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The Eponymous Enderbys of Greenwich

By Stewart Ash



FOREWORD

Three generations of the Enderby family lived in the Greenwich and Blackheath area for almost one hundred years. The first of their line who can be reliably traced is Daniel Enderby (c.1600-1660). Daniel Enderby was a Protestant Dissenter and supported Cromwell during the English Civil War. For this he was rewarded with forfeited lands in Ireland. Just after the Restoration of the Monarchy in 1660, Daniel's son Samuel (born c.1620) sold this land and founded a tannery in Bermondsey. Four successive generations of Enderbys ran the tannery until the last proprietor, Daniel Enderby (1681-1766), decided to secure an apprenticeship for his son Samuel (1719-97) in the Worshipful Company of Coopers. On becoming a freeman of the Company of Coopers, Samuel set up his own business. He married into a wealthy merchant family and subsequently founded Samuel Enderby & Sons. The company grew quickly on the profits of trading with the American colonies and latterly, whaling and seal hunting. The business was then

taken forward to even greater heights under the guidance of Samuel Senior's second son Samuel (1755-1829). The business then passed to Samuel Junior's second son Charles Enderby (1797-1876), who presided over its decline into insolvency.

This rags-to-riches and back to rags again story contains tales of exploration and discovery of previously unknown lands in the southern oceans, whaling and seal hunting, convict transportation, a factory destroyed by fire and the establishment of a British colony in the Antarctic. Alongside this are the human stories of slavery, infant mortality, a family black sheep, war heroes, affairs, 'natural' and illegitimate children, imprisonment, court cases and even a possible royal connection.

Many of these stories were played out in and around Greenwich and quite a few of the locations where they took place can still be found today, if you know where to look.

What is in a Name?

Enderby is an unusual and interesting surname and probably of Old Norse origin. It is thought to derive from place names in Leicestershire and Lincolnshire. These place names are corruptions of the Old Norse personal name *Eindrith*, made up of the elements *ein* meaning sole and *roeth* meaning ruler; thus, sole ruler; this is then combined with the Old Norse *byr* meaning farm settlement. This type of locational surname was developed when people began to migrate from one place to another, usually in search of work, and a way was needed to separate the immigrants from the local inhabitants, so they became identified by the name of their birthplace. Enderby in Leicestershire was first recorded as *Andretesbie* and *Endrebie*, in the Domesday Book of 1086, and Enderby in Lincolnshire was first recorded as *Andrebi* and *Adredebi*, also in the Domesday Book. The first recorded spelling of this family name is that of Robert de Enderbi, which was dated 1170-1198, in the Pipe Rolls of Lincolnshire, during the reign of King Henry II. Surnames, of course, became obligatory once the government introduced personal taxation.

Early History

There is little known about the Greenwich Enderby family before the seventeenth century; whether they originally came from Leicestershire or Lincolnshire is uncertain; how and when they came to London is also unknown. Among the Enderby papers that are held in the British Library there is an unsigned and undated letter that is not addressed to anyone and was probably never sent. It appears to have been written in 1875 by one of the great-granddaughters of the founder of Samuel Enderby & Sons to one of her uncles, acquainting him with the family history. While the identity of the writer of this letter remains uncertain, there can only have been one possible intended recipient and that was William Enderby (1805-76). We will return to this letter throughout this narrative but, with regard to the very early history, it states the following:

'The first Enderby to whom I can positively trace descent was Daniel Enderby. Where or when he was born I know not, but think it probable he was the first of the name who came to London from the Midland counties where there are still several of the same name.'

As Protestant Dissenters the family would have been supporters of Cromwell in the Civil War

and in 1643, a Daniel Enderby (c.1600-60) raised Finance Ordinances for the parliamentary army of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658). According to the *Dictionary of Australian Biography*, in recognition of this fund raising and their loyalty during the Civil War (1642-51), the Enderby family were granted forfeited estates in Ireland. It is a well-established fact that the Parliamentarians redistributed Irish lands to families they believed could further their cause and it appears that the Enderbys were one such family who profited from this process. The British Library letter states:

'His son Samuel became possessed on the death of his father of from 200 to 400 acres of forfeited land in Ireland at Lismore in the county of Waterford which he sold to a Mr. Nettles in 1660.'

The spelling Samuel is used in many of the old parish records and is used in the early part of this narrative to help separate the six generations of Enderby that were to follow who bore the Christian name Samuel.

Although not definitive, the probable fathers to son relationships of the Samuels of the Eponymous Enderbys are as follows:

Daniel b. c.1600 – d. 1660
Samuell b. c.1620 – d. unknown
Samuell Senior b. c.1640 – d. 1707
Samuell Junior b. 1665 – d. 1723
The line of Samuel's is then interrupted by a Daniel (1681-1766)
Samuel Senior b. 1719 – d. 1797
Samuel Junior b. 1755 – d. 1829
Samuel b. 1788 – d. 1873

The Enderby ownership of Irish land was short lived. How the monies from the sale were distributed among the family is unknown but, by the second half of the seventeenth century, this branch of the Enderby family had become the proprietors of a tannery in Bermondsey, a suburb of London. At that time Bermondsey was the centre for London of the evil-smelling industries of animal slaughter and the associated leather manufacture.

The Bermondsey Connection

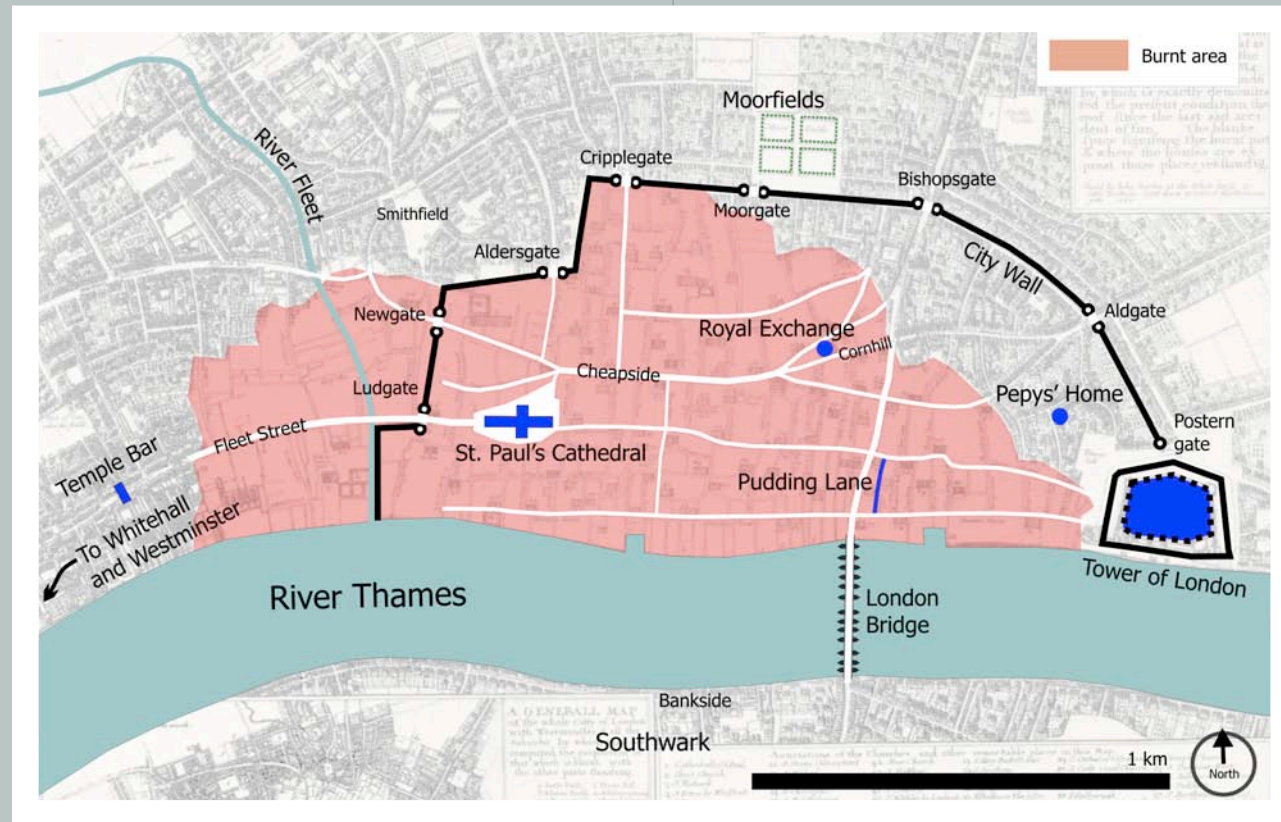
One of the earliest official records of Enderbys in Bermondsey is the marriage of a Daniel Enderby to Bridgett Wood at St Mary Magdalene on 5 June 1620. Whether this is the Daniel referred to in the British Library letter or not is impossible to say. The next record of possible significance is the marriage of Samuel Enderby to Elizabeth Newberry at St Antholin, Budge Row, on 14 May 1638. Again, whether this Samuel was Daniel's son has yet to be established. St Antholin was a church with medieval origins which stood in the City of London, just across the River Thames from Bermondsey; it was destroyed in the Great Fire of London.

The first record that can be definitely linked to the Enderbys of Greenwich appears in the midst of the 'Great Plague', which was the final outbreak of Bubonic Plague in England that occurred in 1665. Official figures give the death toll in the London area as 68,596 but modern historians believe that this could be as much as 30,000 short of the actual total. This early record concerns the marriage of Samuel Enderby, born around 1640, to Hannah Middleton in the parish of St Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, which took place at St Giles in Southwark on 30 March 1665. Samuel Senior and Hannah had four children, who were all baptized

at St Mary Magdalene; Samuel Junior was a 'natural child' (born out of wedlock); he was baptized on 29 March 1665; then came Sarah (5 January 1667), Hannah (20 March 1669) and John (24 January 1671).

Samuel Enderby Senior's father was also named Samuel and was the son of Daniel. He was probably born around 1620, and it was this Samuel who sold the land in Ireland after the death of his father. It was Samuel Enderby Senior's father who was the first recorded proprietor and probably founder of the Long Lane Tannery. Exactly when the tannery was established is unknown. However, being south of the River Thames, in Bermondsey, it was immune from the Great Fire of London, which started in the bakery of Thomas Farriner (Farynor) in Pudding Lane and burned for four days between the second and fifth of September 1666. This separation must have been of great benefit to the profitability of the tannery business in the aftermath of the fire.

Samuel Senior's daughter Sarah married John Grissell on 1 December 1687 in St Mary Magdalene and he joined the family business. Samuel Senior's younger brother John became a potter and he died in November 1703. He was the first



Areas of London destroyed by the Great Fire in 1666

Enderby, who can definitely be linked to this branch of the family, to be buried in St Mary Magdalene churchyard. Samuel Senior died in 1707 and he too was buried in St Mary Magdalene churchyard on 11 October.

The tannery business passed to Samuel Junior, who married another Hannah and they had four children; Daniel born 9 March 1681, Elizabeth, Hannah and Sarah. Records of this marriage and these children's baptisms have yet to be traced. The tannery business appears to have been quite successful because it enabled Samuel Junior, over his lifetime, to acquire long-term leases on several properties in the Bermondsey and Whitechapel area. On the 18 June 1708, he executed an Indenture in favour of his son and soon to be daughter-in-law, providing them with the revenues from the leases of eight of these properties in Long Lane and Trotter Alley, as a marriage settlement.

The British Library letter states:

'The first three on the list were tanners at Bermondsey, I suppose of some consequence, as they appear to have had country houses away from the seat of business which was not customary then with small traders, as I find their residences to have been at Staines, Richmond, Kingston and Walthamstowe.'

The writer is referring to Daniel, Samuel Senior and Samuel Junior. This is in error as it is doubtful whether Daniel had anything to do with the tannery business and she has missed out a generation of Samuels. It is correct in that, up to this point, there had been three generations of tanners and they appear to have been more prosperous than was typical for this type of trade.

On 29 June 1708, Daniel married Mary Cock from Kingston upon Thames at St Mary Magdalene in Richmond. Mary and Daniel had four children: Mary baptized in Kingston upon Thames on 30 November 1709; Hannah baptized on 8 May 1711; Sarah baptized on 26 September 1716 and finally their only son Samuel, born on 26 January 1719 and baptized on 9 February. The last three children were all baptized at the Hand Alley and New Broad Street Presbyterian church, which stood in Bishopsgate. The registrations of these baptisms give Daniel's profession as tanner and their abode as either Grange Walk or the Court Yard near St Mary Magdalene in Southwark. It appears that Bermondsey and Southwark were interchangeable in many of the parish records of this time, suggesting that the boundary between the two parishes was not well defined. Today, Bermondsey is part of the London Borough of Southwark.



Saint Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey

(Courtesy of the London Metropolitan Archive SC/GL/PR/B2/MAR/MAG/p5359792)

Samuell Junior's wife Hannah died in March 1712 and was buried in St Mary Magdalene. Samuell Junior died in 1723 and he too was buried at St Mary Magdalene on 1 April. His last will and testament, executed on 27 October 1722, named his son Daniel as his executor and confirmed the marriage settlement Indenture as a bequest. He then bequeathed the leases of some additional properties in Long Lane and Trotter Alley to his daughters Sarah and Hannah. The rest of his estate was divided equally among his four children. On the death of his father, Daniel had become the fourth generation of the Enderbys to run the Long Lane Tannery.

The next record we have for Samuel is on 6 May 1735, when Samuel, son of Daniel Enderby, of the parish of St Mary Magdalene, Bermondsey, became an indentured apprentice to Paul Gallopine, a master cooper, for a period of seven years, in consideration of the sum of thirty pounds and ten shillings. Why his father did not encourage Samuel to come into the family tannery business is unclear – perhaps he now had the money and aspirations for his son to move up in the world. Whatever the reason, on 2 January 1742, Samuel was admitted as a freeman into the Worshipful Company of Coopers.

By 1750, Samuel had his own business in Paul's Wharf, Lower Thames Street. *The City of London Trade Directory* of 1752 describes the business as oil cooper, wood and furniture carriage. It comprised an office and warehouses on land leased from the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's. The business must have been reasonably successful because, on 4 December 1753, it had grown sufficiently for Samuel to pay for the indenture of his own apprentice, one Peter Roll.

A Judicious Marriage

While Samuel's business was doing reasonably well, his fortunes and his career took a major upturn when he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Charles Buxton and Hannah née Read, on 2 June 1752 at St Mary's church in Walthamstow, Essex. At that time Samuel's abode was given as New Fish Street in the City of London. Charles Buxton came from a wealthy family that hailed from Coggeshall in Essex and he was a member of the Company of Mercers. Shortly after his marriage Samuel was brought into partnership with Charles Buxton, his brother Isaac and Thomas Sims, to exploit the growing market for whale oil, for which his barrels would have been essential. *The London Directory* of 1765 has an entry for Buxton, Enderby and Sims, Oil Merchants at Paul's Wharf, Thames Street. However, from 1767 to 1775 the company is listed as Buxton & Enderby only.

Samuel Enderby leased his first house in Greenwich in 1758. This was 66 Hyde Vale, while at the same time his main abode was at 10 Earl Street in the City of London. The Greenwich Rate Books show his wife Elizabeth as the occupier of 66 Hyde Vale from 1761-1764.

Samuel and Elizabeth had seven children: Charles baptized 14 November 1753; Samuel Junior born

9 May and baptized 4 June 1755; Daniel baptized 19 October 1756; Mary baptized 6 December 1757; Hannah baptized on 11 July 1759; Elizabeth born 11 April and baptized 5 May 1761 and George baptized 2 November 1762. Where the children were baptized is unknown but there are entries for all seven in *Mr. Spilsbury's Protestant and Non-Conformist Register for London*. Daniel did not live long - he died and was buried at St Dunstan's in the East, just off Lower Thames Street in London on 20 July 1757.

From 1763 to 1777, *Henry Kent's Directory* lists a company of Buxton, Enderby & Clark in Gravel Lane, Southwark, proprietors of a white lead manufactory, candles, glue and soap, etc. From 1783 to 1790, this company is listed as Enderby & Buxton. This business produced a white paint known as Ceruse and stood separate to the main family business.

Samuel Senior's father Daniel died on 11 January 1766 and was buried in All Saints churchyard, Kingston upon Thames, on 16 January. Daniel's last Will and Testament, executed on 14 November 1765, named Samuel Senior and Daniel's grandson, Isaac Miller (son of Daniel's daughter Mary from her first marriage; by then she was Mary Money,



Crooms Hill Overlooking Hyde Vale
by Thomas Christopher Hofland (1777-1843)
(Courtesy of English Heritage)

widowed for the second time), as his joint executors. The leases to properties in Long Lane, Trotter Alley and Stone Bridge were bequeathed to his wife Mary and on her death to his daughter Hannah Enderby, and on her death to Mary Miller and Samuel Senior. Daniel's wife Mary died on 29 August 1766 and was buried in the same grave as her husband on 4 September. In the same year Samuel Enderby Senior moved the family's summer residence from 66 Hyde Vale to 9 The Grove (now West Grove) in Greenwich, where the family was to remain until 1778.

The Grove was originally known as 'Chocolate Row' because, from the beginning of the 18th Century, it was popular as one of the first places in London to serve chocolate. No 6 The Grove was, at that time, famous, or infamous, as 'The Chocolate House' and, because of its links with the royal household, it became very popular with fashionable London society. The proprietors were Thomas and Grace Tozier. Thomas Tozier was chocolate maker to King George I (1660-1727), a position of privileged and high status. He was based in Hampton Court, where he had his own bedroom in the Palace and would probably have served the King his morning chocolate drink. Thomas also owned the Chocolate House, where the business was managed by his wife Grace. The house was built in 1702 and in 1721, was extended

to include a 'Great Room' for dancing. After Thomas died in 1733, Grace remarried but kept the Tozier name; she and her descendants continued to run the Chocolate House until the late 1750s. The house was demolished in 1887.

The North Atlantic Whale Oil Industry

Buxton and Enderby set up agreements with the American whaling fleets in Massachusetts and Nantucket. Their ships would deliver mixed cargoes of finished goods to America and then return to England with the lucrative whale oil. Through this trade the business prospered. Between 1750 and 1788 Britain paid her whalers bounties of over £1,000,000 and the members of the partnership became very rich men on the proceeds of this market. However, by 1773 the North Atlantic and Arctic whale fisheries were in decline, the sperm whales having been hunted close to extinction. The bulk of the Enderby's trade relied on carriage of goods to the colonies and entirely on American whalers for the whale oil and spermaceti wax, used in candle and soap making, for the return passage cargoes.

The British Library letter states:

'The fourth Samuel was partner with Mr. Buxton at St. Paul's Wharfe whose daughter he married. They carried on the Oil and Russia trade, and previous to the year 1775 carried on the South Whale fishery from America owning ships which carried cargo for sale in America and in turn brought back the oil which had been caught by the American whaling ships'

Both sources of revenue became unavailable to this company when the British Government placed embargoes on the export of whale oil from New England in 1775. This was after the "Boston Tea Party" had led to the start of the American Revolutionary War, better known in England as the American War of Independence.

The Boston Tea Party

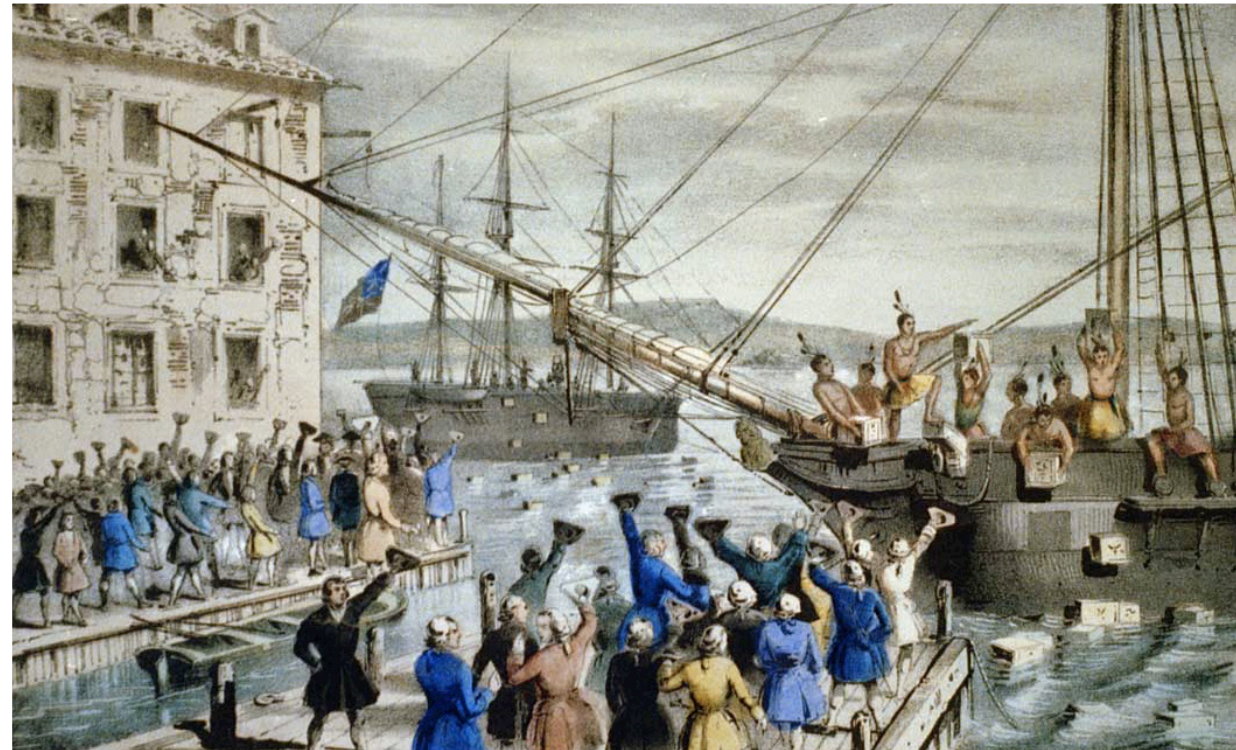
Into the early 1770s, the partnership of Buxton & Enderby had ships registered in both Boston, Massachusetts and Britain. It has been claimed by some historians that two of the ships, chartered by the East India Company, that were involved in the 'Boston Tea Party' on the 16 December 1773, were owned by the Buxton & Enderby partnership, and that the third was owned by the partnership's American agent Francis Rotch.

