling industry in particular, the whaling station having been established in the 1850s and abandoned by the 1870s when the venture became unprofitable; and,

the place was established by Henry Sanford, who served briefly as Comptroller of nearby P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins)*, and is associated with Fremantle whalers and merchants James Bateman Junior and Joshua Harwood.



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DRAFT – Assessment Documentation

11. ASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

Cultural heritage significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for individuals or groups within Western Australia.

In determining cultural heritage significance, the Heritage Council has had regard to the factors in the *Heritage Act 2018* and the indicators adopted on 14 June 2019.

PRINCIPAL AUSTRALIAN HISTORIC THEME(S)

- 3.4.2 Fishing and Whaling
- 3.1.16 Struggling with remoteness, hardship and failure
- 5.1 Working in harsh conditions

HERITAGE COUNCIL OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA THEME(S)

- 106 Workers (including Aboriginal, convict)
- 111 Depression and boom
- 305 Fishing and other maritime industry

11(a) Importance in demonstrating the evolution or pattern of Western Australia's history

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory demonstrates the boom and bust nature of colonial expansion, the whaling station having been established in the 1850s and abandoned by the 1870s when the venture became unprofitable.

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is associated with the colonial government's attempts to establish Port Gregory as a northern settlement servicing the Geraldine Lead Mines as well as exploiting the salt and whaling resources of the area.

The physical evidence at *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* indicates a material association with nearby P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins)*, demonstrating the shared history and development of these enterprises.

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is associated with a period of stability within the Western Australian whaling industry from 1843 to 1869, when smaller, domestic (rather than international) whaling endeavours, exports and local trade increased as a reaction to a period of economic instability within the colony.

11(b) Importance in demonstrating rare, uncommon or endangered aspects of Western Australia's heritage

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory demonstrates the spread of colonial whaling activities northwards along the coast of Western Australia during the Nineteenth Century, the archaeological site a rare remnant of a shore whaling station from this period.

11(c) Potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Western Australia's history;

As a relatively undisturbed remnant site, *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* has a high archaeological potential, with the physical remnants potentially providing information on the operation and life at a Nineteenth Century whaling station.

11(d) Its importance in demonstrating the characteristics of a broader class of places;

Through both the documentary and physical evidence, *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* is a good demonstration of the characteristics of a Nineteenth Century shore whaling station.

11(g) Any special association it may have with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in Western Australia's history;

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is associated with Henry Sanford, who served briefly as Comptroller of nearby P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins)* and was a significant figure in the colonial development of the Port Gregory area.

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is associated with Fremantle merchants and whalers Joshua Harwood and John Bateman Junior.

12. DEGREE OF SIGNIFICANCE

12.1 CONDITION

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is in a ruinous state, the place abandoned in the 1870s and the current fabric being impacted by the natural forces of dune movement erosion and wave action.

12.2 INTEGRITY

This section explains the extent to which the fabric is in its original state.

While the artefacts scatters and remnant structures at *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* have remained largely untouched since their abandonment in the 1870s, the integrity of the site has been impacted by the natural forces of dune

movement erosion and wave action, which has caused much of the original fabric to become displaced or obscured.

12.3 AUTHENTICITY

This section explains the extent to which the original intention is evident, and the compatibility of current use.

As a place comprising both artefacts scatters and remnant structures, *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* has a moderate to high authenticity, the original intention and to a limited extent the operation of the whaling station evidence from the physical fabric of the place. This authenticity is impacted by the loss of *in-situ* fabric due to ongoing erosion.

13. SUPPORTING EVIDENCE

The documentation for this place is based on the heritage assessment completed by the Department of Planning, Lands and Heritage (Heritage Services), with amendments and/or additions by the Heritage Council and the Department.

13.1 DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is the remnants of a c.1854 whaling station, incorporating subsurface structural remains and surface artefact scatters. The place demonstrates a number of historic themes relevant to the development of Western Australia, including whaling, colonial settlement, economic boom and decline, and convictism.

The region in which *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* is found was inhabited by Aboriginal families for tens of thousands of years, with anthropologist Tindale identifying the language group of this area as *Nanda* (also spelt *Nhanda*), of which a small number of speakers were still alive when Linguistic Anthropologist Blevins studied the language in 2000.¹ The area around the Hutt River was considered an overlapping boundary between the *Nanda* and the neighbouring *Naaguja* people, both groups hunting and gathering the native foods of the region.² A distinctive feature of the Aboriginal culture of this area was the use of large, bush timber shelters, backed with thick mud to create weatherproof huts that were arranged in family groups.³ A search of the Register of Aboriginal Heritage Places for the area reveals that there are three registered Aboriginal sites near *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory*; including artefacts scatters, an art site, and burials.⁴

In 1839 these Aboriginal groups came into contact with Captain George Grey, a British explorer who had been stranded at Gantheaume Bay after his boats and provisions were lost, who with his men trekked some 160 kilometres back to Perth.⁵ Grey made notes of his journey, including the distinctive huts, as well as giving the British name of Hutt to the river near *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory*. On his return to Perth, Grey described the “extensive tracts of fertile country” in the area and advocated British settlement.⁶

While this sparked interest in the area from British pastoralists in the 1840s, it was the discovery of coal and lead ore in the region by the Gregory brothers in 1846-1848 that sparked British expansion. In 1848, the Geraldine Mining Company was formed to take advantage of the minerals in the area, however this expansion was resisted by the local Aboriginal people, resulting in Governor Fitzgerald being speared in the leg when he visited the area.⁷ Clashes between the two groups

1 Blevins, J, *Nhanda: An Aboriginal Language of Western Australia*, University of Hawai'i Press, 2001, pp.

2 Registration test decision, WC2000/001 Hutt River, 19 June 2017, http://www.nntt.gov.au/searchRegApps/NativeTitleClaims/RegistrationDecisionDocuments/2017/June%202017/WC2000_001-2%2019062017.pdf; Registration Test Reasons for Decision, Hutt River WC00/1, http://www.nntt.gov.au/searchRegApps/NativeTitleClaims/RegistrationDecisionDocuments/wc00_1_07072000.pdf

3 Gratte, S, *The Aboriginal History of Geraldton (Jambinu)*, Geraldton Regional Library, 2015, pp. 2-3

4 Inquiry Aboriginal Heritage Register Search, 13 June 2016

5 'Grey, Sire George (1812-1898), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, website visited 13 June 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/grey-sir-george-2125>

6 'Expedition to the Northward', *The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal*, 8 February 1840, p. 23

7 Considine and Griffiths Architects, *Lynton Heritage Conservation Plan*, Northampton Historical Society, 1996, p. 2; 'Return of H E the Governor from the Northward – Unfortunate affray with the Natives – His Excellency

continued through the period 1848-1860, and British expansion was slow in the early years.⁸ With help of Surveyor A C Gregory, the Geraldine Mining Company sketched out a direct route from P3455 *Geraldine Lead Mine Site* (RHP) to the nearest sheltered boat landing, known initially as “Boat Harbour” in 1849, but by 1850 was named “Port Gregory.”⁹ With the lack of free labourers, the Geraldine Mining Company requested convict labour in 1850 when transported prisoners began to be sent to the colony, and convicts were working at the mines by 1852.¹⁰

In 1853, Gregory surveyed two townsites in the area of Port Gregory, Pakington and Lynton, the latter of which became the nucleus for convict labour in the region with the establishment of P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins)*. Gregory’s map for this area shows that Pakington was further divided into two sections, a main street nestled between two sand dunes south of Flagstaff Hill (the nucleus of current Port Gregory) and a series of lots on the beach dunes at Hillock Point.¹¹

Lynton was the first convict establishment erected in the colony’s northern region, during the early expansion of the convict system around the state. This system was centred on Fremantle as the administrative centre, where prisoners underwent training (or, depending on the behaviour of the convict, punishment), before being granted their Ticket-of-Leave. Convicts granted their Ticket were then sent to regional hiring depots to provide cheap labour to the local colonists for the remainder of their sentence. The small depot was established in 1853 on the fertile lands along the Hutt River southeast of Pakington, flanked by a strip of small farming blocks provided to retired British soldiers known as Pensioner Guards, who were to act as a deterrent to any local convict rebellion.¹²

The town of Pakington, named after J Pakington, British Secretary for Colonial Department, was not directly part of the convict system, established instead as a landing and export site for the Geraldine Mining Company. Other local industries included the nearby salt works, accompanying a scattering of farms and pastoral interests in the larger area.¹³ Town lots were thrown open for purchase after 1853, changing hands several times during this period.¹⁴ In addition to exporting lead ore and salt, Pakington was frequented by the whaling vessels working along the coast.

The majority of whaling activity during the nineteenth century was pelagic whaling, where international whaling vessels hunted whales in the open sea, sometimes for years at a time. In Western Australia, this included American and French whaling companies operating in the Albany area. Whilst international ships had been

wounded in the leg’, *The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 19 December 1848, p. 1

8 Gratte, *op cit.*, pp. 4-9

9 ‘Settlement at Champion Bay – Geraldine Mining Company’, *Inquirer*, 19 September 1849, p. 2; ‘Mining Journal’, *Inquirer*, 2 October 1850, p. 2

10 Rundle, D, *The History of Port Gregory*, 1987, pp. 3-6; Considine and Griffiths, *op cit.*, p. 3

11 *Pakington 4. Victoria District. Plan of Pakington & Lynton Townsites showing Hutt Lagoon, Port Gregory, Hutt River & various lots in vicinity. By A.C. Gregory Fieldbook 25 dated 1853-1954 (Later additions) [scale: 30 chains to an inch]*. State Records Office, AU WA S235- 284

12 Winter, S, *Transforming the Colony: The Archaeology of Convictism in Western Australia*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017, pp. 95, 100, 108-111; Considine and Griffiths, *op cit.*, pp. 3-5; Broomhall, F H, *The Veterans: A History of the Enrolled Pensioner Force in Western Australia, 1850-1880*, Hesperian Press, 1989, pp. 94-95

13 ‘The Independent Journal’, *The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and New*, 25 February 1853, p. 2 – the newspaper rather cynically labelled the move “A striking instance of toadyism of the powers that be”.

14 GG 22 Feb 1853, p. 1; GG 7 March 1854 p. 2; GG 14 March 1854, pp. 1-2; GG 3 October 1854, p. 3; GG 19 December 19, 1854, p. 1; GG 6 Jan 1857, p. 1; GG 12 July 1859, p. 2

present off the Western Australian coast from about 1800, there is little evidence that they had engaged in industrial activity there prior to 1836.¹⁵

During the 1837/1838 season the presence of American whaling ships along the Western Australian coast was a cause for government concern, with the British colonists considering the whales to be resources within their territory but lacking the infrastructure and vessels to match the foreign whalers. However on a ground level, the American whalers were a significant point of trade for coastal communities, as well as providing the equipment and expertise that allowed a local shore whaling industry to develop.