The British Library letter records this event as follows:

'...and from that date commences the most important and interesting portion of the annals of the family, viz. Two of their ships carrying cargo to America with the intention of bringing back the oil were chartered by the English Government to carry tea to America for the purpose of making the American Colonists pay duty thereon and henceforth subjecting them to English Taxation. The colonists resisted this as an unjust imposition and on the ships arrival at Boston some of the first merchants of the place with their faces blacked came on board, broke up the chests and threw them overboard.'

Apparently there is also additional family correspondence that goes further. This indicates that Mary, Samuel Enderby's daughter, was on board the *Beaver*, one of the three vessels, with her new husband Nathaniel Wheatley. The story goes that the *Beaver* had sailed from London the day after the wedding and Mary and Nathaniel had joined the vessel, commanded by Captain Coffin, at Deal in Kent a few days later. On arrival in Boston on 7 December the ship was held in quarantine due to a suspected case of small pox. It came on to Griffins Wharf the day after the first two ships had had their cargoes thrown into the harbour and it was then that its cargo of tea was also dumped into the sea. If true, it is surprising that this story didn't feature in the family history British Library letter of 1875.

Most accounts suggest that there were four ships involved in the 'Tea Party' and that they were all boarded on the same day. It has also been stated that the Enderbys had no interest in the four ships, *Beaver*, *Dartmouth*, *Eleanor* and *William*, and that all the ships were in fact owned by the Rotch family. Other accounts indicate that the *Dartmouth* was jointly owned by William, Joseph and Francis Rotch; the *Eleanor* by Bostonian John Rowe; the *William* by Jonathan Clarke, also from



The Boston Tea Party

Boston and that the ownership of the *Beaver* was unknown. Other accounts agree that the *Dartmouth* was owned by Francis Rotch and the *Eleanor* and *Beaver* were owned by the Enderbys, also that the *William* was lost off of Cape Cod and did not actually reach Boston Harbour, although her 50 chests of tea were claimed to be the only ones to reach Boston Castle. It is, of course, possible that the *Beaver* and *Eleanor* were under charter to the Enderbys but this has never been positively established. What is certain is that Mary Enderby, aged 16, married Nathaniel Wheatley, aged 27, at St Benet, Paul's Wharf on 10 November 1773. Nathaniel was from Boston, Massachusetts and he had come to England with his adopted sister Phillis (c.1753-84) to promote her poetry.

Phillis was a black African born in what is now Senegal. She was captured by slavers when she was about seven and transported to market in Boston, Massachusetts. There she was bought by Nathaniel's father John Wheatley, a master tailor, to assist his wife Susanna, who was in poor health. They gave her the name, Phillis, after the ship that had brought her to America. The Wheatleys treated Phillis as a daughter and sister and taught her to read and write in English, which she managed to do by the age of ten. They then taught her to read and write in Latin. By the age of thirteen, she had become a local celebrity and

her ability to translate and articulate a story from Ovid astonished local scholars. Her first poem, *An Elegiac Poem, on the death of the Celebrated Divine George Whitfield*, was published in 1770.

Nathaniel and Phillis set out from Boston in May, bound for London where she had been invited to sing and give recitals. They arrived in London on 17 June 1773 and in September, Phillis had a collection of her poems, *Poems on Various Subjects Religious and Moral*, published by A Bell, booksellers of Aldgate in London. It was during this time in London that Nathaniel met Mary Enderby for the first time. It was a whirlwind romance and they married just five months later, despite Mary's age. On the marriage licence Nathaniel's residence is given as Greenwich where, in the 1841 census, a Wheatley's coach building business can be found. Whether this family was related to Nathaniel in any way is unknown. At this time Nathaniel was appointed the Enderbys' American agent and it is, therefore, quite likely that Mary and Nathaniel travelled to America very quickly after their wedding. However, at that time sailing across the Atlantic took around six weeks and even longer when starting from the Thames in London. So if the *Beaver* sailed from London on 11 November, it would have been an exceptionally quick crossing for her to be in Boston Harbour on 7 December, with them onboard, less than four

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weeks later. It is just possible but I believe unlikely; it is more likely that the *Beaver* sailed from London before Nathaniel and Mary's wedding and they arrived in Boston on another ship shortly after the 'Tea Party'.

Phillis returned to Boston before Nathaniel and Mary to care for Susanna Wheatley who had become seriously ill. Susanna Wheatley died in 1774, her husband John died in 1778 and Nathaniel's twin sister Mary died shortly after her father, aged just 32. With the death of her white protectors, save Nathaniel, Phillis's life changed significantly. In 1778, she married John Peters, a freed African American, but it was not a happy union. John and Phillis had three children who all died in infancy. The couple battled poverty and prejudice and Phillis was forced to take a maid's job in a Boston boarding house. She continued to write poetry but was unable to get publishers interested. She was a strong supporter of America's fight for independence and penned several poems in honour of George Washington (1732-99); he was aware of her poetry and on 28 February 1776, he invited her to visit his headquarters in Cambridge, Massachusetts, just prior to the British evacuation of Boston, which took place in March of that year. Phillis Wheatley died in Boston, Massachusetts, on 5 December 1784.



Phillis Wheatley (c.1753-84)

From Poems on Various Subjects Religious and Moral



Whalers off Twofold Bay, 1867

by Oswald Brierley (1817-1874)

(Courtesy of the Art Gallery of New South Wales)

The Founding of Samuel Enderby & Sons

By 1771, Samuel Senior's eldest sons, Charles and Samuel Junior, had been indentured as apprentices in the Worshipful Company of Coopers.

On 17 January 1773, the *Resolution* under the command of Captain James Cook (1728-79) became the first ship to cross the Antarctic Circle. This was Cook's second voyage of discovery, which took place between July 1772 and July 1775. On his return to England he reported that the seas were full of whales and seals. Cook's first voyage of discovery was in the *Endeavour* and took place between 1768 and 1771. The *Endeavour* had been converted and fitted out in Deptford Dockyard in record time and there is some evidence to suggest that Samuel Enderby Senior was instrumental in facilitating this work. Because of the wholesale butchery of the North Atlantic and Arctic whales, the need to find new whaling grounds had become pressing for the whaling industry, so it is entirely possible that Samuel Senior was a major sponsor of these expeditions. Samuel Enderby Senior grasped the opportunity offered by Cook's report and encouraged by the British Government, he elected to pursue whaling in the Southern Atlantic, south of latitude of 44° south, where Cook's report indicated that sperm whales could be found in abundance. The following year

Samuel Enderby Senior and his business partners, Alexander Champion (1751-1809) and John St Barbe (1742-1816), assembled a fleet of twelve whaling ships in the River Thames, to head for the South Atlantic. Champion and St Barbe also had residences in the Blackheath area, as did Daniel Bennett, another merchant who later became engaged in the southern fisheries.

The killing of whales and seals, as we now realise was (and still is) a most repulsive and barbaric business. It was something that the Enderbys as prosperous ship owners did not initially engage in. The whaling was carried out by associates of the Enderbys. It was these associates that employed seasoned sea captains, including a number of loyalist Americans, who were then responsible for signing on their crews. Up to 1773 the Enderbys had only been involved in shipping and trading in the products of whaling but now for the first time they became directly involved in the bloody business itself.

In 1775, Samuel Senior founded Samuel Enderby & Sons, and when Charles and Samuel Junior became freemen of the Worshipful Company of Coopers, he made them both partners in the company on 25 March 1778 by giving each

of them an £8,000 share of the capital in the business. Samuel Senior's youngest son, George, later followed his elder brothers into the Worshipful Company of Coopers and co-partnership in the family business with a similar gift of £8,000 of capital.

In August 1775, Samuel Enderby Senior wrote to his business associates in the American colonies, with a proposal regarding the exploitation of the whales and seals to be found around the Falkland Islands. As a result, sixteen ships were fitted out at Martha's Vineyard by four loyalist New England oil merchants, Francis Rotch, Richard Smith, Aaron Lopez and Leonard Jarvis. These ships were ordered to rendezvous at Port Egmont in the Falkland Islands before sailing further south. En route to the South Atlantic, five of these vessels were seized by the Royal Navy and their crews pressed (forced to serve in the Royal Navy).

The British Library letter records these events as follows:

'This commenced the American revolutionary war which eventually terminated in the Independence of the United States, perhaps one of the most important events of the world. But the consequences did not end here, the whale fishery could no longer be carried on by Englishmen in

what had then become a foreign state; the whaling ships instead of returning to Boston came direct with their cargoes of oil to London from whence they were again refitted and so established the English South Whale Fishery, the first ships sailing thence in 1775.'

In September, Rotch sailed to Britain in the *Francis* to talk terms with Samuel Enderby Senior. On arrival in England he heard of the seizure of the five ships and proceeded to negotiate with the British Government for their release. In addition, he requested protection from the Royal Navy on the basis that his business should be considered English and not an American enterprise, because the loyalist fleet intended to sell their whale oil in England. Rotch also proposes to manufacture, in partnership with Samuel Enderby, soap and candles in London, from spermaceti wax and whale oil. In October, the British Government agreed to release the five vessels, together with their pressed crews, on the understanding that Rotch signed a contract to purchase finished goods and supplies to the value of £10,000 from merchants in London.

A copy of a letter from Samuel Enderby Senior to his son-in-law Nathaniel Wheatley in Providence Rhode Island, written in December 1775, is kept in the Library of Congress¹. The original is held



Samuel Enderby (1755-1829)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

in the National Archive at Kew. This letter was intercepted at the time by the British authorities and access to its full contents has been denied. This may suggest that the Enderbys were supportive or even active in the patriot cause. However, parts of the letter are quoted by Edouard A. Stackpole in his book, *Sea Hunters*. It states:

'although you should have given the Master positive orders to proceed here; then Enderby requests, 'If you come over in the spring I would wish you to bring over 30 good whale men, as I have a grand scheme in view.'

In 1778, Samuel Senior moved from 9 to 14 The Grove. This house still exists and is now known as Hamilton House, a name it was given in 1988 when it was converted into a hotel. In 1999, it was purchased and later reconverted to a private residence, which it remains today. The Enderbys had no further interest in 9 The Grove which was demolished in 1870.

Hamilton House was commissioned in 1734; it was built on land that was originally owned by a prosperous yeoman farmer, John Hatch. A large parcel of this land was bought from him by the Morden College Estate, which it then sold on so

¹ Ref P.R.O., C.O.5, vol 40, p406, Mss. Div

that 'houses of some substance' could be built on it. Two of these important historic houses are Point House (18 The Grove), which was probably built in 1741 for the banker John Hoare, and Manna Mead (17 The Grove) built around 1757. Both remain standing today alongside Hamilton House and all three are Grade II listed buildings.

Hamilton House was built for Peter Bronsdon, a shipbuilder from Deptford, who died in 1745 and was buried in St Nicholas's Churchyard in Deptford on 20 January 1745, where a monument to his memory stands to this day. The Bronsdon and Webb families owned a shipyard in Deptford which supported the Royal Dockyard, where ships were built for the Royal Navy and the East India Company. Various members of the Bronsdon family lived in Hamilton House until 1778.

In 1779, the first entry of Samuel Enderby & Sons appears in Kent's directory. The business address is given as Paul's Wharf, Thames Street, London and the purpose is given as merchants, commerce(s), oil. The entries in Kent's directory remain consistent right up until 1791.

On 3 September 1783, the Treaty of Paris was signed, ending the American Revolutionary War and so, in 1784, Samuel Enderby Junior was sent by his father to Boston, Massachusetts. His

mission was to gather information on the state of the American whaling industry and to engage Nantucket whaling men to serve on Enderby ships. While there, he assisted his sister Mary in winding up the estate of his late brother-in-law Nathaniel Wheatley, who had died in 1783, and he then returned to England with her and her two daughters. Due to this initiative the business continued to grow and by 1785, Samuel Enderby & Sons controlled seventeen whaling ships, all of which were commanded by American loyalists.

Whales are naturally curious creatures and are attracted from great distances by the vibrations caused by the pounding of the whalers' hulls as they pitch into the swell, thus sealing their fate. This made hunting them relatively easy and, after a decade of intense exploitation by the American and British whaling fleets, the South Atlantic whales were similarly slaughtered and close to extinction. In early 1786, the Enderby family began lobbying the British government for the right to go into the South Pacific an area that, with regard to English shipping, had been until then a monopoly of the East India Company, founded by Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) in 1600.

By 1788, the Enderbys' lobbying had been successful and on 1 September 1788, the 270-ton whaler *Emelia*, owned by Samuel Enderby & Sons,

and under the command of Captain James Shields, set out from London on her famous voyage.

One of the most important members of a whaling ship was the harpooner, so the confirmation by the College of Arms in 1787 of the Enderby armorial ensigns, depicting the figure of a harpooner, was a strong indication of the family's wealth and growing influence in the City of London, as well as in government circles. It is just possible that the *Emelia* was the first vessel to fly this ensign.

The Voyage of the *Emelia*

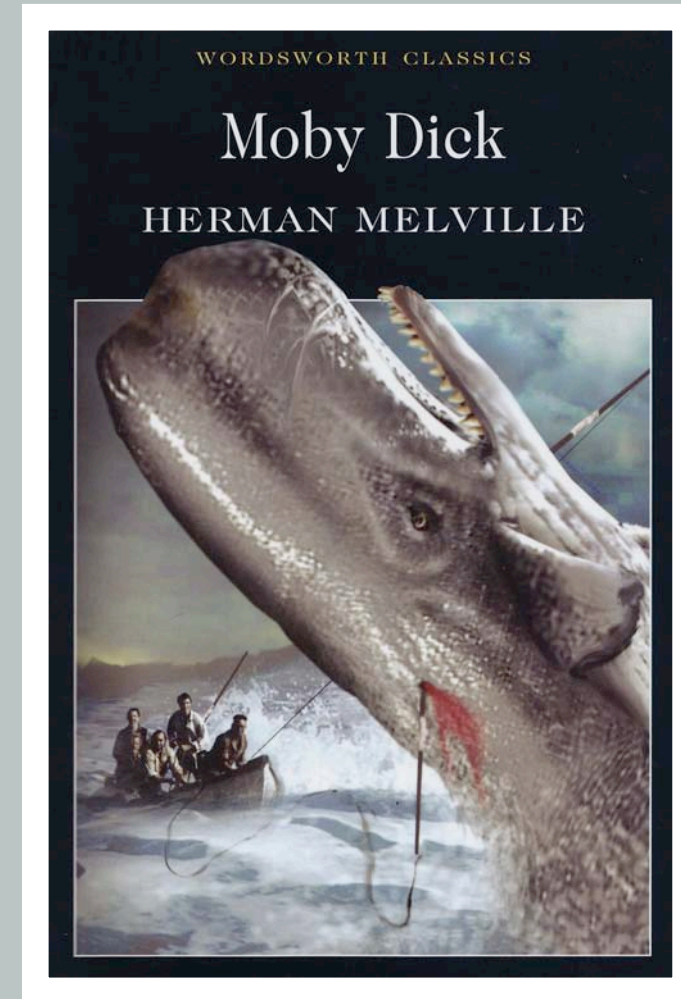
The Enderbys' ship that rounded Cape Horn was the first ship from any nation to engage in whaling in the South Pacific and was actually named the *Emelia*, not *Amelia*, as it is recorded in most histories. She was named after Emelia Vansittart (1738-1819), a close friend, neighbour and investor in the Enderby's ventures. The widowed Emelia Vansittart lived at 60 Crooms Hill, no more than 300 yards from Samuel Junior's House.

An American crewman from Nantucket, Archelus Hammond, was the first man to harpoon a whale off the coast of Chile on 3 March 1789. The *Emelia* returned to London on 12 March 1790 with a cargo of 139 tons of sperm oil. The pioneering voyage of the *Emelia* is described in Herman Melville's novel *Moby Dick*, which was first published on 1 October 1851, and Melville is probably the first to erroneously name the ship *Amelia*:

'In 1778 a fine ship the Amelia, fitted out for the express purpose and at the sole charge of the vigorous Enderbys, boldly rounded Cape Horn, and was the first among the nations to lower a whale boat of any sort in the great South Sea. The voyage was a skilful and lucky one; and returning to her berth with her hold full of the precious sperm, the Amelia's example was soon followed

by other ships, English and American, and thus the vast Sperm Whale grounds of the Pacific were thrown open. But not content with this good deed the indefatigable house again bestirred itself; Samuel and his sons – how many, their mother only knows – and under the immediate auspices, and partly, I think, at their expense, the British Government was induced to send the sloop of war Rattler on a whaling voyage of discovery to the South Sea. Commanded by a naval Post-captain, the Rattler made a rattling voyage of it and did some service; how much does not appear. But this is not all. In 1819 the same house fitted out a discovery whale ship of their own, to go on a testing cruise of the remote waters of Japan. That ship – well called the Syren – made a noble experimental cruise; and it was thus that the great Japanese Whaling Ground first became generally known.'

Herman Melville's paternal grandfather, Thomas Melvill (1751-1832), was a hero of the American Revolutionary War. Major Thomas Melvill took part in the 'Boston Tea Party' and some accounts suggest that he was the commander of the Enderbys' whaler *Britannia* on her 201-day voyage to New South Wales, Australia in 1791, as part of the 'Third Fleet'. However, the Thomas Melville



The cover of a paperback version of *Moby Dick*

(Courtesy of Wordsworth Classics)

who captained the *Britannia* was in fact an Englishman born in London.

The voyage of the *Emelia* began a new era for Samuel Enderby & Sons, one in which voyages intended for the exploitation of whales and seals also resulted in a number of geographical discoveries. On 30 August 1790, Samuel Enderby Junior wrote personally to the Prime Minister, William Pitt the Younger (1759-1806), concerning fishery progress and the expanding market for whale oil, asking for the enlargement of fishing areas and the removal of restrictions imposed by the East India and the South Sea companies. By 1790, at the age of 72, Samuel Enderby Senior had stepped down from the head of the family business but was still a very wealthy and influential man. At this time Samuel Enderby & Sons controlled sixty-eight whalers and general cargo vessels, many engaged in the southern fishery trade. Samuel Senior also owned or leased properties in Bermondsey, Eltham, Lee and Lewisham. He retained his London residence at 10 Earl Street and his Blackheath house at 14 The Grove.

The Third Fleet to Australia

The colonization of New South Wales, Australia in 1788 presented the Enderbys with another opportunity to expand their southern hemisphere business. Shortly after the successful voyage of the *Emelia*, Samuel Junior wrote to Pitt suggesting that whalers could carry convicts and stores to Botany Bay, the ships thence to go whaling off South America. The plan was that the whalers could return to England with cargoes of whale oil. On 13 October 1790, John St Barbe also made the same recommendation to Pitt and permission was finally obtained.

Five whaling vessels owned by Samuel Enderby & Sons, the *Active*, *Britannia*, *Mary Ann*, *Matilda* and the *William and Mary* were part of the 'Third Fleet' that departed from England in February, March and April 1791, bound for the penal colony in Sydney, with over 2,000 convicts on board. The first ship to arrive at Port Jackson was the *Mary Ann* on 9 July 1791; she was under the command of Mark Munro and carried a cargo of 141 female convicts, 9 having died on passage. The next to arrive was *Matilda* on 1 August 1791; she was under the command of Matthew Weatherhead and carried a cargo of 205 male convicts, 25 having died on passage. The next Enderby ship to arrive in Sydney was the *William and Mary* on 28 August 1791; she

was commanded by American Eber Bunker (1761-1836), and carried a cargo of 181 male convicts, 7 having died on passage. The *Active* arrived on 26 September 1791, commanded by John Mitchinson and carrying a cargo of 154 male convicts, 21 having died on passage. Finally, the *Britannia* arrived on 14 October 1791; she carried a cargo of 129 male convicts, 21 having died on passage. The 'Third Fleet' contract would be the only one that the Enderbys received from the British Government for the transportation of convicts. However, it did allow them to establish a presence in Australia.

The British Library letter describes this as follows:

'Soon after the American War of Independence the want was found of a penal settlement where we might send the convicts and Sydney in Australia was found from the voyage of Cook as an eligible situation, not so much with the hope of forming a valuable Colony as for the purpose of getting rid of the scum of the population but the difficulty arose of transporting them so great a distance. The voyage to Sydney was then considered good at 4 months, but was more frequently 5 or 6 months and sometimes more. No merely merchant ship would carry them except at an exorbitant price,

as there was no return cargo. Whalers going out without cargo with the intention of fishing in those seas afforded an eligible opportunity as they carried the convicts out and the oil home. Consequently the ships of the Enderby's again took a prominent part and carried out the convicts and thereby founded perhaps the most valuable and important colony ever known.'

Sydney Harbour was first discovered by Lieutenant James Cook. He named this natural harbour Port Jackson after Sir George Jackson (1725-1822), one of the Lord Commissioners of the British Admiralty and Judge Advocate of the Fleet. The letter is, of course, wrong about the whalers founding the colony. The First Fleet left England on 13 May 1787 and arrived in Port Jackson on 26 January 1788. The letter continues:

'This was not so simple affair as it seemed, the Governor and Superintendent and convicts with some provisions were landed really in the bush and it required time to clear cultivate and sow the ground and further time for the seed to come to perfection. The cattle immediately on landing strayed into the bush and were not found for from 40 to 50 years afterwards and when found were enormous herds of wild cattle.'

In 1791, Samuel Enderby & Sons set up an office in Port Jackson to coordinate its whaling and anticipated transportation operations. The *Britannia* became the first ship to kill sperm whales in the waters around Australia, and in December 1791, Captain Bunker took the *Active* south and became the first vessel to hunt whales in the waters around New Zealand. The *Matilda* and *Mary Ann* also went south of Sydney in search of seals; the *Matilda* was later wrecked off Tahiti. After these initial expeditions the Enderby ships *Brittania*, *Ocean* and *Speedy* made frequent whaling voyages from Port Jackson.