Bay Whaling was related to pelagic whaling, where international whaling vessels would stay for periods in specific bay locations where whales were known to visit, occasionally working with a shore based party. Pelagic whale companies would retire from the coast to bay-whale during the winter. This was a common occurrence by the French and American companies at Two People Bay and, what would become, P1796 *Whaling Station (fmr), Cheyne Beach* (RHP).¹⁶

In contrast, shore whaling involved established whaling stations, equipment storage and tryworks located on beaches, with longboats and support boats setting out from the shore to hunt the whales and bring them back for processing. Shore whaling stations supplying whale oil and whalebone were established along the southern parts of the Western Australian coast after 1836, slowly working their way northward as the colony expanded.¹⁷

At Port Gregory, the establishment of a shore whaling station was announced by Captain Henry Sanford in May 1854.¹⁸ Sanford had been appointed both Superintendent of Convicts at Lynton and Resident Magistrate of the fledgling district but resigned in late 1853/early 1854 after accusations of misappropriation of government owned timbers for his personal home.¹⁹ Henry Sanford (brother of Colonial Secretary William Ayshford Sanford) was not technically an Enrolled Pensioner Guard, but had taken leave from the 43rd Regiment in 1850 and formally retired from this group in 1854.²⁰

Henry Sanford's letters to his brother, trace the former's arrival in the colony, work in the Avon region and his tenure as Superintendent of Lynton.²¹ This source indicates that Henry may have already attempted to raise a whaling team at this

15 Gibbs, M, 'The Shore Whalers of Western Australia: Historical Archaeology of a Maritime Frontier', *Studies in Australasian Historical Archaeology* 2, Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology, 2010, pp. 15, 19.

16 *ibid.*

17 Anderson, R, *Beneath the colonial gaze: Modelling the maritime society and cross-cultural contact on Australia's Southern Ocean Frontier*, PhD Thesis, University of Western Australia, 2016, pp. 173-175; McIlroy, J, *Nineteenth Century Bay Whaling Stations in Western Australia*, National Trust of Australia (WA Chapter), 1987, pp. 1-6; Gibbs, M, 'op cit.', 2010, pp. 4-6, 10, 13-14, 20-23

18 'Port Gregory', *Inquirer*, 3 May 1854, p. 3

19 Eastman Poletti Sherwood Architects, Martin G, McGill G, *Shire of Northampton Municipal Inventory (Revised Edition)*, 2005; Rodrigues, J and Anderson, R, *Pakington Whaling Station*, Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Museum, No. 214, p. 9; an excellent run-down of the government Inquiry against Sanford can be found in Campbell, R McK, *Henderson & Coy. Royal Engineers & the Convict Establishment Fremantle Western Australia 1850-1872*, Uniprint WA, 2017, pp. 46-49, however this work is largely unreferenced.

20 "Sanford Family Papers, 1851-83", NLA, accessed 7 June 2018, https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/blogs/m_386_sanford_family.pdf

21 Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 'Series 2. Letters from Henry Ashford to William Sanford December 1851-March 1855', *Papers of the Sanford family (as filmed by the AJCP) [microform] : [M386], 1851-1883 (bulk 1851-1855)*, Trove website, accessed 27 August 2019, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-742470074/findingaid?digitised=y>

point, as in December 1853 he notes “My whaling crew I knocked on the head long ago.”²²

Sanford’s partner in the establishment of the Pakington Whaling Station was Fremantle businessman David Romaine. Unfortunately, the pair did not have an auspicious start to this venture, as Sanford wrote of the experience to his brother:

*It is most unfortunate, Hodges having drank himself to death, and made whaling so much later than I anticipated. The whales have not shewn themselves lately – and the season is yet early, and there is plenty of time to make it answer well if there is no more procrastination. Dyett wrote me word that the boats were to start soon after he wrote up to this, I have seen or heard nothing of them... How do you make soap out of some part of the whale? Find out for me – as also all that can be made use of in the animal.*²³

Sanford’s woes continued throughout the season, losing a number of his whaleboats, officially through an accident but for which Sanford suspected sabotage:

*Just fancy, the men I have working at my new store at the Port, during the norwester Sunday, let my Leander boat go to sea, and I can hear nothing of her: the whaleboat and jig were just out of the harbour, but were seen and saved. – I shall make them pay pretty heavy for their carelessness. Fancy the coolness of one of them, saying, it was not much matter, the old tub was never worth five pounds. I am rather afraid there is something more than carelessness in it; This is the third large boat I have lost in this manner. The wind ought to have driven her in, instead of out of the harbour...*²⁴

While Sanford travelled down to Fremantle to source new vessels, he left Romaine in charge of the operations at the Pakington Whaling Station, noting:

*The men have made themselves very comfortable, in my new store at the Port – rough it well, - and are determined for work. – They tackled a cow and calf very late the other evening, with my jig and whaleboat killed the calf by accident, and had the cow dead beat spouting blood, and obliged to cut, for want of light. Romaine is behaving right well with them, lives in a room adjoining, and during my absence takes the sole management of them; - he would only remain, on condition of my coming down and getting new boats, provisions, etc. – which I could not refuse after all he had done...*²⁵

Despite these efforts Sanford and Romaine brought in only one whale during their first season, which produced 16 casks of oil. By the end of this year Sanford had a number of his whalers leave for more profitable ventures.²⁶

An incident from these first few years of operation provides a direct insight into the running of Pakington Whaling station, as Sanford came into dispute over the loss of a vessel after a collision with the *Perseverance*, petitioning the government to replace the lost craft.²⁷ Sanford enclosed two lists with this correspondence, the first detailing the whaling gear Henry currently owned, the second the gear he wished his brother to arrange. The equipment lists can be grouped using Pearson’s 1983 study of whaling technology into transport equipment (whaleboats, ropes lanterns, oars, sails), hunting equipment (lances, harpoons, whale lines) and processing equipment (spades, mincing tubs, trypots, coolers, funnels, ladles,

22 Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 3 December 1853

23 Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 18 June 1854

24 Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 20 June 1854

25 Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 5 July 1854

26 McIlroy, *op cit.*, p. 82; Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, p. 125; Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 15 September 1854

27 Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 12 March 1855

skimmers and casks).²⁸ An analysis of Sanford's list using Pearson's typology provides an indication of how whaling was carried out at *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory*.

In terms of transport, Sanford lists two whaleboats, two dinghies, one gig, and one cutter. The whaleboats were the attack vessels, manned by rowing crews and the Headsman (harpooner). The cutter, a medium sized sailing ship built for speed, would have accompanied the whaleboats, and the dinghies may have been used for vessel to vessel transport or emergency pickups. The gig would have acted as an additional transport rowboat, including ferrying crew and objects to and from the shore.²⁹

Sanford's hunting equipment appears to be a simple, standard kit for whaling, listing ten harpoons, twenty lances and two coils of whaling line. The hunting method involved rowing close to a breaching whale and spearing the animal before it dived back down. The harpoon would have been connected to the whale line tied to the whaleboat, which would pull the vessel along until the whale was exhausted and forced to resurface. The harpoon type is not listed, but the risk of the venture was that the struggling whale would either capsize the whaleboat or that the harpoon would slip out of the whale without lodging in the flesh. Once the whale had surfaced, the whaleboat would draw alongside the animal and use the lances to pierce the whale's major organs until it died.³⁰

The processing equipment listed by Sandford can be further divided into two sub-groups, relating to the flensing, or "cutting-in" of the dead whale and the rendering down the blubber for oil. Sandford lists boat spades and a half-round spade, but also lists a derrick chain, mincing tubs and double blocks. These items indicate that the dead whale would not have been towed back to shore but would have been flensed at sea, likely on the cutter. This would involve cutting the flukes off the tail, then using the spades to cut long thick pieces of blubber known as "blanket pieces" off the whale and hauling them into the boat. Here, the blubber was cut into smaller and smaller strips on the blocks, then stored in the mincing tubs for transport back to shore.³¹

Back at the whaling station, Sandford's equipment list describes the process of "trying-out" or rendering the blubber. The process centred on two trypots and a boiler, which acted as a furnace to heat the pots. Large, two-pronged forks and pikes were used to transfer the minced blubber into the trypots, and as the blubber boiled the oil would separate out. Sandford lists skimmers, used to remove the floating scraps of burnt flesh (which were then fed back into the furnace), and ladles, which were used to remove the rendered oil. A funnel and two copper coolers are listed, which would have stored the oil as it cooled, and the saleable product was then stored in wooden barrels for shipment. Sanford lists 120 hogsheads (approximately 238 L per head) and "3 or 4" tun butts (approximately 954 L per tun butt) as his storage capacity.³²

28 Pearson, M, 'The Technology of Whaling in Australian Waters in the 19th Century', *Australian Historical Archaeology*, vol 1, 1983, pp. 40-54; Sanford H, to Sanford W A, 13 March 1855

29 Pearson, *op cit.*, pp. 41-44; Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, p. 5

30 Pearson, *op cit.*, pp. 44-48; Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, p. 5

31 Pearson, *op cit.*, pp. 47-49; Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, pp. 5-6; McIlroy, *op cit.*, pp. 5-6

32 Pearson, *op cit.*, pp. 48-49; Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, pp. 5-6; 'Whale Fishery', *The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 5 December 1865, p. 3; unit sizes derived from the post-1824 British imperial volume measurements, 'Index to Units & Systems of Units', Sizes website, accessed 29 August 2019,

After the lacklustre result of the first season, Sanford partnered with Fremantle merchant Joshua Harwood in 1856, operating another whaling crew of 20 men at Pakington Whaling Station. The 1856 season was more successful, bringing in forty tun butts of oil and 25 hundredweight (approximately 50 kg per hundredweight) of whale bone.³³

By this point Sanford had left Lynton, leasing his property to von Bibra from 1855, and leaving Western Australia for England in 1857.³⁴ Sanford continued his partnership with Harwood until 1860, after which the whaling venture lapsed and Sanford sold his remaining property in the colony.³⁵ Historical research on the whalers of this period by Schubert postulates that there were three whaling vessels operating out of Pakington Whaling Station with the men living in “Sandford’s storehouse.”³⁶ However at this point John Bateman Junior, whose family had established the short-lived Fremantle Whaling Company in 1837 and who personally created a formal shipping and whaling company in 1857, sent a whaling crew of twenty men up to Port Gregory.³⁷