The British Library letter again:

'The whaling ships after cruising the coast for a few months touched to see how the colonists were progressing and found them in a most distressed situation in dread of starvation, and transported them to Norfolk Island, where they found better means of subsistence. They afterwards were carried back to Sydney (then called Botany bay or Port Jackson) Note these transfers and retransfers to Norfolk Island took place several times until at last the colony got finally established. The whaling ships alone continued the exploration among all the islands of the South Seas, the Sandwich, Friendly, Moluca, Fiji and New Zealand.'



Captain Eber Bunker (1761-1836), Miniature c.1810

(Courtesy of the State Library of New South Wales)

Of course, Botany Bay and Port Jackson are two different places. Botany Bay, originally named Sting Ray Harbour by Cook, is open to the ocean and to the south of the enclosed bay of Port Jackson. The First Fleet first came ashore in Botany Bay. However, they quickly decided that the land there was unsuitable to establish a penal colony and so moved north to Port Jackson, where they established a settlement in Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788. The 26 January is now recognised as Australia Day. The commander of the 'First Fleet', Captain Arthur Phillip (1738-1814), named the settlement 'New Albion' but this did not stick, and it quickly became known as Sydney, after Thomas Townshend (1733-1800), who had been British Home Secretary and was then created Baron Sydney of Chislehurst, and entered the House of Lords on 6 March 1783.

Thomas Townshend lived in Frogmal House near Chislehurst in Kent, which had been purchased as the family home by his father Thomas Townshend (1701-80) in 1752. Eventually the house passed to Marsham-Townshend and, in 1915, they sold it with its 1,740-acre (700 Hectares) estate to the British Government.

The house then became famous for being the original building of the Queen's Hospital (later Queen Mary's Hospital) in Sidcup, developed as the First World War's major centre for facial and plastic surgery, largely through the efforts of New Zealand born Sir Harold Delf Gillies (1882-1960). Opened in 1917, the hospital and its associated convalescent hospitals provided over 1,000 beds and between 1917 and 1921 admitted in excess of 5,000 badly injured servicemen.

In 1974, a new Queen Mary's Hospital was built to replace the original Queen's Hospital and, since November 1999, Frogmal House has been a residential and nursing home.

The *Rattler* Expedition

At a meeting of the Committee for Trade, with the Prime Minister Pitt present, on 20 April 1792, Lord Hawkesbury (1770-1828), the second Earl of Liverpool, told Samuel Enderby Junior and John St Barbe that an official Pacific survey would be made. This was the *Rattler* expedition referred to by Melville in *Moby Dick*.

The British Government had been inspired by the successful voyage of the *Emelia* to commission Lieutenant James Colnett (1753-1806) to carry out a survey of the Pacific in the sloop HM *Rattler*. Colnett was a serving officer in the Royal Navy but had recently been engaged in commercial voyages related to the north-western fur trade. He was nominated by the British Admiralty to lead an expedition on what was planned to be a survey of the South American Pacific coast to find suitable bases for the whaling industry. However, the British Government became concerned that the survey might antagonise the Spanish, who had control of most of the area, and negotiations with their government became protracted. This exasperated Samuel Enderby & Sons and so to avoid any political problems, they purchased the *Rattler* and converted her into a whaler, retaining Colnett as her captain. The expedition took place between 1793 and 1794. Colnett's position in

the enterprise was a very difficult one, as he was trying to serve a commercial company and the Admiralty at the same time. The objectives of the voyage were also conflicting because he was required to address surveying on the one hand and whaling on the other. Colnett's personal motives also appear to have been twofold - financial gain from the whaling but also the hope of gaining a promotion from the Admiralty. The results of the expedition were unsurprisingly mixed. Whales were in short supply, and when they were sighted they were difficult to catch and kill. As for finding possible base ports, all Colnett was able to identify were James Island in the Galapagos Group and Chatham Island just north of the Magellan Straits. In 1798, James Colnett published a book on the expedition called *A Voyage to the South Atlantic and into the Pacific Ocean*.

A Generation Passes

In his final years Samuel Senior continued to lobby the British Government for legislation that was beneficial to the whaling industry. This included more favourable premiums for British whalers, arrangements for revictualling in foreign ports and freedom from impressment by the British Royal Navy of whaling crews.

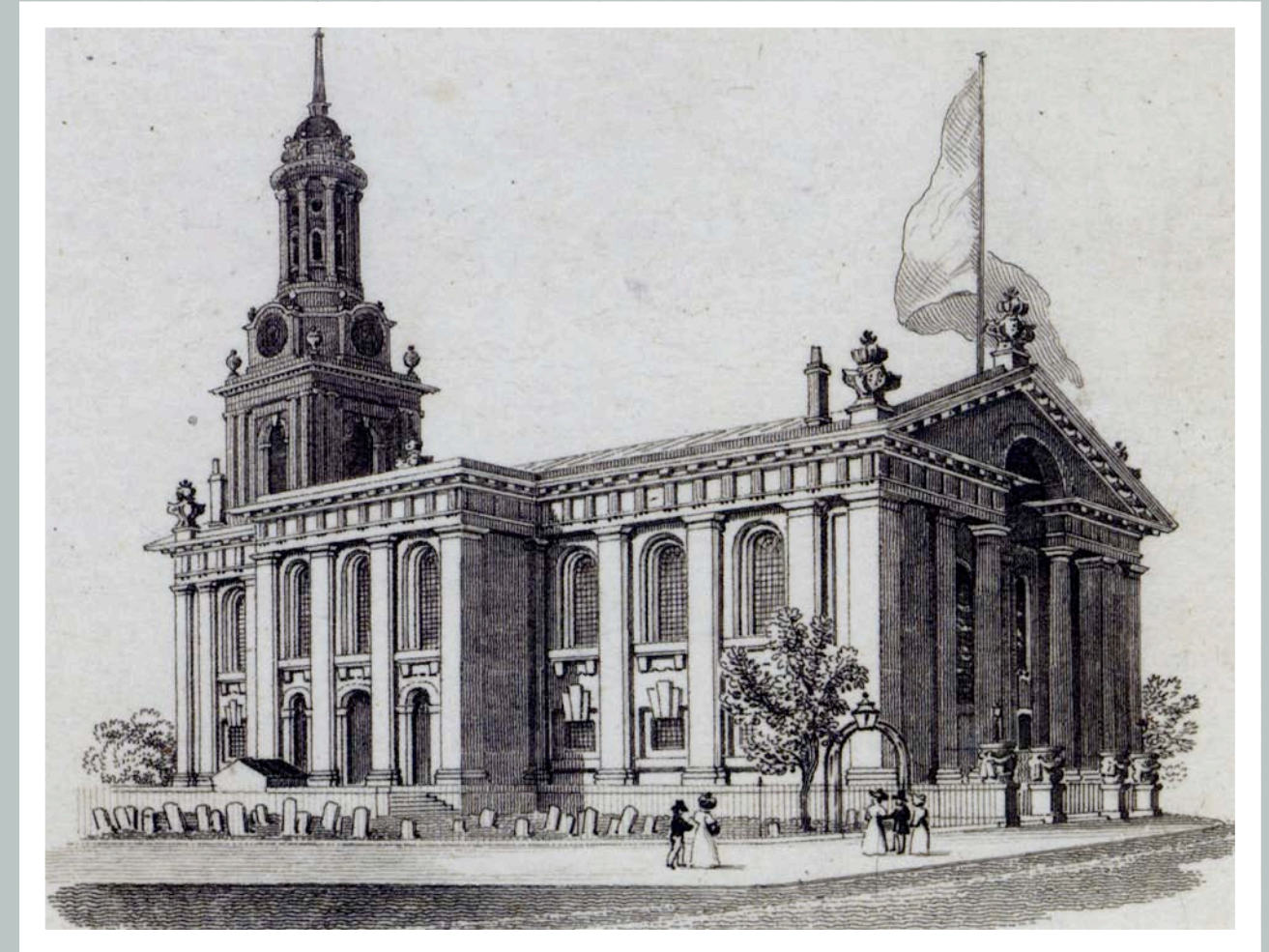
In 1791, Samuel Senior's sister Hannah died unmarried. She was buried in line with the instructions in her last Will and Testament in All Saints, Kingston upon Thames on 20 September. Her will executed on 19 March 1789 made Samuel Senior her Executor. Apart from a small bequest to her niece Mary Buxton, wife of John Buxton, she left the rest of her estate, including her interest in the leased properties in Long Lane, Trotter Alley and Stone Bridge, to her brother Samuel Senior. Hannah Enderby was illiterate and her Will was marked with an 'X'. Samuel Senior's wife died in 1793 and she was the first Enderby to be interred at Greenwich. She was buried in a vault under the Church of St Alphege on 6 July. The burial record describes her as a 'Gentlewoman'.

St Alphege is dedicated to a martyred monk who came from the small village of Deerhurst in Gloucester, then in the kingdom of Mercia. Alphege

rose to be Abbot of Bath, then Bishop of Winchester, before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury between 1006 and 1012. He was captured in Canterbury by Viking raiders in 1011 and taken to their camp in Greenwich. When he refused to allow a ransom of 60 talents of silver to be paid for his release, he was put to death on 19 April 1012. This execution is reputed to have taken place at the spot on which the present church stands.

The first church constructed there was demolished and totally rebuilt in c.1290, and it was in this medieval church that Henry VIII (1491-1547) was baptized. Henry Tudor was born in the Palace of Placentia on 28 June 1491 and baptized shortly after. The Palace of Placentia was built by Humphrey Plantagenet (1390-1447), first Duke of Gloucester in 1443. It became the favourite summer palace of the Tudors, rather than the older Eltham Place, which had been the seat of the Kings of England since Edward II (1284-1327) acquired it in 1305. Eltham Palace survives to this day, whereas the Palace of Placentia, which stood in the grounds of the Old Royal Naval College, was demolished in the late seventeenth century.

During a storm in 1710 the medieval St Alphege collapsed, its foundations having been weakened



St. Alphege Church, Greenwich

(Courtesy of St Alfege Church)

by burials both inside and out. The present church was built to a design by Nicolas Hawksmoor (1661-1736). Construction began in 1712 and was completed by 1714; however, the church was not consecrated until 1718. Readers should note that the spelling 'Alphege' is in all the old parish records consulted and will be used here when referring to them. However, the modern preference is to spell the name 'Alfege'.

Samuel Enderby Senior died a very wealthy man on 19 September 1797. His lengthy will was executed on 25 August 1796 and his three sons Charles, Samuel and George were made his joint Executors.

In the will the house at 10 Earl Street, Blackfriars went to Charles, although it stipulated that his daughter Mary Wheatley, who had been living with him there since her return from America, should be allowed to live there rent free for a period of six months if she wished to. Some of the furniture in the Earl Street house was bequeathed to his son George. This included an item described as the marriage bed of 'King Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon', which had been passed down through the family for many years. The remainder of the furniture plus china, glass, linen and plate was given to Charles.

Samuel Senior's house and other buildings in Blackheath, leased from George Legge (1755-1810), the third Earl of Dartmouth, Sir John Boyd (1718-1800), first Baronet Boyd and Morden College, went to his widowed daughter Mary Wheatley, to live there rent free for the rest of her life. Mary also got all the furniture, glass, china, silver plate and linen in the Blackheath house, plus three cows, a carthorse and all his pigs and sows. Finally, Mary received his coach, which was emblazoned with the Enderby coat of arms, and the two best coach horses.

The original family estates in Trotters Alley and Long Lane, Bermondsey, that had passed to Samuel Senior under his late sister Hannah's will, as well as his leasehold tenements in Lewisham and the properties he held in Lee and Eltham under lease from Lord Francis Augustus Elliot (1750-1813), second Baron Heathfield, were given jointly to Charles, Samuel Junior and George.

Samuel Senior confirmed the partnership gifts to his three sons as bequests and in addition, he gave Charles £2,300 and Samuel Junior and George an additional £5,000 each. On 24 June 1787, Samuel Senior had set up a trust fund of £10,000 for his widowed daughter Mary, to pay her a pension at 5% per annum interest. He instructed that an additional £5,000 be added to the principal, within

six months of his death, and that the whole should be maintained within the business under the control of his executors for a period of five years. A further £8,000 was given to his executors to hold in trust for Mary for the rest of her life - this sum to pass to Mary's daughters on her decease.

On the marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to Joseph Hetherington, he had settled on her a dowry of £5,000. He instructed that an additional £3,000 was to be added to the principal, and that the whole should be maintained within the business under the control of his executors for the rest of her life, to pay her a pension.

On the marriage of his daughter Hannah to Charles Buxton, through an Indenture of Settlement, dated 29 January 1783, and other promises, he had agreed to pay two separate sums of £5,000 to Charles Buxton as a dowry - one of which had been paid in full by the time of his death. He instructed his executors to place in trust the sum of £3,000 and to pay Hannah a 5% pension for the rest of her life.

There was a bequest of £1,000 for each of his granddaughters Elizabeth and Mary Wheatley, to be held in trust by his executors until they reach the age of twenty-one, and before that to use the interest to pay for their maintenance and

education. A similar bequest is made for Samuel Junior's children Samuel, Elizabeth and Mary.

The white lead business near Loman's Pond in Southwark, together with all stock in hand and the horses and carts, was given to his three sons, Charles, Samuel Junior and George jointly, to continue the business. They were directed to pay his daughter Mary £150 per annum from the profits. There were also small bequests to officials of the Worshipful Company of Salters and St Thomas's Hospital in Southwark.

Samuel Senior indicated that his son Samuel Junior and the late Nathaniel Wheatley had for some years been in debt to him for goods shipped to America and he released Samuel Junior and the estate of the late Nathaniel from this debt. The size of this debt was unstipulated.

By the time of his death he had fully handed over the reins of the family business to his three sons and his second son Samuel Junior had assumed the leading role. The will is interesting because it is clear that Mary is his favourite daughter and the majority of his personal bequests were to her, Charles and George. Samuel Junior received very little in comparison. Perhaps being the head of Samuel Enderby & Sons was considered by his father to be enough or that his outstanding debt,

from which he had been freed, was substantial. The date of Samuel's burial is unknown as it does not appear in the church records; however, he was buried next to his wife in the vault under St Alphege, in Greenwich.

Whatever people may think today about the whaling and seal hunting industries, in Samuel Enderby Senior's time they were respectable businesses and he was undoubtedly a leading light and prime mover in that industry. He was instrumental in the establishment of the southern whale fishery in both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Throughout his career he was a frequent and persuasive petitioner before the committee of trade, along with other merchants, seeking an extension to the fishery limits that had been imposed by the East India Company. In most cases these ambitions found favour with successive British Governments that pursued a policy of achieving British supremacy over the southern fishery. Later, members of his family were accused of exaggerating his part in these enterprises. This seems somewhat unfair, given his prominence in obtaining the backing of the British Government on many occasions and his success in challenging the power of the East India Company.

The Children of Samuel Enderby Senior

As explained earlier, Charles and Samuel Enderby Junior were made full partners in Samuel Enderby & Son on 25 March 1787. Two days later Charles married Elizabeth Goodwyn (1768-1848) and Samuel Junior married her elder sister Mary (1767-1846) at St Botolph, Aldgate on 27 March 1787. These sisters were the daughters of Henry Goodwyn (b. 1745) and Elizabeth née Gray (b. 1745) of Deptford, who ran a Brewery called the Red Lion Brewery at 7 Ratcliff Cross in St Katherine's, on the north side of the River Thames in the City of London. Henry Goodwyn was the first brewer to install a steam engine in his brewery, in May 1784. In the year of his daughters' marriages, he was the 7th largest brewer in London, producing 66,398 barrels of beer. Henry lived at one time in Cambridge House, (15-16) The Grove in Blackheath, before moving to Vanbrugh Castle, near the top of Maze Hill in Greenwich in 1792. He lived there until 1804 before moving to 6 The Paragon on Blackheath. He died there on the 28 September 1824 and was buried in St Alphege, Greenwich on 4 October.

Charles and Elizabeth had no children. They lived at 20 Dartmouth Hill, Blackheath in 1798-99. Samuel Junior and Mary lived at 14 The Grove from the death of his father, but in 1799, they

moved into to 68 Crooms Hill, also known as Loretta House, where they then lived until 1820. When Samuel Junior moved, Mary Wheatley took sole possession of 14 The Grove. In 1800, Charles and Elizabeth moved to Cambridge House and it is here that they founded an orphanage.

Charles died in Cambridge House and was buried on 10 April 1819 in the churchyard of St Alphege in Greenwich. His will, executed on 12 June 1817, left the remainder of the lease of Cambridge House to his wife and his business interests to his brother, Samuel Junior. After Charles' death Elizabeth lived on in Cambridge House, although Pigot's directory of 1840 shows Mrs Charles Enderby living in Crooms Hill, Blackheath. In 1841, she moved to West Grove House, West Grove Lane in Greenwich, after which the Enderby family had no further interest in Cambridge House. It was destroyed by fire in 1881.

Elizabeth and Charles had run a school for orphaned girls and Elizabeth continued to do this after his death. The girls at this school were known as 'Five Guinea Girls'. Pigot's directory of 1840 states 'Orphan Girls Free School, Coldbath Row, Elizabeth Enderby Governess'. Elizabeth died on 23 February 1848 and was buried in St

Alphege on 7 March. In her will, executed on 19 March 1843, she named the Honourable Sidney Campbell Henry Roper-Curzon (1797-1882) as her sole executor. She directed that the orphan girls should be provided with black gloves and hats and that they should walk in procession in front of the hearse. They should also continue to wear black for six months after her death. She directed that all her goods and chattels were to be sold in public auction. Her executor was also to dispose of the residue of the lease with Morden College on Cambridge House and the monies were to be used to wind up the girls' school and put monies into trust funds for her nieces and grand-nieces on the Goodwyn side of her family.

Samuel Junior and Mary had eleven children, two of whom died at birth. Their second and third children were boys; the first was born on 28 April 1790 and he died on 10 May without being baptized. Their second was born 16 April 1791 and died the same day. The nine surviving children were: Samuel born 16 December 1788; Elizabeth born 6 July 1792; Mary born 17 July 1795; Charles born 21 November 1797; Henry born 18 May 1800; George born 10 June 1802; William born 18 March 1805; Caroline born 6 March 1807 and Amelia who was born on 31 March 1809. The births of Samuel, Elizabeth, Mary, Charles and Henry were registered together on 25 June 1802. There is a separate

registration for George on 23 June 1802 and another for Henry on 6 December 1804. William's birth was registered on 19 July 1805; Caroline was baptized on 2 April 1807 and her birth registered on 16 June 1807. Amelia was christened on 27 April 1809.

As previously explained, Mary Enderby, Samuel Senior Enderby's eldest daughter, married Nathaniel Wheatley and she returned with him to America. They had three children; their first daughter Susanna was born in Boston, Massachusetts on 18 October 1774, then still officially a British colony. What happened to Susanna is unknown. At the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, they moved from Boston to Providence, Rhode Island and then Nantucket, to avoid the British blockade of Boston. This suggests strongly that Nathaniel was an American patriot and not a British loyalist, as some historians have suggested. In Nantucket Mary had two more daughters, Elizabeth born in February 1776 and Mary born on 8 October 1777. Nathaniel died in Nantucket on 4 September 1783. On her return to England with her two daughters Elizabeth and Mary, Mary lived with her father Samuel Senior in the City of London and on his death she moved to 14 The Grove in Blackheath, where she lived until her death in March 1829. She was buried in St Alphege churchyard on 6 April; the funeral service



George Enderby (1762-1829)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)



Elizabeth Saumarez née Enderby (1761-1855)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

was conducted by the Reverend George Mathew. In her will, executed on 10 January 1829, she named her brother George and her two daughters as joint executors.

Hannah Enderby married Charles Buxton, the son of Isaac Buxton, one of Samuel Enderby Senior's partners, on 1 February 1783 in St Alphege, Greenwich. There were no children from the marriage. Hannah died in Elizabeth Place, Dalston and her burial is registered in the West Hackney parish register on 22 December 1834. She died intestate.

Elizabeth Enderby married Joseph Hetherington at Christchurch, Southwark in 1783. Joseph died and was buried in St Mary Newington in Surrey on 13 September 1792. On 29 May 1804, at the age of 43, Elizabeth was married for a second time to Richard Saumarez, a widower.

Richard Saumarez was the fifth son of Monsieur Matthieu de Saumarez and was born in St Peter Port, Guernsey on 13 November 1786. He was the younger brother of James (1757-1836), who was an admiral in the Royal Navy; he was created Baronet in 1801 and became first Baron de Saumarez in 1831. James served as second in command to Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) at the Battle of the Nile in August 1798. Both Richard's parents died when

he was young and he came to London to study medicine, obtaining his licence from the Surgeon's Company on 7 April 1785. He married Marthe Le Mesurier in St Peter Port on 6 January 1786. There were six children from this union. In 1788, he became surgeon to the Magdalene Hospital in Streatham, where he remained until after his marriage to Elizabeth, resigning on 1 March 1805. Richard's first wife had died from consumption (tuberculosis) on 13 November 1801. After his marriage to Elizabeth he carried on a successful and lucrative practice in London until 1818, when he retired and the couple moved to Bath. He died at 12 The Circus on 29 January 1835. He was buried at St Mary, Newington in Surrey on 5 February 1835.

Elizabeth died in June 1844 and her will was proved in probate on 26 July 1844. In her will, executed on 14 June 1841, she appointed her nephews, Charles, Henry and George, as her executors. She instructed that she should be buried in the same 'vault' as her second husband Richard; however, she stipulated that the reason for this decision was based on the fact that her first husband's family vault was then full. There are a number of small bequests but the major part of her estate was to be put into trust for the benefit of her nieces, Mary and Elizabeth Wheatley, the four youngest sons of Samuel Junior, Charles,

Henry, George and William and his daughters, Mary, Elizabeth, Caroline and Amelia. There is no mention of Samuel Junior's oldest son, Samuel.