The late 1850s and early 1860s saw significant changes occur in the Port Gregory area. The Lynton Convict Depot (P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins)* (RHP)) was abandoned in December 1856, and Pensioner Guards moved out of the area after 1858.³⁸ The Geraldine Lead Mine was closed 1860 to c.1865, and while a new convict establishment was opened in Geraldton in 1865, convict transportation to Western Australia ceased in 1868.³⁹ The 1860s also saw the decimation of local Aboriginal groups after a measles outbreak in 1861.⁴⁰

During this time Harwood continued to operate a whaling team out of Pakington Whaling Station. A minor scandal occurring in 1860 when Daniel Sloan, who was in charge of operating the station, was accused of stealing rendered whale oil for his own use.⁴¹ Newspaper reports from later this year suggest that Harwood had brought his operations at Pakington Whaling Station to an end.⁴²

Bateman also continued to run his own whaling crew, bringing in his largest catch in 1865 with 42 tun butts of oil delivered to Fremantle. However, the newspapers of the day noted that “Messrs. Bateman will find some difficulty in disposing of such

<https://www.sizes.com/units/>. Total capacity approximately 32,376L. Given that Sanford’s single whale caught in 1854 produced 16 casks (hogsheads) of oil, for approximately 3,808L, this suggests Sandford expected a maximum catch of 8-9 whales per season.

33 Mcllroy, *op cit.*, p. 82; unit sizes derived from the 14th-20th century British imperial weight measurements, ‘Index to Units & Systems of Units’, Sizes website, accessed 29 August 2019, <https://www.sizes.com/units/>

34 Considine and Griffiths, *op cit.*, pp. 20, 70-71

35 Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, p. 125; ‘The Independent Journal’, *The Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 17 August 1860, p. 2

36 Schubert, P, *An Account of the life of Daniel Sloan in the Whaling Industry in Western Australia 1842-1862*, Unpublished essay, 2007, pp. 21-22

37 ‘Shipping Intelligence’, *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 30 September 1857, p. 2; Gibbs, *op cit.*, p. 125; ‘Bateman, J’, Australian Dictionary of Biography website, accessed 29 August 2019, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bateman-john-1750>

38 See Assessment Documentation, P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins)*; Broomhall, *op cit.*, p. 94-95; Campbell, R. McK., 2017, *Henderson & Coy.: Royal Engineers & The Convict Establishment Fremantle Western Australia 1850-1872*, UniPrint, Perth, Western Australia, p.42; Campbell, R. McK., 2010-2011, ‘Building the Fremantle Convict Establishment’, thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Faculty of Architecture Landscape and Visual Arts, University of Western Australia, p. 212.

39 See Assessment Documentation, P3455 *Geraldine Lead Mine Site*; Winter, *op cit.*, pp. 93, 95

40 Gratte, *op cit.*, pp. 11-12

41 ‘Quarter Sessions,’ *The Inquirer and Commercial News*, 17 October 1860, p. 3, in Schubert, *op cit.*, pp. 25-29

42 Schubert *op cit.*, pp. 22-24

a large quantity in the colony, now that Kerosene is so universally used.”⁴³ In addition to the growing availability of an alternate fuel source, the 1870s whaling seasons were beset by a poor local economy and rough weather conditions, making the ventures increasingly unprofitable.⁴⁴ A specific reference to Bateman’s whaling party can be found in the newspapers of the day as late as 1873, with a further reference to an unspecified whaling party at Port Gregory in 1875. After this point the Pakington Whaling Station appears to have been completely abandoned.⁴⁵

The sites of Pakington and Lynton lay largely unused throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century as Geraldton become the regional centre, and the Lynton town site was cancelled in 1909, becoming freehold property in the post-war period. Port Gregory remained a remote outpost until 1960, when part of the Pakington town site was entrusted to the local government to develop as a camping and caravan site, with the name changed from Pakington to Gregory in 1967. Following this, a local crayfishing industry emerged in the 1970s, spurring development of a jetty.⁴⁶

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory was buried by the movement of sand dunes, but was exposed after storms in 2018. Port Gregory continues to be used as a fishing and camping area.

13.2 PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is the remnants of a c.1854 whaling station, incorporating subsurface structural remains and surface artefact scatters. The physical material of the place outlines the construction and to a limited extent the operation of the whaling station during its lifetime.

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is located at Hillock Point, approximately 1 km northwest of the Port Gregory Jetty. The local environment consists of high foredunes and lower secondary dunes, covered in low coastal shrubs and grasses. The dunes are part of thin strip of land oriented northwest-southeast between Hutt Lagoon and sea area enclosed by the extensive offshore reef. Hillock point is the highest dune point in the local area, commanding a lookout of Gold Digger’s Passage (the shipping access point to the enclosed reef). The placement of the lots at *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* were likely to take advantage of this position, particularly as fresh water was available beneath the surface behind the foredune.

Archaeological inspections of the site were carried out in 2003, 2006, 2014 and 2018 by members of the Maritime Archaeology unit of the Western Australian Museum, who identified a number of cultural features demonstrating the operation of *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* and performed small-scale excavations at the site.⁴⁷ Prior to this, Gibbs performed limited excavations at the

43 ‘Fremantle’, *The Perth Gazette and West Australian Time*, 1 September 1865, p. 2

44 Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, pp. 25-26;

45 ‘Whaling’, *The Herald*, 26 July 1873, p. 3; ‘Country News’, *The Herald*, 16 October 1875, p. 3; Gibbs (2010), *op cit.*, p. 125; McIlroy, *op cit.*, pp. 82-85

46 Lilley, I and Gibbs, M, *An Archaeological Study of the Lynton Convict Hiring Depot*, National Trust of Australia (WA), 1993, pp. 36-37; *Government Gazette*, 26 August 1960, p. 2568; *Government Gazette*, 4 August 1967, p. 1934

47 Anderson, R, *Pakington Whaling Station Inspection, 12 June 2018*, Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Museum, No. 238, p. 19; Rodrigues, J, Anderson, R, Hall, R and Souter, C, *Report on the*

site in 1995, working from initial site visits in 1987 by McIlroy and 1990 by McCarthy.⁴⁸

In the 2020 survey, and number of these previously identified features were relocated.⁴⁹

Beach artefact scatter

The previous inspections of the site noted a surface scatter of artefacts along the beach, likely eroding out of the foredune and tumbling down towards the water. Previously identified artefacts include brick fragments, several showing burnt or blackened surfaces and evidence of blubber. Other artefacts include glass fragments, whalebone fragments and metal fragments, and previous excavations have confirmed that the artefacts extend to .5 m beneath the surface.⁵⁰

The 2020 survey identified a number of red brick fragments, including a brick fragment with burnt blubber still attached to one side, as well as metal fragments, whalebone fragments, and large (approx. 30-45 cm long) limestone blocks. A number of these blocks have recognisable adze marks from quarrying, as well as attached concrete surfaces where they would have formed a floor. It was further observed that these limestone blocks had (through natural wind, wave action or shifting beach sand), settled beyond the waterline, where they now form a small, shallow reef. Another remnant along the waterline is the corroded remains of a ship's chain.⁵¹

Structural Remnant

These limestone blocks originally formed part of Sandford's store house, situated within the foredune of Hillock Point. Due to natural dune movement these structures were inundated by sand, but have begun to become exposed again as the foredune is retreating. Previous surveys at the site noted that the dressed, cemented stone was a substantial structure, rather than a temporary building.⁵²

In 2020 this feature is presented as a large pile of limestone blocks eroding out of the foredune, and recent erosion has revealed the fragmented remains of a wall. This was visible as a reddish clay fragments oriented vertically within the dune, with additional support provided with a whalebone, set vertically within the wall. Also present within this area was the corroded remains of barrel-hoop irons.

Area behind foredune

Behind the dune, previous surveys have located a number a separate small artefact scatters, including the remains of a shallow stone well.

Site Survey and Excavation 23-27 January 2006, Unpublished report, Department of Maritime Archaeology, Western Australian Museum, 2006; Rodrigues, J, 'Pakington Whaling Station, Port Gregory: a short report on site inspections and later discoveries of whaling-related features and evidence', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, vol. 29, 2001, pp. 52-58

48 Gibbs, M, *The Historical Archaeology of Shore Based Whaling in Western Australia 1836-1879*, PhD Thesis, UWA, 1995, pp. 375-376

49 Includes information from Anderson, R, *Pakington Whaling Station Inspection, 20 August 2020*, unpublished report, Department of Maritime Archaeology, 2020

50 Gibbs (1995) *op cit.*, p. 376

51 Anderson (2020) *op cit.* pp. 12-13

52 Rodrigues *et al. op cit.*

It is noted that in the 2020 site survey, the vegetation cover was very high. Further surveys at different times of year may perhaps uncover more surface scatters that were obscured at the time of assessment.

A total of two separate artefact scatters were relocated, comprising fragments of red brick, copper fragments, whalebone fragments and glass fragments. These bricks appeared to be handmade, fired at a low temperature with numerous small occlusions. Most of the fragments were red brick, however some grey brick fragments with the remains of an egg-shaped frog were also recorded. A small number of bricks were noted with lime mortar attached.

Another feature in this area is a shallow stone well, identified in previous surveys. The well has collapsed or been filled in, the visible remnants being limestone blocks and limestone fragments. The remnant structure is approximately 1 m in diameter.

Link to P1915 Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins) (RHP)

One of the features of the remnant structures recorded is a possible link to P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins) (RHP)*. At the Lynton Depot, the Bakehouse structure was constructed in 1856, the workmanship being “relatively unskilled.”⁵³ This was confirmed by a site visit in 2020, and it was noted of this structure that a number of red bricks appeared within the Bakehouse construction in a haphazard and opportunistic way. These red bricks appear to be identical to the red bricks observed at *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory*; similar colour shade, low fired, and similar occlusions. Anderson postulates that these bricks may have shared a common source, likely traded with whaling ships where they were used to build temporary tryworks. The date of 1856 would be contemporaneous with the operation of *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* by Sanford and Harwood, and was at a time when the American whaling vessel *Iris* lay stranded at Port Gregory in late 1855/early 1856.⁵⁴

Another link between *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* and P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins) (RHP)* is the use of dressed stone and concrete floors, which is present at both sites. The documentary evidence does not provide any clear evidence for who physically constructed the whaling station, however it is known that the buildings at P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins) (RHP)* were constructed by the convicts themselves (likely under supervision from a mason). Given that *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* was constructed c.1854 and P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins) (RHP)* was constructed in 1853, it is possible that convict labour was utilised to build the whaling station.⁵⁵

13.3 COMPARATIVE INFORMATION

Whaling Stations

Known whaling in Australia occurred as early as 1775 in the waters of southern Tasmania by vessels, the *Union*, *Neptune* and *Rockingham*, owned by the British company, the Enderby Company. The *Albion* followed shortly after, and after ferrying convicts from Norfolk Island to Tasmania, was given approval to ‘fish’ for 3