George Enderby married Henrietta Samson on 2 January 1798 at St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe in the City of London; they had no children. George and Henrietta lived at 22 Dartmouth Hill, Greenwich from 1799 and in 1802, they moved to 36 Dartmouth Row, Greenwich and resided there until 1820.

By the time Samuel Senior executed his will, his oldest son Charles was 42 and had no children, whereas Samuel Junior had an eight years old son, two daughters, and Mary was pregnant for the fourth time. Therefore, it seems only natural that Samuel Senior would consider Samuel Junior as the heir apparent to the family business over his elder brother, regardless of their capabilities.

Enderby S & Sons (1790-1829)

In 1790, Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London lists Enderby S & Sons for the first time. The address is still Paul's Wharf, Thames Street, London and the trade was stated as oil merchants, candles/glue/soap, etc. The business was now a partnership between the three brothers, although it seems that Samuel Junior was the driving force. While lucrative, the whaling oil business was seen as fairly low in the social hierarchy of London and Charles and George were keen to improve their social status by diversifying their business interests.

The continuous lobbying of government by the Enderbys, St Barbe and others, including Alexander Champion, was eventually successful and in 1800, British whalers were finally allowed to exploit fully the waters around Australia. Later that year they were also permitted to carry goods to Sydney under bond for sale to settlers.

These breakthroughs brought to an end the East India Company's monopoly over carriage and sale of goods to the Australasian colonies, a monopoly that had been granted together with one for the transportation of convicts by the British Government in 1792. In 1801, for the first time the Enderbys were able to send out the *Greenwich*

from London with goods for the penal colonies in Australia.

The story of the family business to this point is summarised in the British Library letter as follows:

'Now the English South Whale Fishery has altho' of short duration for it expired previous to 1860 being less than a century, played a most important part in the events of the world. Most probably without it we should at this time have had no settlements in Australia or New Zealand and no trade with Japan. The East India Coy had a monopoly of all trade to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; none but East India Coy's ships were allowed in those seas however as the South Sea Whalers did not wish to trade but only to catch fish in the sea, the E. I. Coy granted them licences to fish in those seas but any ship found there without a licence was liable to confiscation. In like manner the Spanish Gov. prohibited trade in the Pacific Ocean to the Westward of Cape Horn and threatened confiscation of all ships caught in those waters. Pitt, then Prime Minister of England, took the high ground and insisted that as the whalers did not trade, they could not interfere with the Spanish colonies in those parts and unless they were found within such a distance of shore as to

create such a possibility that they wanted to open intercourse with the inhabitants that they should be free from confiscation. You see therefore there was no possibility of carrying on trade by private merchants either in the East or West Indies portion of the world and where there was no trade there was no occasion to send ships of war to protect trade with the exception of the South Sea Whale Ships and a very few voyages of discovery like Cook etc. no ships visited the numerous groups of Islands in the Southern Hemisphere. The E.I. ships contenting themselves with trading to India and China'

The Governor Lends a Hand

Now with the ability to carry cargoes to Australia, Enderby S & Sons was free to pursue the expansion of its whaling and sealing activities to the south of New Zealand and they were helped in this by the enthusiastic support of Philip Gidley King (1758-1808), the Governor of New South Wales.

Philip Gidley King was born on 23 April 1758 in Launceston, Cornwall and became the third Governor of New South Wales (1800-1806). He went to Australia with the First Fleet and while there, he was appointed superintendent and commandant of the newly established settlement on Norfolk Island. There he formed a relationship with a female convict, Ann Inett, and fathered two sons named Norfolk (born on Norfolk Island on 8 January 1789) and Sydney. Where and when Sydney was born is uncertain but it is probably that it was in Sydney in 1790.

King returned to England in 1791 and on 11 March at St Martin-in-the-Fields in London, he married his first cousin, Anna Josepha Coombes (1765-1844). On 15 March, they sailed in the *Gorgon* for New South Wales, arriving at Port Jackson on 21 September. They left Port Jackson for Norfolk Island on 26 October. King retained his post on Norfolk Island until he was appointed Governor

of New South Wales on 28 September 1800.

Without hesitation, Anna adopted her husband's two illegitimate sons, whom she treated as her own. When they were old enough to be educated, King sent them to England, where it is understood that they both joined the navy and gained commissions. King never lost contact with them and when in England they were regular visitors to the Enderbys in Greenwich. Their mother married an ex-convict Richard John Robinson on 8 November 1792. Governor King granted Robinson a free pardon in January 1804.

Anna had four children of her own: Philip Parker King born on Norfolk Island on 13 December 1791; Anna Maria, born on Norfolk Island on 22 April 1793; Utricia born on Norfolk Island in October 1795 and Elizabeth, who was born on board the East Indian Company ship *Contractor* on 10 February 1797. Their last daughter Mary was born in Sydney on 1 February 1805.

Due to King's ill health, in April 1796 the family (minus Utricia who had died) set out to return to England, aboard the Enderbys' whaler *Britannia*. However, in Cape Town, they changed ships in order to improve the standard of their accommodation and it was during the passage



Philip Gidley King (1758-1808)

(Courtesy of the Library of New South Wales)

to England that Elizabeth was born. They did not finally reach England until May 1797. While in London, over the next two years, King sought to improve his health. In 1798, it was agreed that he would succeed John Hunter (1737-1821) as Governor of New South Wales. In early 1799, King made arrangements for the education of Philip and his eldest daughter Anna Maria in England. In August, King, his wife and youngest daughter Elizabeth set sail aboard the *Speedy* for Sydney. The voyage took over 5 months and they did not arrive in Port Jackson until 13 April 1800.

Anna Maria was placed in the care of Charles and Elizabeth Enderby, with whom she lived until her marriage to Hannibal Hawkins MacArthur, on 14 February 1813 in St Mary in Marylebone Road, London. She was treated like a daughter and it was Charles Enderby who gave the bride away. King's son Philip was also a regular visitor and correspondent with the Enderby family throughout his life.

King took over from John Hunter in September 1800 but by 1806, once again his health was deteriorating and at his own request he was replaced by Captain William Bligh (1754-1817). Bligh had been commander of HMS *Bounty* at

the time of the infamous mutiny in 1789. King retired on 12 August 1806 and the family set out for England in February 1807, arriving in the November. His health did not improve and he died in Tooting, Surrey on 3 September 1808.

It was this close family relationship between the Enderbys and Governor King, plus of course, the financial incentives that they offered him, that gained his enthusiastic support for their business ventures in the region for the period of his Governorship.

Voyages of Discovery

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Enderby S & Sons had no business premises in Greenwich. Their ships sailed out of London and, occasionally, Gravesend. The oil from the whales came back in barrels to be treated on the banks of the Thames, often in the Millwall area of Poplar. Seal skins, blubber and baleen were dealt with in their Bermondsey factories.

The support of Governor King had allowed Enderby S & Sons to establish a solid base in Port Jackson and from here Samuel Enderby Junior encouraged his captains to explore the Southern Ocean in search of new whaling and seal hunting grounds. In 1802, an Act of Parliament permitting fishing without licence throughout the Pacific was enacted and in the same year a whale fishery agreement was concluded with New Zealand.

The Enderbys had no illusions about the type of man that went on these voyages, as the British Library letter describes in some detail:

'The voyages generally were of about 3 years latterly sometimes of 5 years. The officers and men were entirely dependent on themselves for discipline and government as they had no civilised port to put into to redress grievances and

from the known hazardous nature of the voyage amongst unknown islands and sunken coral reefs, with barbarous and hostile natives, frequently cannibals, consequently the crew generally consisted of a wildish class of young men fond of adventure and of a reckless habits, not to say frequently of disreputable character. It was by no means an unusual occurrence for men to ship as seamen on these voyages with the intention of never returning to England but of establishing themselves among the savage islanders. These men when they succeeded in making friends with the savage tribes through their superior intellectual powers obtained a certain influence over them which seldom tended to good, they frequently got possession of land on fraudulent conditions, and when some genuine missionaries had gone out and got a good name many of the very worst of these runaways called themselves missionaries so as to have a better chance of cheating the natives and monopolising the trade which been commenced by the Captains of the whaling ships but afterwards increased to make it worthwhile to send out ships purposely for trade. They used their influence to suit their own purposes exciting the savages in favour of or against certain ships as would be most advantageous for themselves.'



James Weddell and *Jane* and *Beaufoy* Commemorative Stamps

(Courtesy of Royal Mail)

In 1805, the Enderbys' ship the *Ocean*, under the command of Captain Abraham Bristow, discovered a sub-Antarctic group of islands but was unable to land. He returned the following year, claiming them as British territory and giving the group the name 'Auckland Islands'; he also named one of the islands 'Enderby Island', after his patron.

In 1808, the *Otter*, under the command of Captain Thomas Hopper, and the *Swan*, under the command of Captain James Lindsay, headed south from San Sebastian in Argentina under instructions from their owners to search the latitude for Bouvet Island (Bouvetoya), first discovered by Jean-Baptiste Bouvet de Lozier (1705-86) on 1 January 1739. On 25 September, the vessels became separated in bad weather but on 6 October, Bouvet Island was sighted by the *Swan* and fixed at 54° 15' S and 4° 15' E. However, due to the pack ice, they were unable to approach within 4 to 5 leagues (roughly 22 to 28km). On the 10 October, the *Otter* re-joined the *Swan*, sighted the Island and took bearings, recording the latitude as 54° 24' S.

As explained earlier, Herman Melville states in *Moby Dick* that it was an Enderbys' ship that was the first to discover the whaling grounds around Japan. The whaling vessel *Syren*, commanded by Captain Frederick Coffin of Nantucket, Massachusetts, first discovered the Japanese

whaling grounds on 3 August 1819. They hunted sperm whales in the area for some time, before the *Syren* was able to return to London on 21 April 1822 with a cargo of 346 tons of sperm oil.

Some historians have stated that the Enderbys were involved in some way with the three voyages of the *Jane* to the South Shetland Islands between 1819 and 1824, under the command of Captain James Weddell (1787-1834), in which he reached the most southerly latitude achieved in that era. However, these voyages were sponsored by James Strachan, a Leith shipbuilder, and James Mitchell, a London insurance broker. They jointly owned the 160-ton brig *Jane* and after the success of Waddell's first voyage in 1819-20, there were sufficient profits for Weddell to purchase the 65-ton cutter *Beaufoy* and place her under the command of a Scotsman, Michael McLeod, for the second voyage, which was completed in March 1822. For the third voyage, Weddell commanded the twenty-two man crew of the *Jane*, and the thirteen-man crew of the *Beaufoy* was under the command of another Scotsman, Matthew Brisbane. The two ships sailed out of the Thames on 13 September 1822. Throughout 1823 both ships went sealing and exploring, and it was during these voyages that they went further south than anyone had been before. Weddell was convinced that nothing new remained to be discovered in the

latitudes they had been exploring in September and decided that he should search further to the south. By following the 40° W line of longitude, the two ships reached 66° S on 10 February 1823, and a week later they were at 71° 10' S. They were rapidly approaching the furthest south penetrated by any ship in the Southern Ocean at that time.

The season was unusually mild and tranquil, and *'not a particle of ice of any description was to be seen'*. On 17 February 1823, the two ships had reached 74° 34' S 30° 12' W. A few icebergs were sighted but there was still no sign of land, and Weddell assumed that the sea continued all the way to the South Pole. He decided to turn back, when another two days' sailing would have brought him to Coats Land. Coats Land was not discovered until the Scotia expedition of 1902-4, when it was sighted by Scottish naturalist William Speirs Bruce (1867-1921). This region would not be visited again until 1911, when Wilhelm Filchner (1877-1957) discovered the ice shelf which now bears his name. No connection between the Enderbys and this historic voyage has been found.

The Enderby Brothers' vessel *Sprightly*, under the command of Captain George Norris, rediscovered Bouvetoya on 10 December 1825, while on a sealing voyage. This time they were able to land

and on 16 December, they hoisted the Union Jack, claiming it for King George IV (1762-1830) and renaming it Liverpool Island, after Robert Jenkinson (1770-1828), the second Earl of Liverpool. During the same voyage they reported the sighting of Thomson Island close to Bouvetoya and noted that it was volcanic.

Changing of the Guard

At the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, Charles, Samuel Junior and George had become part of Greenwich and Blackheath society. They were Commissioners of Land and Assessed Taxes, and Trustees of the New Cross Turnpike Road. George was a Vice-President of the Greenwich, Lewisham and Lee Savings Bank and they all had aspirations to rise even higher in society.

The eldest brother Charles died early in 1819 at the age of 65 and was buried at St Alphege in Greenwich on 10 April. In his will, executed on 12 June 1817, his wife Elizabeth and Samuel Junior were made his executors. He left £10,000 in annuities and the residue of the Morden College lease on his Blackheath House (Cambridge House), together with all its furniture, china, glass, plate and linen, to his wife Elizabeth. He gave bank stock to the value of £1,200 to his sister Mary Wheatley. The rest of his assets, comprising his capital in the business, his South West Bridge shares and various other bonds were left in trust to his brother Samuel Junior to pay his widow Elizabeth a pension of £500 each quarter day, unless she remarried, in which case the payments were to cease and the principal was to revert to Samuel. There were a number of small individual bequests for his

immediate family, excluding Samuel Junior, who received nothing. His younger brother George received a single bequest of £100. A gift of £50 was given to Miss Sophia Vansittart (1769-1836), daughter of Emelia and Henry Vansittart (1732-1770), for the Ladies Blue Coat School, of which she was a patron. This is almost certainly the school that Anna Maria King attended.

The Blue Coat School in Greenwich was founded as a charity school in 1700 by, among others, Margaret Flamsteed (c.1670-1730), wife of the first Astronomer Royal, John Flamsteed (1648-1719). It had strong connections with St Alphege, the parish church. Among its later patrons was Henrietta Wolfe (1703-64), who is also buried in St Alphege; she was the mother of Major-General James Wolfe (1727-59) of Quebec fame. From 1748, entry to the school was by recommendation from one of a committee of ladies, or from one of those 'gentlefolk' who financially supported the school by subscription. The school's order book also reported women petitioning the committee to admit their daughters. The girls and their mothers were called to a 'Ladies' Committee' meeting, so that they could be examined as to their suitability to join the school. In the event of there being more approved candidates than places, lots were

drawn to decide who should get a place. At the time of Charles' bequest the school was in Green Lane, leading to the Lime Kilns (later known as Lime Kiln Lane and now South Street), in a school house built in 1753. The school moved to Royal Hill in Greenwich sometime between 1823 and 1825. It appears there in Pigot's 1840 directory with Elizabeth Medurst as headmistress.

1829 was a difficult year for the Enderbys, due to the deaths of three family members. They were, in chronological order, Mary Wheatley née Enderby, George Enderby and Samuel Junior himself.

Mary Wheatley died and was buried in St Alphege on 6 April 1829. She was a wealthy woman and had profited greatly under her father's and elder brother Charles' wills. Her will was executed on 10 January 1829. Apart from small legacies for mourning, her entire estate was left to her two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. She appointed her brother George and her two daughters as her executors. Unfortunately, George died a few months later and the will could not be proven in probate until 3 September 1829.

In 1821, George Enderby moved away from Blackheath and bought Coombe House, near Croydon in Surrey, which he then had significantly enlarged. George died in August 1829 and

although he was still residing at Coombe House, he was buried in St Alphege, Greenwich on 17 August. George's will, executed on the 9 July 1824, left to his 'beloved and incomparable wife Henrietta', the majority of his estate. This included all his household goods and furniture (this must have included the 'Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon bed', although it is not specifically mentioned). Alternatively, she could accept the sum of £2,000 in lieu, if she chose to. She is also bequeathed the sum of £3,000 and an initial £550 payment on his decease, which was to be the first payment in a £2,200 per annum pension, for the rest of her life, irrespective of whether or not she remarried.

His wife Henrietta, his brother Samuel Junior and his nephew Charles were made his executors and trustees of a number of trust funds and legacies. An £8,000 trust was to be set up to pay the interest to his sister Mary Wheatley and this trust was to pass to the benefit of her two daughters on Mary's death. Due to Mary's earlier demise, this clause came into effect.

A further trust of £4,500 was to be set up and the annual interest was to be shared equally between his nieces Mary, Caroline and Amelia. Hannah Buxton and Elizabeth Saumarez receive £400; his nieces Mary and Elizabeth Wheatley receive £1,100

each; Captain Samuel Enderby (Samuel Junior's son) and Elizabeth Gordon (née Enderby) receive £500 each; his nephews Charles, Henry and William are given £1,500 each; Charles received an additional £400 for his trouble as executor of the will; George receives £2,500 together with his uncle's gold watch, seals and chain. There were also smaller bequests to the Larkin family from Westerham in Kent and Henrietta's family, the Samsons, from Southampton in Hampshire.

A codicil, dated 2 September 1824, recognised that Mary Enderby had married the Reverend George Mathew of St Alphege and had become Mary Mathew.

Henrietta lived on alone and moved into London. She died on 29 November 1850 and was buried, in accordance with her wishes, in the same grave as her husband in St Alphege on 7 December 1850. Her will, executed on 1 September, set up a trust fund for her two nieces, Jane Emma Heathfield (adopted daughter) and Georgina Duke. A small bequest of five guineas was made to Charles Enderby, among others, to purchase a gold ring as a keepsake.

The End of the Second Generation

Samuel Junior, now the surviving partner of the family business, did not long outlive his elder brother. He died on 24 October 1829 at Hyde Cliff, a fine Georgian mansion towards the top of Crooms Hill in Greenwich, where he had lived since 1825. He was buried on 30 October in St Alphege churchyard. Having only outlived his brother by a few weeks and being the executor of both Charles and George's estates, his will, executed on 5 October, was both lengthy and complex; it covered 29 sheets of paper.

Firstly, Samuel gave specific instructions for his funeral, which was to be 'economic' and only attended by his sons and his two sons-in-law, Henry William Gordon and the Reverend George Mathew. He appointed three of his sons, Charles, Henry and George, as joint executors.

He bequeathed to his wife Mary all his furniture, china, plate, glass and linen, plus his coach, coach-horses and their stables. She was allowed four of his paintings and a selection of his books, not to exceed the value of £50. This was over and above the books that came to Samuel Junior from her father's library. His books on voyages, charts and atlases were bequeathed to any of his sons who were prepared to carry on the business of oil

merchants. A special bequest of a painting called *The Children of Israel* was made to his son, Henry.

He instructed that all his real estate, including the dwelling house at Blackheath and its associated lands and outhouses, plus the lands and estates at Hampreston in Dorset, under his control through his late brother George's will, should be placed under the control of Charles, Henry and George, upon trust, to support a number of specific bequests. His wife was to live rent free in the house at Blackheath for a period of four years from his death. All other properties were to be sold at public auction or private sale; alternatively they could be leased for a maximum term of twenty-one years. The monies obtained from these transactions were to be placed into the trust fund.

An annual pension of £1,100 was bequeathed to his wife for the rest of her life and upon her death the money should be paid to any of his sons who continued to run the business. In addition, if Samuel's wife should outlive her sister Elizabeth, the widow of his brother Charles, she would receive a further annuity of £350 per annum. This annuity recognised that the £2,000 per annum annuity, willed to Elizabeth by Charles, would cease on her death. Mary was also to receive for

each of Samuel's daughters, until they reached the age of twenty-three, £150 per annum for their maintenance and education. This payment was conditional on her remaining a widow. In order to take advantage of the use of the house and the annuities, Mary was required to renounce any claims she may have to any other legacies within three months of Samuel Junior's death. If she refused to do so, she was to receive a single annuity of £600 per annum.

Samuel Junior's executors were instructed to purchase, as soon as was practicable, an annuity of £1,100 for Henrietta Enderby, the widow of his brother George, that George had bequeathed her and which Samuel, as his executor, had yet to purchase.

On the death of Elizabeth, his brother Charles' widow, the trustees were instructed to set up a fund of £5,000 and to pay the interest of this fund to his eldest son Samuel (aged 41). The payment of this interest was contingent on Samuel not becoming bankrupt or insolvent. If either did occur, the monies were to be paid to any of Samuel's sons attaining the age of twenty-one, and to any of his daughters attaining the age of twenty-one or marrying. Prior to that time the

monies were to be used for the maintenance and education of any such children. This clause finishes with the following sentence:

'and I do hereby release and discharge the said Samuel Enderby from any debt which he shall owe to me at the time of my decease'

The principal of this trust fund was to remain in the business until ten years after the death of Elizabeth, Charles' widow, unless agreed otherwise by the trustees.

The trustees were also directed to set up a number of trust funds to pay annual sums of interest. The values of the funds were as follows: £8,000 and £7,000 for Elizabeth (37), her husband and their heirs; the same amounts for Mary (34), her husband and their heirs. For the youngest daughters Caroline (22) and Amelia (20), trusts of £8,000 and £7,000 were awarded to each of them. The £8,000 legacies were unconditional but the £7,000 were only applicable for the period between the death of Elizabeth, Charles' widow, and the death or re-marriage of Samuel Junior's widow, Mary, and could only be exercised by returning the £8,000 principal. The will stipulated that all the principals of these trust funds should remain in the

family business for a minimum of 10 years, unless the trustees agreed otherwise.

Samuel Junior's son Charles had already been taken into partnership and at that time he had been given a £4,000 share of the capital in the business. The will bequeathed him a further £4,000 and Henry and George each an additional £8,000 capital in the business. They were all to receive interest of 5% per annum of these sums, paid from the profits of the business. If any of them were to decline to remain in the business, then the brothers remaining could pay them the 5% interest from profits or pay them the principal, at their sole discretion.