53 Considine and Griffiths Architects *op cit.*, p. 31

54 Anderson (2020) *op cit.*, pp. 12-13

55 Considine and Griffiths Architects *op cit.*, p. 6

whales provided there was no interference to the mission.⁵⁶ In 1788 as part of the First Fleet, vessels arriving in Port Jackson were officially licensed to 'fish' having disembarked their cargoes, which is believed to include whaling.⁵⁷

Whaling in Western Australia has been recorded since the early 1800s with French, British and American companies engaging in pelagic whaling of local sperm and right whales off the coast.⁵⁸ Logbooks of whaling ships to visit the area during the period lists at least 800 ship visits between 1800 and 1888.⁵⁹

The main period of shore whaling in Western Australia occurred between 1843 and 1869, where the industry moved from a time of experimentation just after Colonial settlement, to a time of patterned organisation within the industry.⁶⁰ By 1843, the number of new settler arrivals had dropped, the price of livestock and grain had dropped and government expenditure increased. As a result, the Colony entered a period of economic recession. The Governor encouraged locals to reduce imports and increase exports to assist the situation, and it was in this period that domestic whaling became a focus. The period of recession gave way to a 'period of stability' in the whaling industry that saw little change up until the 1860s.⁶¹

It was during this time that a number of American and French pelagic whaling vessels were wrecked along the south and west coasts of Western Australia. Whale vessels were often sufficient enough to equip multiple whaling stations and so companies would sell remaining cargo to locals if wrecked or at the end of their voyage, contributing to the ease of new local shore-based whaling endeavours.⁶²

Many smaller, local whaling parties started to appear that were cheaper to run in comparison to larger companies such as The Fremantle Whaling Company and the Northern Company at Carnac Island. The small whaling stations were situated in harbours where settlements were or soon would be located, creating an association between whaling and coastal settlement.⁶³ While initially there was a level of direct competition between local shore stations and pelagic American whalers, this reduced by the late 1840s when the Californian gold rush drew the Americans away.⁶⁴

With the introduction of convict labour to the colony the whaling industry continued to stabilise as men were made available for employment. It was at this time that Pakington Whaling Station, as a small shore-based station was established. By 1868 however, the transportation of convicts to Western Australia had ceased and economic growth had slowed again. This had impacts on whaling, which became

56 Mills, J. A., 2016, 'The Contribution of the Whaling Industry to the Economic Development of the Australian Colonies: 1770-1850', thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The University of Queensland, p. 63.

57 *ibid.*, p. 64; Howard, M., 2011, 'Sydney's Whaling Fleet', The Dictionary of Sydney, https://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/sydneys_whaling_fleet Accessed 12 April 2021.

58 Gibbs, M, *op cit.*, 2010, pg. 11; Dickson, R., 2007, The History of the Whalers on the South Coast of New Holland from 1800-1888, Vol. 2, Hesperian Press, Victoria Park, Western Australia, as cited in Holland, D., 2021, 'Landscape-Learning: the historical archaeology of Augusta's first British settlement 1830-1849', University of Notre Dame, p. 66

59 *ibid.*

60 Gibbs, M, *op cit.*, 2010, pg. 21.

61 *ibid.*

62 *ibid.*

63 *ibid.*, p.22.

64 *ibid.*, p.23.

more spread out around the State and overall less prevalent, although still economically important.⁶⁵

Early in the 20th century, there was a renewed demand for whale oil in the developing chemical and engineering industries. Whaling grounds in the northern hemisphere were crowded with competitors so the expanding Norwegian industry turned to the southern oceans.⁶⁶ A number of international whaling companies established stations in the Albany area, which continued until the mid-late 20th century.

A search of the Historic Heritage database for places with the word ‘whaling’ in the name identifies the following whaling sites, which have been grouped into periods that reflect the different periods of the industry’s development:

Period of colonisation (1827-1842)

- P896 *Round House and Arthur Head Reserve* (RHP): Incorporates the remains of the Fremantle Whaling Company, a local company established in 1836 that focused initially on shore-based whaling then bay-whaling.⁶⁷

Period of stability within domestic whaling (1843-1869)

- P1796 *Whaling Station (fmr), Cheyne Beach* (RHP): Established 1846 at Albany by local residents.
- P2994 *Whaling Cove (Ruins)* (RHP): Bay/shore-based whaling station established c. 1849 at Albany by local James Daniells and later the Sherratt family.
- P26004 *Pakington Whaling Station Ruins, Port Gregory*.

Period of decline in whaling industry (1870-1879)

- P4585 *Malus Island – Whaling site* (LHS), Dampier Archipelago – established in 1870 the place comprises the archaeological remnants of the State’s most northern and remote colonial-era shore-based whaling station.

Period of international whaling renewal (early to mid-1900s)

- P4231 *Norwegian Bay Whaling Station* (RHP): Established 1915 north of Point Cloates, Ningaloo by a Norwegian company.
- P16612 *Frenchman Bay Whaling Station (fmr)* (RHP): Established at 1914 at Albany by the Cape Leeuwin Company (Spermacet Whaling Company), a Norwegian company.

Period of whaling industry cessation (mid-1900s to 1979)

- P3644 *Cheyne’s Beach Whaling Station* (RHP): Established 1952 at Albany by a Norwegian crew.
- P25546 *Norwest Seafood Prawning Factory, Babbage Island* (LHS) – originally established by the Federal government in 1951 as Babbage Island Whaling Station in a former RAAF workshop, it was bought by Norwest Whaling company in 1956 (which also operated P4231 *Norwegian Bay*

⁶⁵ ibid, p. 26.