Samuel Junior directed that his sons Charles (32), Henry (29) and George (27) should continue to run the oil and shipping business in partnership, and so he bequeathed the offices and warehouses at Paul's Wharf to them jointly, in order that they could operate the business, instructing them to comply with the covenants of the lease and to pay the annual rent of £600 to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's. Charles was given the option to buy these warehouses and offices at a price of £8,000 but only on condition that he took George and Henry into equal partnership with him for a minimum term of fourteen years. There were then some complex clauses concerning borrowing

against the lease and disinheritance of any of the brothers who chose to withdraw from the business.

His youngest son William (24) was bequeathed £8,000 and £7000, under the same terms as his sisters, to be held in the business and for the trustees to pay him 5% per annum from the profits. However, there was no time limit on paying him the principal, which was at the sole discretion of the trustees.

Samuel Junior further directed that on the death of Charles' widow and during the remaining lifetime of his wife Mary, as long as she remained a widow, his daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, Caroline and Amelia and his sons Charles, Henry, George and William, should all receive an additional £200 per annum. A complicated clause in the will addressed how the legacies of his unmarried daughters, Caroline and Amelia, should be divided up in the event of either's death. The notable thing about this part of the will is that his eldest son, Samuel, is completely omitted.

Small bequests of £100 each were made for the maintenance and education of his grandchildren but, once again, the funds were to remain in the business for a minimum period of ten years.



View from One Tree Hill by Johannes Vosterman, c. 1680.

Presented to Greenwich Hospital in 1830 by the executors of Samuel Enderby (1755–1829)

© National Maritime Museum (Greenwich Hospital Collection) BHC1808.

A bequest of £70 per annum was made for the upkeep of Enderby, the wife of his son Samuel. A large gap was left in the writing to allow for the later insertion of a name which did not occur before the will went to probate. The trustees were empowered to withdraw and recommence any such payments at their sole discretion.

Samuel Junior appointed his wife Mary and his sons Charles, Henry and George as his joint executors and guardians of Caroline and Amelia, until they came of age. However, should Mary choose to re-marry, she would immediately lose her inheritance and would cease to be an executor, and more importantly guardian of her own children.

The will is interesting in many respects; Samuel Junior's primary intention was to secure his business empire and to make sure that Charles, George and Henry carried it on. His daughters are well provided for but his wife Mary, and his sons, Samuel and William, are treated quite differently. Although treated well financially, William is not seen as part of the family business. In comparison to her daughters, Mary is treated poorly and Samuel has clearly disappointed his father.

In 1830, Samuel Junior's executors presented two of his oil paintings, both by Johannes Vosterman (1643-99), to the Naval Gallery of Greenwich Hospital. One was a view of Windsor Castle c.1690 and the other was *View from One Tree Hill* c.1680. Both are now in the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich.

The Black Sheep of the Family

One might have expected Samuel Junior's eldest son Samuel to follow his father into the family business; however, this was not the case. From the age of 16 Samuel left home and opted for a career in the military. The possible reason for Samuel's departure from the family home at such a young age will be discussed in more detail later in the story. When he actually left is unclear but in a letter from Charles MacArthur to his uncle Philip Parker King (son of Philip Gidley King), it is stated that Samuel left the Enderby household just before William arrived. This would suggest that he left home in early 1805. It appears that Samuel ran away to sea and joined HMS *Monarch* as a volunteer, before transferring to HMS *Defence* on which he served during the Battle of Trafalgar.

The Battle of Trafalgar was fought on 21 October 1805, between the Royal Navy and the combined forces of France and Spain. In a transcription of the official Trafalgar Roll, Samuel is listed as a Volunteer First Class on HMS *Defence*. A note against his name reads '*Had Army Phutpore 16 Lancers*'. This is probably a mis-transcription of '*From Army Bhutpore 16th Lancers*' and may well have been added at a later date. The original Siege of Bhutpore, in what is now Rajasthan, India, took

place between 2 January and 22 February 1805. So, if Samuel was there, he would have needed to have joined the army and left home in 1804, not 1805. Also, in 1805, that regiment was known as the 16th Regiment of Light Dragoons. It wasn't until 1816 that the name was changed to the 16th (the Queen's) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons (Lancers).

Many Royal Navy sailors at the time of the Battle of Trafalgar wore red neckerchiefs to use as an emergency bandage or tourniquet in case of injury. Samuel possessed one of these red neckerchiefs but his was much more ornate. It is now in the National Maritime Museum. Their website describes it as:

'Red silk with two cream and black borders, with a swan crest and date '1805' in centre. 'S Enderby' in one corner.'

The website also states that it was made in Kazimbazar, Bengal, India. So there is a very small possibility that Samuel had it made while in India in anticipation of joining the Royal Navy. Whether or not Samuel wore this at the Battle of Trafalgar or whether he had it made, during later tours of



Red Neckerchief Belonging to Samuel Enderby (1788–1873)

© National Maritime Museum TXT0284

India, to commemorate his presence at the battle is unknown. However, given the ornate nature of the neckerchief, the latter is most likely.

Samuel Enderby's subsequent military career is summarised by the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in a list of Defence Force Personnel being retired or placed on half pay as follows:

'No 98 – Captain Enderby served with the 22nd Light Dragoons at Belgaum and Sholapore in 1818 and with the 16th Lancers at Bhutpore in 1825-6. In addition to the above he served three years in the Royal Navy as a Midshipman and was onboard HMS Defence at the Battle of Trafalgar.'

This suggests that Samuel left the Royal Navy in 1808 but it is not clear when he entered the army. Another entry in the *Gentleman's Magazine* states:

'Enderby Samuel, York Chasseurs, Ensign 31st Oct 1811'

This would indicate that Samuel joined the York Chasseurs at the rank of Ensign, being the equivalent rank of the modern Second Lieutenant, three years after leaving the Royal Navy. The York Chasseurs were a unique regiment. In the introduction to his book about them Peter Lines describes them as follows:

'Formed on 13 November 1813 from the "Better Class of Culprit and Deserter" and confined aboard Isle of Wight military prison ships, this expendable corps of "Serial Deserters" was dispatched to survive or die in the pestilential islands of Barbados, St Vincent, Jamaica, Grenada, Tobago and Guadeloupe, where 26 per cent successfully deserted and 30 per cent perished.'

As the York Chasseurs were not formed until two years after the date given in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, its validity must be considered dubious. Additionally, an announcement in the London edition of *The Gazette*, dated 17 November 1811, under the heading 'To be Cornets' states:

'Samuel Enderby Gent. By Purchase, vice Abbs promoted in the 15th Light Dragoons'

Cornet was the cavalry equivalent of Ensign and as Samuel is described as a Gentleman, this would probably indicate that this was his first entry into the Army. Purchase of commissions was typical of the time but whether he or his father provided the funds is unclear. He appears to have served initially in the 17th Dragoons and, on 21 April 1812, he purchased, or had purchased for him, a full Lieutenant's commission, as confirmed by the following War Office announcements:

'22 ditto, cornet Samuel Enderby from the 17th Dragoons, to be lieutenant, by purchase, vice Hobkirk, who retires.'

Perhaps the purchase of these two commissions was the debt referred to by his father in his will?

Samuel had to travel to India to join his regiment, as the 17th Dragoons were based there until 1822. Before he left, Samuel married Rebecca Davis at St Margaret's church in Rochester, Kent on 14 November 1812. The Goodwyn Family Bible indicates that Rebecca went to join him in India, where she died in Madras 1814. The bible then states that Samuel's second wife was Mary Maxwell, born on 11 September 1813. This is clearly an error as there are just over nine months between his marriage to Rebecca and the birth of Mary Maxwell. She has to be Samuel and Rebecca's daughter.

Mary Maxwell Enderby died on 31 March 1815 and was buried in St Alphege on 6 April 1815 at the age of 18 months. In the church register her address is given as Crooms Hill. The most probable explanation is that Rebecca stayed in England to have her child and only travelled to India to join her husband after the death of the baby - although where the middle name of Maxwell came from is a mystery.

Between 21 March and 12 April 1818, Samuel was part of the British forces that laid siege to and captured the fort at Belgaum in Karnata, India. He was also engaged in the Siege of Sholapore in Maharashtra, India that was quickly completed after heavy artillery fire forced the town to surrender on 14 May 1818.

The 17th Dragoons name was changed to the 17th Lancers (Duke of Cambridge's Own) in 1822. This regiment was famous for its role in the Charge of the Light Brigade during the Battle of Balaclava on 25 October 1854.

Samuel was promoted to Captain on 27 May 1819 and from the same date appears on the list of officers on half-pay for a lengthy period up until the 17 February 1832, when he would have been 44. However, he is listed as a Captain in the 5th Regiment of Dragoon Guards (otherwise known as The Princess Charlotte of Wales Regiment) from 23 March 1820.

On 23 December 1820, Samuel married for the second time. This time his wife was Mary Whyte from County Cavan in Ireland. The Heraldic illustrations by J. and J.B. Burke, records the event as follows:

'Mary Whyte the daughter of Francis Whyte of Redhills, Ireland who married Capt. Samuel Enderby, 5th Dragoon Guards, eldest son of Samuel Enderby. Esq. of Blackheath,....'

After the marriage Samuel returned to India with his wife. There Samuel served with the 16th Lancers at the second siege of Bhurtapore, which took place 18 January 1826. While in India, Mary gave birth to a daughter Georgina Mary on 26 September 1827 at Meerut in Uttah Pradesh, India. It appears that there was a second or earlier child from this marriage, as the *Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register*, of 10 January 1831, reports that Captain Samuel Enderby of H.M. 16th Lancers was on the passenger list of HCC *Malcolm*, departing Calcutta for London, together with his two children, Edward and Mary, and a servant Margaret Wilson. Samuel's wife Mary is not listed.

Given that in his father's will, a gap was left in the place for the name of his wife and there is no mention of any children by name, it would seem likely that Samuel was estranged from his father and in 1829, Samuel Junior had no knowledge of the two children from Samuel's second marriage. However, it is not clear why Samuel Junior did not put the name of Samuel's second wife in the will, as the marriage was some eight years before his death. Samuel did at least engage in some

correspondence with his mother. The following is an extract from a letter from Samuel's mother Mary to Philip Parker King, dated 28 October 1830:

'A letter from Sam about this week past, mentions that he proposes getting leave of absence this month to return to England, it was very short, in it he said a long one ---in reading to be sent, but it has not come to hand.'

It is likely that this letter to his mother was in response to the news that his father had died and it is possible that the longer letter referred to would contain news of his children. It certainly explains why he booked passage on the HCC *Malcolm* to return to England.

The Mary in the passenger list is clearly Georgina Mary but I have been unable to find any other records for Edward.

The following entries appear in Burke's *Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry* Vol. 2 p 1582:

'Francis Whyte of Redhills &c., who was a minor when his father died, m. in 1800, Eliza, dau. of Edward Philip Francis Esq., cousin-german to Sir Philip Francis K.B., and had four sons, I. Francis-Melville: II. James who d. young: III. John Boyle

who d. 1822: IV. Thomas who d. young. The daughters were I. Anne: II. Mary, who m. Capt. Samuel Enderby, 5th dragoon guards, eldest son of Samuel Enderby Esq. of Blackheath and has one da., Georgina Mary.....'

'Francis-Melville Whyte, of Redhills &c, who was born 3 Nov. 1801, and d. unm. 1 April 1833, having by will, dated 31 March, settled his estate on his niece Georgina Mary Enderby, with other remainders, and enjoined her to take the name and arms of Whyte.'

Burke's *Genealogical and Heraldic History* was published by Henry Colburn of Great Marlborough Street, London in 1847. So at that time Samuel's wife must have still been alive but Edward, who was probably named after his maternal grandfather, had already died. No record of his death has yet been found. According to the Goodwyn family bible, Mary, Samuel's wife died in 1865 but no record of her death or burial has been found either.

On 9 December 1831, Samuel was transferred from the 16th Light Dragoons to the 50th Regiment. There is then a large gap in the available information about him. He does not appear in the 1841, 1851 or 1861 censuses, neither does his wife, Mary. This may indicate that Samuel returned to

India or perhaps to his wife's family home in Ireland. The next record of him is on 15 October 1868, when at the age of 80, he married Emma Jemima Cleaver aged 26, at St Stephen's in Paddington. She was the daughter of a painter and glazier from Llandeilo in Carmarthenshire.

Samuel can next be found in the 1871 census living in Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire with Emma; his profession is given as Army Captain on half pay. He died at his residence of 11 Picton Place in Swansea, Glamorgan, on 5 February 1873. Cause of death was a stroke that occurred 6 weeks earlier. He was buried in Llandeilo Church graveyard where his tombstone still stands today. The inscription reads:

'To the Memory of Samuel Enderby Capt. Late of 16th Lancers. Pre. Feb 5th 1873 Aged 84.'

Within a few weeks of Samuel's death his widow married again, this time to the Reverend Joseph Johns. As a result his will was not proven in probate until 18 January 1877 but Emma was his sole executrix; he left a personal estate of less than £200.



Samuel Enderby (1788-1873)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)



Elizabeth Gordon née Enderby (1792-1873)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

Samuel Junior's Daughters

Samuel Junior's eldest daughter Elizabeth was married to Henry William Gordon (1786-1865), a Captain in the Royal Artillery, by the Reverend George Mathew, at St Alphege on 31 May 1817 and they had eleven children: Henry William Gordon (1818-87); Elizabeth Maria (1820-83); Mary Augusta (1822-93); Henrietta Charlotte (1823-80); Samuel Enderby (1824-83); Emily Georgina (1826-43); Wilhelmina Harriet (1828-99); William Augustus (1831-63); Charles George (1833-85); Frederick Wallcott Robert (1835-72) and Helen Clark (1838-1919).

Elizabeth's husband had a distinguished army career, rising to the rank of Major-General. Elizabeth's eldest son also had a distinguished military career. Educated at Sandhurst he served in the East and West Indies, as well as China. Between 1847 and 1848, he was assistant poor law commissioner in Ireland and was a relief inspector during the potato famine (1845-52). In 1855, he left the army and joined the ordnance department; he was then in the Crimea from March 1855 to July 1856. He was knighted K.C.B. (Knight Commander of the Bath) in 1877. However, the most famous of Elizabeth's sons was her ninth

child, Charles George.

Charles George Gordon was born in Woolwich Royal Artillery barracks on 28 January 1833 and was baptized in St Alphege on 28 February. He had a glittering military career and became a Major General in the British Army. He was also known at various times by the sobriquets 'Chinese Gordon', 'Gordon Pasha', and most notably 'Gordon of Khartoum'.

He saw action in the Crimean War, for which he was appointed a Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur by the Government of France on 16 July 1856. His military reputation was made in China, where he commanded the 'Ever Victorious Army,' a force of Chinese soldiers led by European officers. Gordon and his men were instrumental in putting down the Taiping Rebellion (1850-64). On many occasions they were able to defeat much larger forces, which earned him the nickname 'Chinese Gordon' and, in addition, he received honours from both the Emperor of China and Queen Victoria (1819-1901).

In 1873 (with British government approval), Gordon entered the service of the Khedive (the equivalent of Viceroy) of Egypt and Sudan under the Ottoman



Silhouette of Mary Enderby (1795-1872)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)



William Dow (1795-1866)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

Empire. He later became the Governor-General of the Sudan, where he had some success in suppressing revolts and the slave trade. In 1880, he resigned his position and returned to England. However, a serious revolt then broke out in the Sudan, led by Muhammad Ahmad, a Muslim reformer and self-proclaimed Mahdi. Gordon was sent back to Khartoum with instructions to secure the evacuation of loyal soldiers and civilians, and then to return to England. After he had arranged the evacuation of some 2,500 British civilians, going against his orders, he kept back a small group of soldiers and non-military personnel, making a confrontation inevitable. In the build-up to battle, the two leaders corresponded, each attempting to convert the other to his faith, but neither could be convinced. For almost a year Gordon's men were besieged by the Mahdi's forces. Gordon's defence of the city gained him the admiration of the British public, but not the government. They had not wished to become embroiled in a conflict (as was made clear to Gordon before he set out). Only when public pressure to act had become too great did the government reluctantly send a relief force. It arrived in Khartoum on 28 January 1885, two days after the city had fallen and Gordon had been killed.

Gordon's mother Elizabeth died in Southampton,

Hampshire on 30 November 1873. She left a personal estate of £1,500 and her two eldest sons Henry William Gordon and Samuel Enderby Gordon were named as her executors.

Samuel Junior's second daughter Mary Enderby married the Reverend George Mathew (1785-1833) at St Alphege on 2 September 1824. He was a widower and the Vicar of St Alphege from 1812 until his death. George died on 3 July 1833 and was buried at St Alphege on 10 July. There were no children from the marriage. After her husband's death, Mary was married for a second time to William Donnelly, a physician, on 12 April 1837 at St Mary, Aldermanbury in the City of London. There were no children from this second marriage either. In 1851, Mary was living with her husband at Seabrook House, Cheriton near Hythe in Kent. William died on 19 January 1858. Mary remained at Seabrook House and in 1861 she was living there with her brother Charles. She died at Burlington Villa, Spring Grove, Isleworth on 4 November 1861, leaving a personal estate of £5,000.

Caroline Enderby was married by the Reverend George Mathew to Lieutenant William Dow of the Royal Navy at St Alphege on 18 January 1830. William was born in Antigua on 23 May 1795. He was the fourth son of Archibald Dow and Martha née Byam. When still a boy he and his brother



Amelia Enderby (1809-1907)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

Charles were sent to England to Dr Burney's school for the navy at Portsmouth. They joined the Royal Navy and Charles was appointed midshipman, serving under Admiral Edward Pellew (1757-1833), first Viscount Exmouth. Admiral Pellew features in a number of the Horatio Hornblower novels by C S Forester (1899-1966). William served with distinction on a number of vessels in Europe before being transferred to the West Indies and South American stations.

The couple had four daughters: Caroline born 14 November and baptized on 14 December 1830; Mary born on 18 February and baptized 27 March 1832; Eliza Jane born on 29 April and baptized 27 May 1834, all at St John's church, Eltham and finally, Harriet Anne born 26 December 1835 and baptized at St Alphege, Greenwich on 27 January 1836.

In 1836, William was appointed to the command of the HMS *Carron*, in which he took passage to the West Indies. There he suffered two severe attacks of yellow fever; as a consequence he was invalided home in October of the same year. He became a Commander on the retired list in April 1857.

William died on 14 July 1866, leaving his estate of

£1,500 to his wife. Caroline died on 13 November 1873 in Monmouth, Monmouthshire but was buried in All Saints in Wyke Regis, Dorset, the town where her maiden aunts Elizabeth and Mary Wheatley had lived. She left a personal estate of £4,000.

Amelia Enderby never married. Though very intelligent, she was of stunted growth and ceased to develop physically after the age of twelve. On the day of the 1841 census she spent the night with her mother Mary at her house in Charlton. Also present were Henry, George and William's daughter Mary. Amelia was, at that time, living at 15 Carlton Terrace, St Marylebone, London. In the 1871 census she can be found living at 12 Neville Terrace, Kensington, where she stayed until her death on 6 July 1907. She left a personal estate of £10,282.

William Enderby (1805-76)

Samuel Junior's youngest son William, like his eldest brother, was not involved with the family business, but unlike Samuel he does not appear to have had a career of any kind. He seems to have lived the life of a gentleman of independent means! William married Mary Howis (1806-91) in St Michael's, Withyham in Sussex on 1 June 1830. They had seven children: Frances known as Fanny (1832-1911); William (1834-1916); Charles (1836-1924); Elizabeth Emily (1838-1925); Ellen Mary (1843-1920); Mary Charlotte (1845-1920) and Bertha Caroline (1851-1927). Fanny, William and Elizabeth were baptized in Withyham. Charles, Ellen and Mary were baptized in St Luke's, Charlton. Mary Charlotte was baptized in St James, Westminster. Bertha was born in Inverness.

In November 1830, while still in Withyham, William became involved with the 'Swing' rioters at Mayfield and Rotherfield. The so called 'Swing Riots' took place in the autumn of 1830, when agricultural labourers, mainly those in the southern half of England, rose up against their masters in an effort to improve the standard of living for themselves and their families. The riots seem to have been caused by a number of factors,

the main ones being poor living conditions, low wages and at least three years of poor harvests. The poor harvest of 1829 was followed by a very severe winter and this caused significant distress to poor families, dependent on farming for a living. However, the main bone of contention was the introduction of mechanised threshing machines. These machines were seen by the labourers as taking away their winter employment and it was the threshing machine that became the main target for destruction during these disturbances.

William confronted the rioters in the company of his twenty year old brother-in-law, Edward Howis. The rioters demanded that their threshing machine be disassembled and that Howis's workers join them in their march to Withyham.

Edward Howis' father was gravely ill and died shortly after the riots. As Edward was under the age of majority, William took the lead on behalf of the Howis family and initiated a Crown prosecution case at Lewes Winter Assizes against the leaders of the riot, John Wickens and Richard Hodd. John Wickens was a labourer from Crowborough and he and his brother Joseph were charged in a separate indictment with obtaining food under false pretences from the workhouse

at Withyham. John Wickens was sentenced to one year's imprisonment in the house of correction in Lewes and Richard Hodd was sentenced to 18 months in gaol. For that time these were extremely lenient sentences.

As can be seen from the christening records, William shared his time between Withyham and London until the birth of Elizabeth Emily. However, it is unlikely that he played an active part in the running of the Howis farm - that would probably have been too much like hard work for the genteel William.

In Pigot's 1837 *Directory for Inverness*, under the title 'Nobility, Gentry & Clergy', William Enderby Esq. is listed as living in Englishtown. This is confirmed by the 1841 Scottish census; he is recorded as living in Englishtown with Mary and his first 4 children. Between 1843-45, he lived at 139 Shooters Hill Road, Blackheath and between 1848-49 at 16 Lee Terrace, also in Blackheath. By 1851, William and his family were once again to be found in Scotland; the Scottish census for that year shows him living in Viewfield House, Inverness with Mary and his six children. By 1861, he was living in Frome Road in Beckington, Somerset with his wife and four daughters. His profession

is given as 'Funds & Land'. The house they lived in was then known as Prospect House and is today called Beckington House. William does not appear in the 1871 census but his wife Mary and her four daughters are still at Prospect House. Mary is described as Head of the household, which suggests that she was estranged from William. William died at Forres in Elgin, Scotland on 9 August 1876; the probate record indicates that his executors were his wife Mary and his son William, who was then living in Longford, County Longford in Ireland and was a captain in the Longford Militia. William left a personal estate valued at £3,000.

Messrs. Enderby Brothers (1829-54)

Samuel Enderby Junior had presided over the zenith of the family's whale oil business, which had grown and developed significantly from the company he inherited from his father. By 1791, the company owned or leased 68 vessels (a mixture of cargo and whaling ships) that operated in the sub-Antarctic region as well as the southern Atlantic and Pacific oceans. However, the British whalers found it increasingly difficult to compete with the Americans, who had become the pre-eminent whaling nation, and the Australians, who were more conveniently placed for Southern Ocean whaling. In addition, two decades of intense fishing and hunting in the Southern Ocean had significantly reduced the whale and seal population. By 1815, the Enderby fleet had been reduced to five whalers and at the same time, their friend and fellow Blackheath resident, Daniel Bennett, was operating a reduced fleet of just thirteen whaling vessels. To compound the problems for the Enderbys' oil business, the introduction of gas lighting was beginning to affect the demand for whale oil used for lamps.

Gas lighting was first demonstrated by William Murdoch (1754-1839) in his own house in Redruth, Cornwall in 1792. The first public street lighting with gas was demonstrated in Pall Mall, London, on

January 28 1807 by Frederick Albert Winsor (1763-1830). In 1812, Parliament granted a charter to the London and Westminster Gas Light and Coke Company and the first gas production company in the world came into being less than two years later. On 31 December 1813, Westminster Bridge was lit by gas for the first time. The writing was on the wall!

By 1830, it was clear that the family business, then renamed Messrs. Enderby Brothers, had to diversify to survive. At the same time, the lease on Paul's Wharf, the base for the family business for nearly 80 years, came due for renewal.

Charles Enderby, now 32, had been indentured as an apprentice to his father on 3 November 1812, and on 23 November 1819 had been admitted to the Worshipful Company of Coopers. With his younger brother George, who was 27, he began to restructure the business. It appears that Henry, then 29, was less enamoured with the business than his brothers and although he took up his partnership in the company, he was more interested in living the life of a gentleman.

Charles and George purchased a Thames-side site, next to what is now Morden Wharf on the



A Young Charles Enderby, 8 February 1849

Greenwich peninsula, in 1830. This site was chosen because it was downstream of the bridges over the River Thames and so allowed access to ships with tall masts. The land had been Crown property since 1694, when it was purchased to build a gunpowder store. Due to ongoing public protest about the risk of explosions, the store was finally shut down in 1769, although it appears that the gunpowder store was not entirely demolished until 1771.

The land lay idle for several years until 1800, when the area seems to have been leased as a bleach works, which included the production of vitriol – then the common name for sulphuric acid. In 1802, the land was purchased by Henry Vansittart (1777-1843), the fifth son of George Vansittart (1745-1825), and Sarah née Stonehouse (c.1746–c.1811). Henry was the nephew of Henry Vansittart (1732-70), Governor of Bengal, who was lost at sea in the *Aurora*. The *Aurora* sailed from Portsmouth in September 1769, bound for India, and the ship disappeared without a trace in the Madagascar Channel after leaving Cape Town on 27 December. Henry's widowed aunt was Emelia Vansittart (1738-1819) née Morse, the friend, neighbour and patron of the Enderbys. Henry was also first cousin to Nicholas Vansittart (1766-1851), who was the longest serving Chancellor of the Exchequer in British history. Nicholas was created

first Baron of Bexley on 1 March 1823.

Henry was a naval man and had risen to the rank of Vice-Admiral by July 1830. It has been suggested that it was Henry Vansittart who, during the period of his ownership, was responsible for refurbishing the dilapidated wharf and existing jetty. It is also possible that Henry was the first person to establish the manufacture of hemp ropes on the Greenwich peninsula site. In 1808, the rope works was in the hands of James Littlewood but he became bankrupt in 1817, and the rope works was made over to a Mr Young, who operated it until 1828. Horwood's map of London, dated 1819, is the first to show a 'rope walk' on the site. The 'rope walk' also appears on the later Greenwood map of 1827.

Charles and George believed that this manufacturing facility would offer them the opportunity to diversify from the declining market for whale oil and its products. Over the next few years they invested a great deal of money in developing it by adding a sail works and a hemp factory to the already existing rope-making facilities. A boiler house and steam engine were added to mechanise the rope walk and drive looms. Until then, horses had been used to provide the power to form and lay the ropes. Over the boiler room were hemp and



Cliefden House, Eltham High Street 1909

(The Story of Royal Eltham by R C C Gregory)

spinning rooms and in other factory buildings were joinery workshops and weaving looms. This facility became known as Enderby's Hemp Rope Works and at its peak covered some 14 acres (5.66 hectares). The river frontage took the name Enderby Wharf.

In 1832, Messrs. Enderby Brothers gave up the lease to Paul's Wharf, shifting their warehousing to Poplar and their offices to 13 Great St Helen's, Bishopsgate Street. Around the same time their mother Mary moved from Hyde Cliff to Cliefden House, which still stands at 99 Eltham High Street, although it is not that easy to locate among the shop fronts.

The Enderbys had no further interest in Hyde Cliff; however, in 1877 the Ursuline Convent was established at 70 Crooms Hill, where the sisters opened a Roman Catholic School which proved very successful. In 1886, the adjoining property, St Mary's Lodge, was purchased, doubling the size of the school. Finally, in 1892 Hyde Cliff was purchased to make what is today St Ursula's Roman Catholic Girl's School.

Exploration & Discovery

Charles and his younger brother George were fascinated by science and geography, particularly the discovery of new places and things. They were both founder members of Geographical Society and served on its Council during the 1830s and 1840s.

The Geographical Society of London was founded in 1830 as an institution to promote the advancement of geographical science. Like many learned societies of the time, it started as a dining club, where select members held informal dinner debates on current scientific issues and ideas. It was first established under the patronage of King William IV (1765-1837), but later became The Royal Geographical Society when it was granted a Royal Charter by Queen Victoria in 1859.

With the decline in the returns from their existing Southern Ocean operations, it was clear that if the whale oil business was to survive, they needed to discover new fishing grounds. So the idea of sponsoring an expedition to the Antarctic was something that came naturally to Charles and George. However, it does appear that the brothers were motivated primarily by patriotism, followed by scientific and geographical discovery, rather than the promise of any commercial return.

The *Tula* and *Lively* Expedition

In 1830, Charles and George, on behalf of Messrs. Enderby Brothers, appointed Captain John Biscoe (1794-1843) as master of the 150-ton brig *Tula* to lead an expedition to find new sealing grounds in the Southern Ocean. Accompanied by the 49-ton cutter *Lively*, the *Tula* left London and by December had reached the South Shetland Islands. The expedition then sailed further south, crossing the Antarctic Circle on 22 January 1831, before turning east at latitude 60° S.

A month later, on 24 February 1831, the expedition sighted bare mountain tops through the ocean ice. Biscoe named the area Enderby Land in honour of his patrons. On 28 February, a headland was spotted, which Biscoe named Cape Ann; the mountain at the top of the headland would later be named Mount Biscoe. Biscoe kept the expedition in the area while he began to chart the coastline but after a month his and the crew's health were deteriorating, so the expedition sailed toward Australia, reaching Hobart, Tasmania in May, but not before two crewmembers had died from scurvy.

The expedition wintered in Hobart, then headed back to the Antarctic via New Zealand and the Chatham Islands. On 15 February 1832, Adelaide Island was discovered and two days later the

Biscoe Islands. They then sighted Alexander Land, discovered by a Russian expedition on 28 January 1821 and named after Tsar Alexander I (1777-1825). On 21 February, a more extensive coastline was spotted. Biscoe, by some means, concluded that he had encountered a new continent and named the area 'Graham Land', after First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham (1792-1861). It would be many years before his conclusions would be confirmed. Biscoe then charted the Pitt Islands; the first Europeans to sight these Maori inhabited islands were the crew of HMS *Chatham* in 1791. They named them after William Pitt (1708-78), the first Earl of Chatham. Biscoe then discovered and landed on a large mountainous island which was later named Anvers Island in 1898. He believed he had discovered the mainland of the Antarctic continent and so began to chart this new coastline. In so doing, by the end of April 1832, he had become only the third man, after James Cook (1728-79) and Fabian von Bellingshausen (1778-1852), to circumnavigate the continent of Antarctica.

On the journey home in July 1832, the *Lively* was wrecked off the Falkland Islands. Despite this loss and the desertion of many of his crew, Biscoe returned to London safely in the *Tula* at the

beginning of 1833. The voyage was outstanding for its persistence and seamanship and his charts proved to be of the highest quality, despite the poor equipment that he had at his disposal. However, it was not a financial success and Biscoe had to use his own funds to buy supplies on the return journey. He received much acclaim but no monetary reward. Charles Enderby, on behalf of the Geographical Society, presented him with a gold medal and, in addition, he was honoured by the Paris Société de Géographie.

The loss of the *Lively* was only partially covered by insurance, which put a financial strain on Messrs. Enderby Brothers. However in 1833, despite this loss and the lack of financial reward from the *Tula* Expedition, the Enderbys went to the market and obtained financial support for a second exploration voyage to the Antarctic. The Enderbys offered Biscoe the opportunity to take command of this second expedition, this time with the *Hopeful* and the *Rose*. Having accepted the position, he failed to complete the commission. Some accounts suggest that the ships sailed from England without him, possibly due to his ill health. Others suggest that he resigned when the ships reached the Falkland Islands. Little else is known about this unsuccessful and financially disastrous voyage.

The Voyage of the *Eliza Scott* and the *Sabrina*

Regardless of the losses of the *Tula* and *Hopeful* expeditions, the Enderby brothers remained, some might say foolishly, optimistic and determined to sponsor yet another expedition to the Antarctic. However, by 1838 they were no longer in a position to fund such a venture on their own. This time the vessels chosen for the voyage were the 154-ton schooner *Eliza Scott*, under the command of John Balleny (1770-1843), and the 54-ton cutter *Sabrina*, under the command of Thomas Freeman. To raise the necessary funding the majority holdings in these two vessels were sold to a group of London merchants. William Beale, William Borradaile, William Brown, John Buckle, James Row, Thomas Sturge and George Young took up fifty-three of the sixty-four shares, the remainder being retained by the Enderbys.

Both Balleny and Freeman had no experience in whaling in the Antarctic and although the *Sabrina* was a sound vessel, the *Eliza Scott* was not suited to the conditions encountered. Being designed as a pleasure yacht, she did not handle well in the open ocean. Balleny was a pious religious man, which must have gone down well with the evangelical Enderbys but it did not endear him to his officers and crew, and his insistence on Sunday services caused much friction on board.

The two ships sailed from London on 16 July 1838, heading south; Amsterdam Island was reached on 4 November and they arrived in Chalk Bay, New Zealand on 3 December, where a number of crew jumped ship. There they replenished food and water and setting sail on 7 January 1839, they arrived at Campbell Island nine days later. Here they encountered John Biscoe, who was then in command of the *Emma*. Keeping close together, the *Eliza Scott* and *Sabrina* sailed south again and, due to the lack of pack ice, were able to reach 69°S and 172° 11'E on 1 February 1839. Unbeknown to them this was only a day's sailing from Victoria Land, discovered by James Clark Ross (1800-62) in January 1841, and named after Queen Victoria.

This is an area of the Antarctic continent bounded by the Ross Ice Shelf and the Ross Sea. There on 9 February, three small islands were sighted through the fog and on 11 February, Freeman was able to get ashore. Two additional smaller islands were later discovered. All five were named after the merchant sponsors, the larger three being Buckle, Sturge and Young and the smaller two, Borradaile and Row. The whole group was given the name Balleny Islands. The two vessels then encountered severe weather conditions but on the 2 March, Balleny and his second mate McNab

sighted land to the south of the vessel, whose position was recorded as 64°58'S, 121°08'E. This was in fact Antarctica and today this patch of icy land is called the Sabrina Coast, after the second expedition vessel.

This expedition is particularly significant because Balleny and Freeman sailed south from New Zealand along a corridor centring on the line of longitude 175°E. The Balleny Corridor, as it is now known, through the Southern Ocean was used by a number of later explorers such as Robert Falcon Scott (1868-1912), Ernest Henry Shackleton (1874-1922), the Norwegian Roald Englebregt Gravning Amundsen (1871-1928), and the American Rear Admiral Richard Evelyn Byrd (1888-1957). Today, the Balleny Corridor is used by surface vessels resupplying the Antarctic base at McMurdo, named after the British naval officer Archibald McMurdo (1812-75), and other scientific bases located in and around the Ross Sea sector of Antarctica.

Once again, there was no material reward for the Enderby Brothers, the captains of the two ships or the other merchants that had sponsored this expedition, apart from the dubious honour of having some remote Antarctic land masses named after them. Even this privilege was not afforded

to William Brown. However, Charles Enderby did receive some public acclaim and significant kudos within the halls of the Geographical Society.

The Samuel Enderby

While organising their Southern Ocean expeditions, the Enderby Brothers continued to develop the Greenwich peninsula site and the rope and sail business. Apart from this, Charles' interests were many and varied. He became a director of the Anti-Dry Rot Company, which sold a patented preservative for timber and sails. This product was used in the building of the brothers' new ship named the *Samuel Enderby* in memory of their late father Samuel Junior.

The *Samuel Enderby* was built at J Samuel White & Co in Cowes, Isle of Wight. The company was founded by Thomas White in 1804 and had already built the *Lively* for the Enderbys. The *Lively* had proved herself an excellent vessel until her loss in the Falkland Islands, so Thomas was entrusted with the construction of the 455-ton, felt-sheathed and copper-bottomed vessel. In 1835, a model of the vessel was made by Thomas White's son Samuel and presented to the Enderby brothers.

This model was passed down through the family until it was presented to the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich. When the model was being restored in 1947, a note was found inside the hull which read:

'This model built by Sam White, West Cowes, Isle of Wight Completed Christmas one thousand eight hundred and thirty five presented to Messrs' Charles, Henry and George Enderby being a model of the ship called "Samuel Enderby" (their father) built by my father for the South Seas Whale Fishery in 1834. Sailed 1st voyage to South Seas Oct. 1834 and I am satisfied you who will read will say, well poor fellow he has been dead years, yes and I remember your breath is in his nostrils, in a short time you will be remembered with Sam White therefore prepare while you live to die, that your death may be one which shall secure to you a lasting eternity of endless bliss – Goodnight Sam White born 1815.'

The *Samuel Enderby* itself was launched in October 1834 and under the command of Captain William Lisle carried cargo between Cowes and London until 1839. The registered owners were Charles and George Enderby (subscribing owners) and Henry Enderby (non-subscribing owner). On 11 October 1836, the Enderbys sold a 10/64ths share in the vessel to William Lisle and then on 30 June 1837, a further 21/64ths to Elhanan Bickernell (1788-1861) of the London based sperm whale oil merchants, Newington Butts.



Model of the *Samuel Enderby* (1835)

© National Maritime Museum SLR0748

A Brief Venture into Subsea Telegraphy

As has been explained earlier, Charles and George were interested in science and new inventions, so it was only natural that they would dabble with the electric telegraph. William Fothergill Cooke (1806-79) and Charles Wheatstone (1802-75) were the joint owners of the first telegraph patent, awarded to them on 12 June 1837. In the same year Wheatstone sent a letter to Cooke, suggesting that the Enderby Brothers of Greenwich could make a 1,500 foot (457.2m) long cable of four wires, covered in insulated hemp. Wheatstone was also interested in a cable for what he described as 'our cross Thames experiment'. So Cooke approached Charles Enderby on the subject and as a result two experiments were planned. These were to be waterproof cables, one to go from Wheatstone's lecture hall on the north side of the Thames to the south bank and another from Euston Square to Camden Town. Unfortunately the experiments were unsuccessful, as the insulation failed due to water ingress. The Enderbys had no further involvement with telegraphy or subsea cables.

The Enderby Hemp and Rope Works

The Enderby Rope Works had grown significantly and around 1838, a line of ten dwelling houses were built for Enderbys' workers. These were located at the inland end of the 'rope walk', adjacent to what is now Blackwall Lane. These were known as 'Enderby Cottages' and stood there until the end of the nineteenth century. Around the same time that these cottages were built, the brothers' mother Mary moved from her house in Eltham to one on the Charlton Road, just east of Bramhope Lane.

In 1839, the brothers tried to lease additional adjacent lands from Morden College. Morden College is a long-standing charitable trust which owned a great deal of land around Blackheath and on the Greenwich peninsula. It was founded by philanthropist Sir John Morden (1623-1708) in 1695. Sir John lived much of his life at Wricklemarsh Manor, in Blackheath. Morden College itself was built between 1695 and 1700 to a design sometimes attributed to Sir Christopher Wren (1632-1723), but largely carried out by Edward Strong (1652-1724), his master mason. It is situated in a corner of the Wricklemarsh estate at 19 Saint Germans Place. However, obtaining a lease proved

difficult, as a licence was need from the trustees if anything other than a bleach house was to be built on the land. As an alternative, the Enderbys offered to exchange some land already owned by them but this apparently required Parliamentary approval, involving significant additional cost, and so negotiations broke down.

As the tenth anniversary of their father Samuel Junior's death approached, the opportunity for the beneficiaries of his will to remove their legacies from the capital of the company loomed large. On this date the right to be paid the capital would be exercisable, irrespective of any wishes of the executors to the contrary. Whether any of beneficiaries did choose to take their money out of the business is unknown but from 1840 onward, the finances of Messers. Enderby Brothers were not as strong as they had been previously.

In 1841, Charles was elected as a fellow of the Royal Society. On 6 June, when the census was taken, Charles spent the night at the Enderby Hemp Rope Works' site in East Greenwich. His occupation is given as merchant and in the same house that night were George Adamson, a rope

maker, Adamson's wife Sarah, who is described as a housekeeper, and Thomas Goodger, a groom. This is an unusual household for a wealthy merchant and it is questionable whether this was Charles' permanent address. The Tithe Map of 1840 only shows a small cottage and gardens on the site to the north of the rope works and no other dwelling houses. It is, therefore, most likely that Charles spent the night of 6 June 1841 in this cottage and that his permanent residence was elsewhere. The Electoral Registers for London between 1832 and 1845 list Charles, George and Henry's qualification to vote as 'House, Counting House and Warehouses' in Millwall, Poplar but it is unlikely that he lived there either. There is a strong possibility that, at that time, Charles was actually living with his mother in her house on the Charlton Road, along with his brothers, George and Henry.

A Terrible Fire

On 8 March 1845, a devastating fire at Enderby Wharf put an end to the family's involvement in the sail and rope-making business. Contemporary reports in the *Kentish Mercury* and the *Illustrated London News* gave a description of the factory and the damage caused by the fire. The *Illustrated London News* article is reproduced in full below:

'About eight o'clock, on Sunday evening, the extensive premises belonging to Messrs. Charles, Henry, and George Enderby, patent rope, twine, and canvass manufacturers, at East Greenwich, were discovered to be on fire. The flames were first observed from without, in the rope-walk at the rear of the factory, which was a strong brick building of about 140 feet long by 40 feet deep. It was not till day-break on Monday morning that the firemen could extinguish the flames, when a scene of the utmost desolation presented itself. Of the main factory, which faced the Thames, and was the most prominent object on that bank of the river between Greenwich Hospital and Woolwich, nothing remained but its lofty walls, which in the course of the day were blown down with tremendous force by the wind.'

The machinery it contained was most extensive, and its immense value can be better judged from



The fire at Enderby Wharf, 8 March 1845

(Illustrated London News)

the fact that its completion has occupied a space of ten years. The whole of it was destroyed. It is proved that the flames were first seen raging in the store-room in the rope-manufactory, which was detached from the main building, where there had not been a light for several weeks.

There was a considerable quantity of manufactured goods deposited there, which were seen perfectly safe a few hours before the outbreak. The supposition is, therefore, that the fire either arose from spontaneous combustion, or was willfully caused by some incendiary. The factory, or waterside premises, containing joiners' workshops, spinning, card, and loom rooms, is totally destroyed. The hemp and spinning-rooms over the engine and boiler-house are burned out, and the iron roof has fallen in. The engine-room beneath is considerably damaged. The weaving workshops, fronting the factory, are greatly damaged; the roof has been partly demolished by the falling of the opposite walls. They contained twelve weaving looms, worked by machinery, which are all damaged. The dwelling-house of Mr. Enderby, on the north side of the factory, is much damaged by fire, and most of the furniture and its contents destroyed; as are also the stores at the back, and part of the rope manufactory. The rope gallery, adjoining the manufactory, is a quarter of a mile in length; about 100 feet is gone, and but

for the firemen cutting off the communication, the whole would have been levelled to the ground. Unhappily, upwards of 250 workmen are thrown out of employment by this calamitous event.

The exertions made by the military, parochial, and other authorities, as well as by the neighbours and workpeople, during the conflagration, were very efficient in saving much valuable property. The loss to the worthy proprietors, we are happy to add, is well covered by insurances.'

This article hints strongly that the fire was started deliberately and possibly by the proprietors in order to claim the insurance. It was not uncommon at that time for fires to break out spontaneously in ailing businesses but one can only speculate. The article also states that Mr Enderby's dwelling house on the north side of the factory was badly damaged. As mentioned earlier, the Tithe Map of 1840 shows that there was only a cottage and gardens north of the factory. The F W Simms Map of 1838 also shows a square building to the north of the factory. This could possibly be the dwelling house referred to in the article but could just as well be the cottage. Whether the dwelling house referred to was the one where Charles Enderby spent the night of the 1841 census, or a more substantial building that had been built on the site by the time of the fire cannot be established.