⁶⁶ Stanbury, Myra, *Norwegian Bay whaling station: An archaeological report*, WA Museum, Perth, 1985; Puls, Colin, *Norwegian whaling companies and Western Australian Government, 1911-1919*, BA honours thesis, UWA, 1970, pp. 10-33; Colwell, Max, *Whaling around Australia*, Rigby Limited, Adelaide, 1969, pp. 114-118 in Assessment Documentation *P4231 Norwegian Bay Whaling Station*, p. 4.

⁶⁷ McIlroy, J., *Bathers Bay Whaling Station, Fremantle, Western Australia*, Australian Historical Archaeology, Volume 4, 1986, p. 43.

Whaling Station further north), it went on to become the largest whaling station in the southern hemisphere before closing in 1963.

There are a number of other places in the database that are not noted as being associated with whaling, such as P4501 Garden Island, P24491 Fishing Boat Harbour or P11866 Arurine Bay, but likely had some historical contact with whalers. None of the whaling stations listed above have any evidence of convict-built structures, although it is possible that convict built structures were part of the later development of the whaling station at P896 *Round House and Arthur Head Reserve* (RHP).

Settlement of the Midwest Region

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory is associated with the attempted development of the Port Gregory area, and of the Midwest region in general, and provides evidence for the trials endured by the British settlers of the area. A search of the database for places in the Midwest region established during the Convict period (1850-1868) returns 155 places, 35 of which are entered in the RHP. These places include government buildings and infrastructure, private residences, commercial buildings, educational buildings and religious buildings. The most comparable examples to *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* are commercial and settlement developments seeking to take advantage of untapped local space and resources, and are mostly representative of farming and mining. These places include:

- P1215 *The Grange* (RHP): early British farm established in the Irwin region in the 1850s.
- P1900 *Warribanno Smelter Complex Ruin* (RHP)
- P3455 *Geraldine Lead Mine Site* (RHP)
- P4658 *Wanerenooka Mine Site* (RHP)
- P15838 *Cuddy Cuddy Changing Station, Howatharra* (RHP)
- P1137 Central Greenough Front Flats (Historic Hamlet Conservation Area) (Assessment Program): includes a number of RHP places, including commercial and farming buildings
- P1225 Dongara Hotel (LHS)
- P6355 White Peak Quarry (LHS)
- P5798 Mt Scratch Copper Show (LHS)

Associations with Individuals

Captain H A Sanford

A search of the Historic Heritage database for places with an associated name entry for "Sanford" returns one place associated with Captain H A Sanford (as opposed to his brother Colonial Secretary W A Sanford). This list can be expanded via a general search of the Heritage Services database for the term "Sanford" wherever it appears, which provides the following comparable places that can be positively identified with Captain H A Sanford:

- P1915 *Lynton Convict Hiring Depot (Ruins)* (RHP): includes P17826 Sandford's House (RHP)
- P8916 Port Gregory Townsite (Does Not Warrant Assessment)
- P8917 Pensioner Guard Cottages (Ruins), Port Gregory (LHS)

John Bateman Junior (Fremantle)

Places in the Historic Heritage places database that appear to demonstrate John Bateman Junior's⁶⁸ commercial expansion after 1857 include:

- P891 Bateman Buildings (part of P25225 *West End, Fremantle* [RHP]): while the current building was established in the 1870s, the Batmen family had been active at the site since 1834, the buildings forming part of their building supplies network.
- P8443 Wogerlin Precinct (LHS): located in the Shire of Corrigin and originally used for cutting sandalwood, this farming area was established by Bateman in 1866 and then sold to the Walton family in 1868.

Another source of information mapping out Bateman's whaling interests is J McIlroy's 1987 analysis *Nineteenth Century Bay Whaling Stations in Western Australia*, which identifies John Bateman Junior as being active at the following whaling sites:

- Bunbury: location unknown, but McIlroy suggests a location south of the 1897 P6602 Breakwater (LHS). Bateman's crew was active here 1857-1858.
- P4585 Malus Island (LHS): Batemen's crew was active here 1872 – c.1879.
- P5336 Castle Bay Whaling Station and Lookout Site (LHS): utilised briefly by Bateman in 1857.
- Sorrento: location unknown, but McIlroy suggests a location adjacent to the present day Geneff Park, which was reputed to have been used by Bateman's team intermittently in the 1850s.

Conclusion

Although there are already a number of specific examples of whaling stations on the RHP, only three are from the nineteenth century, and only one is located north of Perth. Furthermore, there are few domestic based whaling station on the Register that were established in the main period of shore-based whaling from 1843-1869, which was an important time for the whaling industry and its economic impact on the State.

Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory therefore has rarity value as an early domestic shore-based whaling station along the northern coast. The comparative analysis further indicates that *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory* was the main whaling location for the Bateman family during their commercial rise in the 1850s to 1870s.

13.4 KEY REFERENCES

13.5 FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research may confirm or refute whether Sanford appropriated convict labour for the construction of *Pakington Whaling Station ruins, Port Gregory*.

⁶⁸ There are places in the database that are also associated with John Bateman Senior and John Batemen Junior's son, John Wesley Bateman, who is associated with a number of places in Fremantle.