Despite the claims made by the *Illustrated London News* that the property was well insured, this may not have been the case. A note in the Morden College Archive, dated 15 August 1845, relates to the future leases and stipulated that:

'...the fire insurance covenant should cover not only the structures for which permission had been given, but all such other buildings which may be built on the land.'

This would suggest that the fire insurance only covered some of the buildings and their contents destroyed during the fire. Whatever the case may be, by June 1845, building work began on a house for Charles. Whether it was built on the foundations of the old house shown on the F W Simms map and destroyed in the fire, or whether it was an entirely new structure that was erected is uncertain. Although the existing house is roughly in the location of the house on the F W Simms map, it has a different footprint. The new house incorporated the unusual and attractive 'Octagon Room' on the first floor of the north-west corner. It has an angled bay window, which gave an excellent view up and down the river. This building still stands on the river bank and has, from that time on, been known as 'Enderby House'. It appears that construction of the house was finally completed in April 1846, and Charles was then able to take up residence.

Mary Enderby, Charles' mother, had died on 25 February 1846 and she was buried alongside her husband in St Alphege churchyard. There is no record of her executing a will, therefore, due to primogeniture, her estates would normally have passed to Charles, although it is possible that it was divided among her sons and/or used to bolster the funds of Messrs. Enderby Brothers. Whether it was or how it was distributed is unknown. In June that year, a notice was placed in the *Woolwich Journal* to the effect that the late Mrs Enderby's house in Charlton was to be let or the lease disposed of. Perhaps due to this legacy, Charles was able to take a lease on Brandish Sluice from Morden College, which he did later that year. He had the sluice covered and a coach road built up to Enderby House. The minutes of the Morden College Trust state that:

'the Enderbys have covered the Brandish Sluice and built a coach road to the new house.'

Messrs. Enderby Brothers was now a struggling concern and it appears they did not have the funds or the inclination to rebuild the rope and sail business. What viable business concerns they still had were run from the main offices in 13 Great St Helens, Bishopsgate and Enderby House in Greenwich. The business was in need of a new, profitable enterprise to rescue their ailing company.



Mary Enderby née Goodwyn (c.1767-1846)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

Looking Again to the Southern Hemisphere

Although he had never travelled to the antipodes, Charles was fascinated with Australia, New Zealand and the remote lands to the south that his father's captains had discovered, including some that bore the family name. His interest could well have been sparked in childhood by the stories of the voyages to this region that could be found in his father's library. The books and charts of these expeditions had been willed to him and his brothers on his father's death. This obsession with the Southern Ocean is what drove him to finance his own three expeditions to the Antarctic.

In the late 1830's, Charles purchased shares in the two Western Australian whaling companies; the Fremantle Whaling Company, and the Perth Whaling company, which jointly captured their first whale on 10 June 1837. In the same year, he joined a group of London ship owners, who petitioned the Board of Trade for the annexation of New Zealand, and he also joined the New Zealand Association. This lobbying was successful and on 15 June 1839, a Letters Patent was issued by the British government to expand the territory of New South Wales to include all of New Zealand.

The British Library letter describes this breakthrough as follows:

'Your grandfather (my great great grandfather) for many years before his death had been urging the English Government to colonise N. Zealand they turned a deaf ear to him but ultimately from the causes abovementioned things got into such a shame full state they could no longer put it off but were obliged to do it in self-defence, much as you will observe they have been obliged to do in Fiji during the past year 1874 and for nearly the same reasons. You will, I think, on consideration be of opinion that unless there had been whaling ships to carry out the first convicts to Sydney that the Government would have been obliged to select some nearer spot for the convicts or perhaps have done as they are obliged to do now viz. keep them in Portland.'

Once again, this is wrong because the Enderbys' whaling ships only formed part of the 'Third Fleet'.

Between 1839 and 1843, James Clark Ross commanded an Antarctic expedition comprising the vessels HMS *Erebus* and HMS *Terror* that charted much of the coastline of the continent.

The *Erebus* and *Terror* were bomb vessels – an unusual type of warship named after the mortar bombs they were designed to fire – and were

constructed with extremely strong hulls, to withstand the recoil of the mortars. This design feature proved of great value in thick ice. After the expedition both these ships were converted to steam with propeller propulsion in 1844 and took part in Rear Admiral Sir John Franklin's (1786-1847) disastrous expedition to find the North West Passage. Both ships were abandoned in pack ice in 1848. The sunken remains of the *Erebus* were re-discovered in 2014.

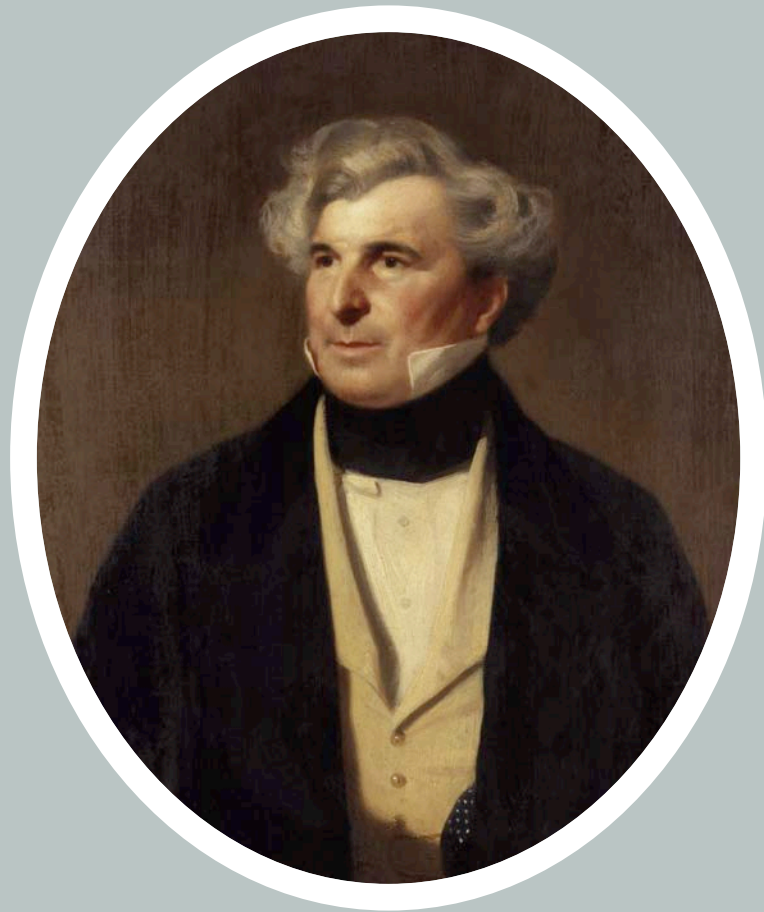
As described earlier, in 1841 James Clark Ross discovered what is now called the Ross Sea and Victoria Land. In addition, he found the volcanoes Mount Erebus and Mount Terror, which were named after the expedition's vessels. They sailed for 250 nautical miles (460 km) along the edge of the low, flat-topped ice shelf they called the Victoria Barrier, later renamed the 'Ross Ice Shelf' in his honour. In the following year, he attempted to penetrate south at about 55°W and explored the eastern side of what is now known as James Ross Island, later discovering and naming Snow Hill Island and Seymour Island. For his exploits he was awarded the Gold Medal of the Société de Géographie in 1843, knighted in 1844 and elected to the Royal Society in 1848.

During this expedition in 1840, Ross visited the Auckland Islands and discovered a natural harbour, which would later bear his name, Port Ross. On his return to England, he reported that this would be an ideal site for a whaling station. This report fired Charles' imagination and he became convinced that the islands could become a prosperous British colony that could act as a major port-of-call for ships sailing the Southern Ocean, and could also make money from whale oil and seal skins. With the fortunes of the Enderbys' existing businesses in decline, Charles and George saw such a settlement as the saviour of the family fortunes and set about launching a new company to make it a reality.



HMS Erebus and HMS Terror in the Antarctic, 1847
by John Wilson Carmichael (1800-1868)

© National Maritime Museum (BHC1215)



Sir James Clark Ross (1800-62)
by Stephen Pearce 1819-1904
(Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery)

The Southern Whale Fishery Company

On 1 March 1847, the British Government granted Charles Enderby a twenty-one year lease of the Auckland Islands, at a peppercorn rent for two years and then at £1,000 per annum, giving him the exclusive right to operate a permanent whaling station on them. The Enderbys could not afford to finance the venture on their own, so a prospectus for the Southern Whale Fishery Company was drawn up and issued. It stated:

'The Auckland Islands are exceedingly healthy and have rich virgin soil, the settlers will be free from aboriginals, there being none on the island.'

The company was formed under the chairmanship of Charles Philip Yorke (1799-1873), the fourth Earl of Hardwicke. The Enderby name was undoubtedly significant in attracting interest and investment in the new company. Charles and George worked tirelessly over the next two years, establishing the company, gathering together a fleet of whaling ships, recruiting crews and settlers skilled in various trades that would be required to build the settlement. The plans they developed for the settlement and the energy of the Enderby brothers prompted Sir James Clark Ross to remark that:

'those truly enterprising merchants the Messrs. Enderbys would find no spot combining so completely the essential requisites for a fixed whaling station.'

James Clark Ross had a residence at 2 Eliot Place, Blackheath, where an English Heritage plaque can be found on the wall.

In January 1849, Charles Enderby met for the first time Robert McCormick (1800-90) of the Royal Navy, who had sailed as ship's surgeon on the second voyage of the *Beagle* with Charles Darwin (1809-82) to the Galapagos Islands, and then had sailed with Ross on the *Erebus*. McCormick recorded this meeting in his autobiography entitled, *Voyages of Discovery in the Arctic and Antarctic Seas and around the World*, first published in 1884:

'Thursday, January 4, 1849. Having received an introduction to the Enderbys, ship owners of Great St. Helen's Bishopsgate Street, I called on them and met with a cordial reception. Mr Charles Enderby, who is going out to the Auckland Islands to establish a fishery there, had a long conversation with me on these Islands.'

It appears that Charles enquired about any drawings of the islands that McCormick may have had and indicated that Ross would be invited to a future planned dinner. McCormick's memoirs record:

'On 10th on my return late from town I found Mr. George Enderby awaiting my return at my lodgings in Woolwich to ask me to come to their dinner and at 6pm on the 17th eight of us sat down, including the two brothers, at the octagon table in an octagon shaped room. I sat next to Col. Colquhoun having Professor Airy, the Astronomer Royal opposite me.....I left at 10pm in company with Professor Airy whose way home lay in the same direction as my own. We parted company on the Greenwich Road, I taking the lower road to Woolwich reaching my lodgings at 10:45pm.'

McCormick described how, during this evening, he was shown a number of 'exotic' things, including Charles' prized possession, the 'Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon bed'. This had been passed down to Charles from his Uncle George, via his widow Henrietta before she died in 1850, but when he actually took possession of it is unclear. If it was before the 1845 fire at the rope works, then it is a strong indication that Charles did not reside on the rope works site until the current Enderby House was built, otherwise the bed would have been destroyed in the fire. It is most probable

that Henrietta gave it to him to install in the new Enderby House.

Later McCormick writes:

'February 14th I took my sketch of the Auckland Islands, which I made for Charles Enderby, to their offices at Great St. Helen's. He seemed much pleased with it.'

On 23 March, Charles took McCormick to the offices of the Southern Whale Fishery Company in Cornhill, London, where he answered questions put to him by the Chairman and Directors of the company. Charles was certainly adept at promoting his own capabilities and there is little doubt that this meeting between McCormick and the board was arranged by Charles as part of his greater plan to position himself as pivotal to the venture. Despite his lack of experience in leading such an expedition, he was able to convince the directors of his abilities and secured for himself the position of Chief Commissioner of the settlement. On 22 March 1849, Charles, George and Henry sold their remaining shares in the *Samuel Enderby* to Elhanan Bickernell and in July, Bickernell and Lisle sold her to the Southern Whale Fishery Company. Having secured the vessel, the company set the date of departure from Plymouth for the Auckland Islands as 18 August 1849.



Robert McCormick (1800-90) by Stephan Pearce (1819-1904)
(Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery)

On 18 April, Charles gave a farewell dinner at the London Tavern in Bishopsgate Street, attended by over 250 guests. Notable guests at the dinner included the President of the Board of Trade, the Astronomer Royal, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, seven MPs, three admirals, nine officers of the Royal Navy, four army colonels and five knights of the realm. Henry, George and William Enderby were also in attendance. Charles gave a speech expressing confidence in the venture, which many of his guests had agreed to finance. He held in his hand *The Whaleman's Shipping List*, which he quoted from. It listed 596 ships totalling 190,000-tons from the United States that were currently engaged in whaling and these had a total complement of some 18,000 seamen. In comparison, the British ships engaged in whaling had been reduced to just 14. In the responses to Charles' speech it was reported that he was described by one orator as *'One of the first citizens of London.'*

On 16 June 1849, Charles Enderby was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Auckland Islands by Royal Charter. His Auckland Islands lease was signed over to the Southern Whale Fishery Company on 29 June 1849 and he then entered into a ten-year contract with Southern Whale

Fishery Company, to act as Commissioner of the settlement at an annual salary of £500, plus an additional £250 per annum of what was called *'Table Money'*. The company had the right to give Charles six months' notice in writing and he was required to give them twelve months' notice in writing. This contract was executed on 30 July 1849.

The Venture Begins

The Illustrated London News recorded the departure of the *Samuel Enderby*, which took place on 17 August, a day earlier than planned, as follows:

'The Samuel Enderby represented in the accompanying Engraving, is one of three ships (the others being the Brisk and Fancy), which have just been dispatched by the Southern Whale Fishery Company to their settlement at the Auckland Islands. This fine vessel has taken out Mr. Enderby, the projector of the enterprise, in the double character of Commissioner of the Company and Governor of the Islands. Mr Enderby is accompanied by assistants, beside surgeons, and a sufficient number of persons for the whaling establishment on shore, several of them taking with them their wives and families. The Expedition is provided with all requisite stores and provisions for a lengthened period, both for the crews and settlers.'

As the flotilla of three ships sailed from Plymouth, a notice appeared in *The London Gazette* declaring that Messrs. Enderby Brothers was in financial difficulties and unable to clear its debts. The brothers had not declared bankruptcy, as they hoped to rectify the financial situation once

the Southern Whale Fishery Company became profitable. However, they did put the Enderby Hemp and Rope Works up for sale. In October that year, George asked the Morden College Trustees to take back an adjacent area of marsh land on the Greenwich peninsula, which they had leased. The minutes of the Trustees' meetings show that the Trustees were not able to do this but they did agree to try and find a *'suitable tenant'* to replace them.

The London directors of the Southern Whale Fishing Company were alerted to the notice in *The London Gazette* and naturally became concerned about the financial strength of Messrs. Enderby Brothers, and more importantly, Charles' ability to manage their company's financial affairs. Therefore, while the *Samuel Enderby* was on passage to the Auckland Islands, they executed and sent out a Power of Attorney, dated 30 October 1849. This instructed that Captain Tapsell and William Mackworth were to be joint Attorneys with Charles and that none of them could act for the company alone; however, any two could act together.

Port Ross, Auckland Islands (1849-1852)

The *Samuel Enderby* reached Port Ross on 4 December 1849; the *Brisk* arrived a week later but it was not until 1 January 1850 that the last ship, the *Fancy*, arrived. The settlers began immediately to construct the prefabricated houses that they had brought with them. This including a timber building for Charles Enderby to live in that became known as Government House. In a short time the settlement that was to be known as Hardwicke, after the chairman of the company, was established. However, from the start things did not go well and Charles did not prove to be an effective Commissioner or Governor.

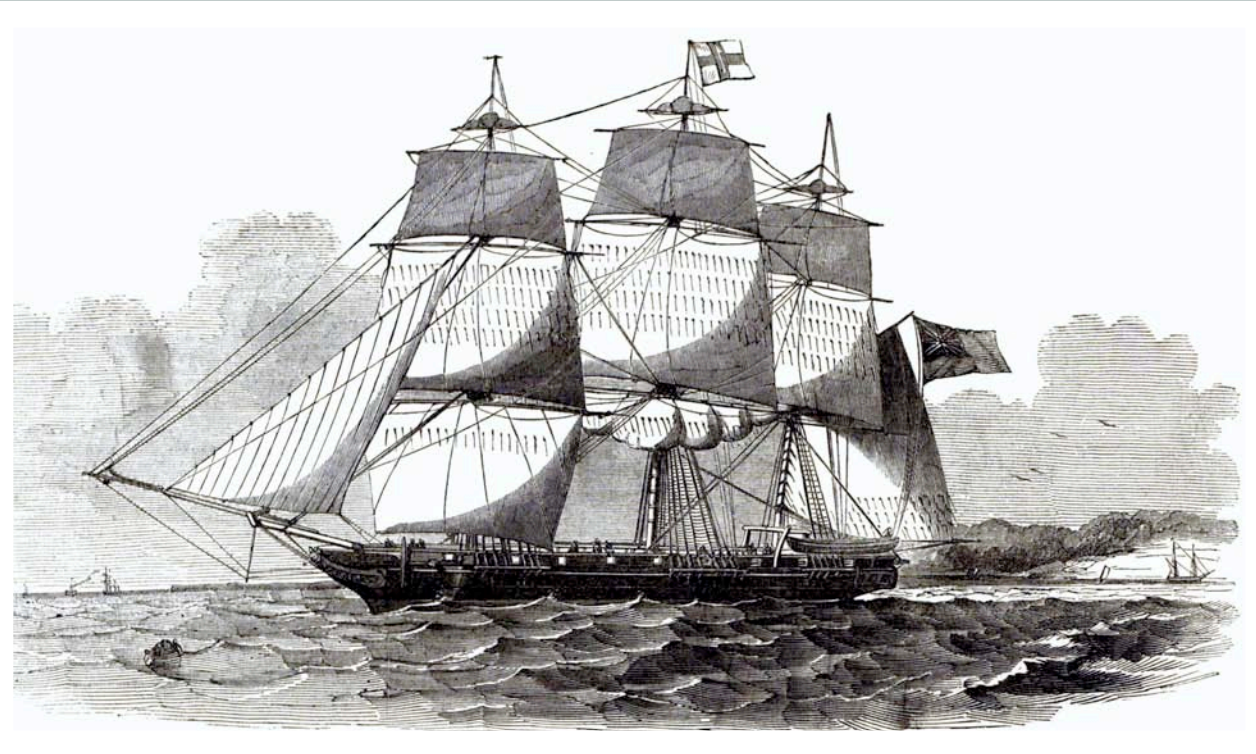
What transpired in the settlement over the next eighteen months is described in a great deal of detail in Part 2 of Barbara Ludlow's excellent essay *Whaling for Oil: The Rise and Fall of the Enterprising Enderbys*. This part of her narrative is based on the personal journals of William Mackworth, Charles' Assistant Commissioner, and William Munch, an accountant who joined the Southern Whale Fishery Company from Sydney in July 1850, and so nothing new from their perspective can be added here.

By the middle of 1851, the London directors of the Southern Whale Fishery Company were becoming

increasingly concerned about the lack of progress and the nature of the reports coming back from the settlement. They decided to send out two 'Special Commissioners' to the Auckland islands with powers to change things, including closure of the colony, if deemed necessary. These were George Dundas MP (1819-1880), from Linlithgow in Scotland, and Thomas Robert Preston, the company secretary. They arrived in Port Ross on 19 December 1851 and within three days had taken control of the settlement. By this time Charles's salary and table money had been suspended for nearly two years and so, on 27 January, he wrote a letter to the Special Commissioners, giving the required 12 months' notice of his intention to resign his position as Chief Commissioner. He also reminded them that he retained his status as Governor of the Auckland Islands. He wrote:

'I wish to be informed in my capacity as Lieutenant Governor, whether you are furnished with any power or authority from Her Majesty or the Government to act in the event of my death or quitting the Auckland Islands?'

Dundas and Preston did not respond but asked Charles to meet with them. The meeting took place the same day, at which heated discussions



The *Samuel Enderby*
(*Illustrated London News*)



The Hardwicke Settlement (1849-52)

Attributed to Charles Enderby

(Courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand)

ensued and as a result Charles backed down. On 28 January, Charles wrote to them again:

'Gentlemen, - Accompanying I send you a letter resigning my position in the company's service and which you inform me that you are empowered to accept. I also send you a letter addressed to Earl Grey tendering my resignation as Lieutenant Governor. This Letter I will seal once you have perused it, and if you would have the goodness to forward it, unless we should meanwhile agree to the contrary. I also expect from you a promise that if I should require any explanation as to the cause of any complaint against me, you will furnish the same in writing with the specific charges.'

*I am &c
Charles Enderby'*

The same day Dundas and Preston wrote to Charles accepting his resignation and waiving the 12 month notice period. The notice period, they explained, was a contingency for finding a replacement and bringing that person to the Auckland Islands, but as they were already in situ it was unnecessary.

On 30 January, Charles again wrote requesting the detailed charges against him. Dundas and Preston responded in writing the following day, stating

that since he had resigned, they felt no obligation to accede to his request. They indicated that if he had not chosen to resign, they had resolved to summarily dismiss him, as they had made clear to him at the meeting on the 27 January. They then went on to set out an account of their investigation into his actions, which they had undertaken since they arrived in Port Ross, citing ten items of misconduct.

For three weeks things remained relatively quiet but on 23 February, Charles once again wrote to Dundas and Preston, this time complaining about his treatment by them and the other company employees on the Island, and the usurping of his powers as Lieutenant Governor. Charles was taking the position that, until he heard from England that his resignation had been accepted, he remained the Crown's representative in the Auckland Islands. In this letter he makes the first reference to the death of seaman John Downs. Dundas and Preston responded immediately, denying usurping his authority and washing their hands of the attitude of the company's staff. They wrote:

'If Mr Enderby is not treated by the Company's servants with what he conceives proper respect, the special Commissioners can only regret it, they certainly found him held in very little respect at the

time of their arrival and it is not therefore to them that must be imputed the want of respect of which Mr. Enderby complains.'

They signed off by reminding him that they still held his letter of resignation to the colonial secretary, Henry George Grey (1802-94), the third Earl Grey.

On 24 February, Charles posted the following notice on the door of Government House:

'NOTICE; - This is to give notice to all persons resident on or visiting the Auckland Islands that I, Charles Enderby, the Lieutenant Governor have been grossly insulted, as well in my public as private capacity by the special Commissioners and having no power to resist or resent it, since all on the Island are in the pay of the Southern Whale Fishery Company, and would subject themselves to dismissal if they were to attend any meeting summoned, or obey orders from me which did not meet the approval of the special Commissioner, I find it impossible longer to fill the office of Lieutenant Governor, since the powers have been usurped by the special Commissioners. The public will therefore understand that from this day, although I still retain the appellation of Lieutenant Governor, I cease to attempt to exercise the duties appertaining to that office until I am

able to enforce them, since I can neither do so with satisfaction to myself, duty to my Sovereign, or justice to others, and under these circumstances as I consider the power of the special Commissioners may be equally exercised by the Magistrate and Constables, I hereby release them from their oath to me.

*(Signed) Chas. Enderby
Lieut. Governor'*

This, of course, was a red rag to a bull and things escalated quickly. Dundas and Preston responded by informing William Mackworth that he was to become Charles' successor as Commissioner of the Southern Whale Fishery Company. They instructed him to force Charles to vacate Government House, so that they could take over his residence and that Charles was to be moved into their current quarters. When approached by Mackworth, Charles refused to leave.

On 26 February, Dundas and Preston wrote again to Mackworth, this time instructing him to advise Charles that he was to vacate Government House by the 3 March and, if he did not do so, to use all necessary force to ensure that it happened. Mackworth read this letter to Charles, whereupon he responded that he would not comply and that he was determined to shoot Mackworth, or any other person attempting to remove him or his

effects by force. On the 27 February, Charles wrote a further letter to Dundas and Preston, complaining about the planned eviction but received no reply. Mackworth arrived at Government House on the morning of 28 February and, after a short confrontation, during which Charles recognised that force would be used if he resisted, he vacated the premises.

On 8 March 1852, Dundas and Preston instructed Mackworth to write to Charles, informing him that he must leave the Islands and that a passage was being arranged for him on the schooner *Black Dog* that was at that time in Port Ross, so that he could leave the Islands.

On 9 March, a letter from Mackworth informed Charles that he was required to travel to Wellington in New Zealand with the Special Commissioners on the *Black Dog*. It appears at this point that William Munce may have overheard Dundas and/or Preston say that if Charles didn't go quietly, they would take him onboard the *Black Dog* in irons, a statement they would later deny. However, HMS *Calliope* had recently arrived in Port Ross and her commander, Sir James Everard Home (1798-1853), reinforced Charles' view that he could retain his position as Lieutenant Governor until such time as he received notice from Her Majesty's Government. Strengthened by Home's support

and knowing that Dundas and Preston still held Charles's resignation letter, Charles refused to leave. HMS *Calliope* set sail from the Auckland Islands on 30 March. The *New Zealander* on 19 May 1852 explained the situation as follows:

'The following statement is taken from the "Sydney Empire" of April 26. It will be read with some interest, especially now when a promising effort is in progress for the establishment of a Whale Fishery from our own port: — By the Samuel Enderby, which arrived in this port on Saturday last, we learn that the Auckland Inlands Whaling Station has been abandoned. Two Commissioners, Messrs. George Dundas and Robert Preston, appointed by the Company in London, had arrived at Port Ross previously to the sailing of this vessel, with instructions to break up the Establishment.

It is reported that the conduct of these gentlemen towards the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Enderby, was most unnecessarily harsh and discourteous, and as it appears to have extended to an actual subversion of his Royal Commission, without any delegated authority in that respect, it will probably lead to a complicated process of litigation. On the 27th of last month, "H.M.S. Calliope" arrived at Port Ross, and an application was made to her by Mr. Enderby for assistance to maintain his position as Lieutenant-Governor, but with what particular

result we are not informed. As the Calliope left on the 30th for Hobart Town, we presume all interference in the matter was declined. It is said that Mr. Enderby was even peremptorily denied the privilege of sending letters to Sydney by the vessel which arrived on Saturday, and that in consequence they were enclosed in the Calliope's mail. A vessel was about to proceed to New Zealand, and probably to this colony, to select a new station for the Company ships; we have not, however any positive information as to her instructions.'

On 18 April in Port Ross, a public meeting of the officers and servants of the Company was called by the Special Commissioners, at which Preston informed them that they should henceforth obey the orders of William Mackworth, who was appointed Acting Commissioner. Charles later claimed that during his address Preston alluded to him, saying *'he is a murderer'*. This claim was never denied either by Dundas or Preston.

Without the backing of the Royal Navy, Charles' resistance finally gave out and on 23 April he went aboard the *Black Dog*, which sailed from Port Ross on the following day, thus bringing to an end Charles' brief but eventful residence on the Auckland Islands. *The New Zealander* on 2 June 1852 takes up the story:

'The "Black Dog" has arrived at Wellington, having on board Lieutenant-Governor Enderby, and Messrs. Dundas and Preston, the Commissioners from the Whaling Company in London, whose "harsh and discourteous conduct" towards Mr. Enderby was pointedly referred to by the "Sydney Empire". The Commissioners were sent out by the British South Sea Whale Fishery Company, to examine into the state of their affairs at Port Ross, and with the power to break up their establishment at the Auckland Isles if in the judgment of the Commissioners such a course should be deemed desirable.

The Commissioners' decision being unfavourable to Port Ross as an eligible and desirable Whaling Station, Mr. Enderby resigned his commission as Superintendent of the Station into their hands; but continued, of course, nominally the Lieutenant-Governor of the Isles. It having been determined to break up the establishment, and to seek an eligible station on the coast of New Zealand, the Commissioners insisted on Mr. Enderby accompanying them, under a threat of bringing him in irons if he would not consent. The conduct of the Commissioners, towards Mr. Enderby as the Representative of the Crown at the Auckland Isles, will be of course a subject of enquiry.'

Charles was later to claim that, during the voyage to Wellington, Preston altered the ship's log, kept by the second mate. He claimed that Preston struck through Governor Enderby, as entered in the log, and had written Mr Enderby under the names of the Special Commissioners; also that Preston had later removed the page that contained these alterations from the log. This claim was never denied.

A Court Case in Wellington

The *Black Dog* arrived in Wellington on 17 May 1852, where Charles enlisted the support of the Governor of New Zealand, Sir George Grey (1812-98). This resulted in the arrest of Dundas and Preston, although they were later released on £500 bail, mainly due to Dundas's status as an MP.

Charles started a court action against Dundas and Preston to reclaim perceived damages on 5 June 1852. The case was heard over three days by Judge Sidney Stephen in the courthouse in Wellington. He reviewed affidavits and heard submissions from council for the plaintiff and defendants.

The New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, on 30 June 1852, recorded the event as follows:

'SUPREME COURT. BEFORE HIS HONOUR SIDNEY STEPHEN, ESQ. ENDERBY Vs DUNDAS AND PRESTON. Monday, the 21st June.

The plaintiff in this action, Charles Enderby, Esq., on the 5th June instant, commenced an action against George Dundas and Thomas Robert Preston, Esquires, the Special Commissioners of the Southern Whale Fishery Company, to recover

damages by certain acts of trespass alleged to be committed by them, Messrs. Dundas and Preston, against him.'

After completing his deliberations, the judge advised the parties that he did not wish to put them to additional expense in collecting evidence and going to trial, which he considered would be abortive. His final ruling was reported as follows:

'The defendants had not gone beyond the scope of their powers as no direct force or violence was used by Mr Mackworth or the defendants in the transactions, and that consequently the action of trespass on the case brought against the defendants by the plaintiff would not lie, and as such he ordered an exoneretur to be entered into the bail piece, and as it did not appear from the affidavits that the defendants had communicated to the plaintiff the full effect of the power of their attorney, and that it could only be considered done by them when produced in Court on the application of Mr King during the argument, he thought that the action was properly brought in the first instance, and that the order of arrest was properly made, therefore he should make no order for costs. His Honour, however, intimated that the conduct of the defendants towards the

plaintiff was not what it ought to have been and the plaintiff possibly had a good cause of action against the Company for breach of contract, in which case he would find the affidavits of the defendants of much service.'

As a result of this ruling, the defendants agreed not to bring any action for wrongful arrest against the Governor and an out-of-court settlement was made, whereby Dundas and Preston were to pay Charles Enderby the sum of £400, in consideration of any future claim he may have against the Southern Whale Fishery Company. In return Charles Enderby released Dundas and Preston from all personal liability. The parties paid their own costs.

While Charles was fighting this court case in Wellington, William Mackworth and William Munce were making arrangements to close down and abandon the colony at Port Ross. On 4 August 1852, one hundred and twenty-three seamen and ninety-two colonists sailed with William Mackworth, bound for Dunedin in New Zealand, thus bringing to an end the ill-fated Hardwicke settlement. Charles remained in Wellington for another year, trying to prove breach of contract against the Southern Whale Fishing Company

and pursuing Dundas and Preston for their role in the death of John Downs. He finally abandoned these attempts and returned to England, arriving in London towards the end of 1853 with a burning sense of injustice and determined to put his grievances before parliament.

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The Enderbys Leave Greenwich

While Charles was in the southern hemisphere, his brothers moved out of the Greenwich and Blackheath area. In the 1847 Poll Book, the Enderby brothers' addresses were given as: Charles, the Ropery Greenwich (Enderby House); Henry, the company office in 13 Great St Helens, Bishopsgate Street and George, Old Charlton. On 30 March 1851, Henry was living with his maiden aunts, Elizabeth and Mary Wheatley, now in their 70s, who were living in Radwell Clearmont in Wyke Regis, Dorset. His profession is given as retired merchant. George does not appear in the 1851 census. The Poll Book for 1852 gives Charles' address as Auckland Islands, South Seas; Henry's as Weymouth, Dorset and George's as 15 Carlton Terrace, Harrow Road, Middlesex. This address was at that time the house of his youngest sister, Amelia.

When Charles returned to England from New Zealand, it is debatable whether he ever returned to Greenwich or Enderby House, which was still on the market. With him back in the country, the affairs of Messrs. Enderby Brothers could finally be wound up and the partnership was dissolved in 1854. Because the business was never declared bankrupt, there are no official papers concerning its final demise. Similarly, the family business records have almost all disappeared.

Charles was obsessed with pursuing the Southern Whale Fishery Company for breach of contract and his treatment in being thrown out of the Government House, effectively demoting him. He was also determined to bring to book Dundas and Preston for their actions, or lack of them, which he believed were directly responsible for the death of seaman John Downs. Parliamentary Papers of 1855 record letters from Charles Enderby: two bear the address of the company's offices at 13 Great St Helens, Bishopsgate Street. The others have no address and two were addressed to Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850). Peel had established the Metropolitan Police Force in London in 1829 and had been Prime Minister twice (1834-35), and again (1841-46). Although not the Prime Minister in 1849, when Charles sailed for the Auckland Islands; he was still a Member of Parliament and was being courted by a Whig/Radical coalition to stand again in the next election. Charles may have been aware of this or even had some personal relationship with Peel. It does, however, suggest that the letters addressed to Peel were composed and drafted on his passage back from New Zealand, when he may not have been aware of Peel's death, which took place on 2 July 1850. Charles' petition received no support and so did not progress, which left him feeling bitter and betrayed.

Subsea Cable Manufacture Comes to Enderby Wharf

The derelict hemp and rope works on the Greenwich peninsula was finally sold to three subsea telegraph manufacturers: George Elliot (1814-93), Richard Atwood Glass (1820-73) and William Thomas Henley (1814-82), in 1857. The manufacture of subsea telegraph cables had come to the Greenwich peninsula in 1851, when W Küper and Company, owned by Elliot, expanded from its main site in Camberwell to a Thames-side site leased from Morden College, now known as Morden Wharf. In 1854, Elliot took Glass into partnership and Glass, Elliot and Co was formed, absorbing the W Küper business.

The market continued to grow rapidly and soon Glass, Elliot and Co needed to enlarge its manufacturing capability. To do so, the company made an agreement to share the purchase of the Enderbys' Hemp Rope Works with Henley, a rival subsea cable manufacturer. The sale included Enderby House, which became the management offices and boardroom. However, the joint arrangement with Henley did not go well and by 1859, he had moved his manufacturing facilities to the other side of the Thames, establishing W T Henley's Telegraph Works Co at North Woolwich. For the next 150 years the Greenwich peninsula site, including Enderby House, would play a pivotal role

in the development of the subsea cable industry, but that story is told elsewhere.

For a more comprehensive history of subsea cable manufacture on the Greenwich peninsula site, please see the companion booklet to this: *The Story of Subsea Telecommunications and its Association with Enderby House.*

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Charles Enderby (1797-1876)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Antony Taylor)

The Brothers' Final Years

On 28 February 1858, Charles read a short paper to a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society. The subject was 'Sabrina Land', the coast of Antarctica first sighted by John Balleny and McNabb from the deck of the *Eliza Scott* and named after the other ship, the *Sabrina*, in March 1839. At the same time he donated to the Royal Geographical Society the Journals of Captain John Balleny, who had died the previous year.

In 1861, Charles Enderby wrote a letter, about his Antarctic discoveries, to Dr Norton Shaw, the Secretary of the Royal Geographical Society. The following extract from that letter gives a good insight into what Charles believed his *raison d'être* was:

'It is the duty of the Government to follow up the recent Arctic discoveries not only for the object of affording large returns from prospecting the seal fisheries but for the purpose of determining the formation of the planet we inhabit. I feel deeply interested in all that concerns the Arctic Ocean and I am very desirous to inducing some of our scientific navigation to urge on the Government the importance of equipping another expedition to those seas.'

Charles was now 63. He would never lead another expedition south and his brothers didn't share his continuing obsession with exploration of the Antarctic. In 1861, Charles was living with his widowed sister Mary Donnelly in Seabrook House, Cheriton, near Hythe in Kent. In the Census she gave her profession as 'Proprietress of Houses' and Charles gave his as 'Former Ship Owner'. George was living on his own in Orme House in Northfleet, Kent; like his brother he gave his profession as 'Former Ship Owner'. Orme house was built in the early 18th century and stood close to the banks of the River Thames. It was owned by Thomas Sturge (1787-1866), a Quaker and former whaling ship owner, who had invested in the *Eliza Scott* expedition. He had diversified into the nearby Knight, Sturge & Bevin cement works. Henry Enderby does not appear in the 1861 census.

By 2 April 1871, Charles Enderby was a lodger at 118 Devonshire Street in Holborn; he gave his profession as 'former ships' owner and 'Captain'. One can imagine that he used to relive his adventures in the Southern Ocean for the benefit of his fellow lodgers. George had moved to 77 Old Dover Road in Northfleet, Kent. After the death of its owner Orme House had been scheduled for demolition to make way for expansion of the

cement works, which took place in 1872. Once again Henry does not appear in the 1871 census.

There is a fascinating story concerning Henry Enderby's early life. Family records suggest that Henry, when he did go to work, would travel from Greenwich to Paul's Wharf in a dogcart (light horse-drawn vehicle) with a young boy, sitting on the box behind the driver. The boy was required to look after the horse and cart while Henry was at the office. It is said that gossip began to circulate to the effect that the boy was actually Henry's son, and that the rumours started because the boy had the same initials as his master. The story is that the boy in the dogcart was Henry William Eaton (1816-91), who later became first Baron of Cheylesmore.

For such a prominent man, there is little information publicly available about Henry William Eaton. Some stories suggest the family can trace its history as far back as Theodophilus Eaton, a founder of the Massachusetts Bay Co, but this is most unlikely. Henry Eaton was born 13 March 1816 and he consistently claimed in his census returns that he was born in Greenwich. However, no birth or baptismal record has been found for him, so the name of his mother and father cannot be verified. A brief biography on Wikipedia, not always a reliable source, coyly claims that Henry William Eaton was the son of Henry but no

mother's name is given. As a young man, Henry Eaton was sent to Lyons in France to learn the silk trade. Henry Eaton married Charlotte Gorham Harman on 19 October 1839. She was the only daughter of Thomas Leader Harman (1777-1823).

Thomas Leader Harman was born in London on 6 August 1777. He became one of the foremost English settlers in Louisiana, then the newest of the United States, following its purchase from France in 1803, and was one of the first directors of the Louisiana Bank in 1805. He married Charlotte Gorham (1786-1821) on 23 May 1812. Charlotte was from Barnstable County, Cape Cod, Massachusetts. She was the tenth child of Captain Sturgis Gorham and could trace her ancestry to New England patriots of the seventeenth century. Captain Gorham was a whaler and associated with the Enderbys. His family is mentioned in a letter from Samuel Senior to Nathaniel Wheatley. The couple had three children: Thomas Leader born in 1814, Francis born 1815 and Charlotte born in 1817. Thomas Leader Senior was an Alderman of the city of New Orleans and acquired a lot of property in the city, funded by his profits from the slave trade. The records show that between 1805 and 1820 he was involved in thirty-seven transactions involving individuals or families. Around 1821, the family returned to England where he freed his slaves. Thomas Leader Harman Senior died in

Everton, then the area of residence for the wealthy of Liverpool, on 19 April 1823. He is buried in St George's churchyard.

The fate of Charlotte's inheritance was bound up in her father's will, made shortly before his death. His property lay in Louisiana, a state whose legal system was based on the Code Napoleon and not on English Law. Under this code each of his children would receive an equal share of his estate, denying the eldest son the right of primogeniture, as would apply under English law. Property could not be devised by will; the heirs could only inherit the proceeds of the sale of property. A specific condition of the will was that no land was to be alienated until the youngest heir came of age, and Charlotte's twenty-first birthday was not until October 1838. In the event, the will was executed two and a half years early. A subsequent emancipation act allowed minors at the age of nineteen years to apply to a District Court to be treated as though they had reached the age of majority.

The resolving of this will was a tortuous affair and involved Thomas Harman travelling to New Orleans, and arranging a public auction of his father's property in April 1836, at which Thomas purchased some of the best properties for himself. The auction realised US\$909,500. For this act of

self-interest and other reasons, relations became strained between brother and sister and finally broke down during the negotiation of Charlotte's marriage settlement, which was only finalised the day before her wedding and executed on 21 October 1839. During the negotiations the trustees of the settlement had become increasingly polarized. On one side stood Charlotte and her fiancé Henry Eaton, with their Greenwich 'relative' Henry Enderby, who was characterized by Charlotte's brother as a blackguard, a bully and a man 'to have made money his God'. On the other side were Thomas Harman and his London solicitor, A J Baylis. Relations between Charlotte and her brother became even worse and eventually the issue came to court, when Baylis initiated Chancery proceedings against the co-trustees. The case, 'Baylis v Enderby', threatened to overwhelm Thomas Harman, who could barely afford the costs of defending the action. However, an out-of-court settlement was reached in September 1849, which effectively brought to an end the family's interest in New Orleans property.

While all the feuding over her father's will went on, Henry and Charlotte had five children. They named their first son Henry Enderby Eaton and he was born on 11 May 1841. He was followed by William Meriton Eaton, born 15 January 1843; Charlotte Harman, born 11 January 1845; Herbert

Francis, born 25 January 1848 and Frances Louise, born 18 June 1849.

The Enderby family correspondence, held in the British Library, indicates that it was a family custom for the Enderbys to sit down together every Sunday for dinner at their widowed mother Mary Enderby's house in Charlton. It transpires that on one occasion, Henry took Henry William Eaton there to dine. An unnamed member of the family refused to sit down with an 'ex-lackey' and the dinner party broke up acrimoniously. The date of this dinner is unknown but it must have been in the period between 1838 and February 1846, when Mary died.

Henry Eaton broke off all relations with the Enderby family, which probably occurred just after or coincident with the end of the Chancery proceedings. There is no record of how this separation affected Henry Enderby but around this time he left London to live with his aunts, Mary and Elizabeth Wheatley, in Wyke Regis.

Was it Henry who had paid for Henry William Eaton's apprenticeship in Lyon? Whether this was the case or not, Eaton must have learned his trade well because he went on to form William Eaton & Sons, a very successful company of China Silk Mercers. After his estrangement from the Enderbys, his rise seems meteoric. By April 1851, he was

living at 16 Prince's Gate in Kensington, overlooking Hyde Park. This prestigious address was to remain his residence for the rest of his life.

Henry Eaton had a distinguished political career from 1865 to 1880, and from 1881 to 1887, he was the Member of Parliament for the city of Coventry. In 1887, he left the commons, when he was created Baron Cheylesmore, Cheylesmore being a district of Coventry.

His eldest son, Henry Enderby Eaton, married Inna Fellowes, the daughter of Edward Fellowes (1809-87), the first Baron de Ramsey at St James, Westminster on 30 April 1872. He died early in 1879, without having any children.

Henry William Eaton died on 2 October 1891 but I have been unable to find any record of the registration of his death or a will in probate, so it is probable that he died intestate, which seems most unusual for such a wealthy and prominent figure. As part of the disposal of his estate there was a sale of his art collection by Christies in 1892. The most notable piece was the world famous *Monarch of the Glen* by Edwin Henry Landseer (1802-73). Landseer had originally painted it in 1850, as part of three pictures commissioned to be hung in the Refreshment Rooms of the House of Lords in the Palace of Westminster. However,



Henry William Eaton

Vanity Fair, 14 October 1871, Caricature by James Tissot (1836-1902)



The Monarch of the Glen
by Sir Edwin Landseer 1851

(Courtesy of National Museum of Scotland)

when the work was finished in 1851, the House of Commons refused to sanction the £150 fee and the pictures were sold privately. The first owner was William Denison (1834-1900), the first Earl of Londesborough; it was then purchased by Henry William Eaton in 1884. At the 1892 Christies sale it sold for £7,245.

The circumstantial evidence for a possible blood relationship between Henry Enderby and Henry William Eaton is strong but not conclusive, and is somewhat contradicted by Henry Enderby's later life-style.

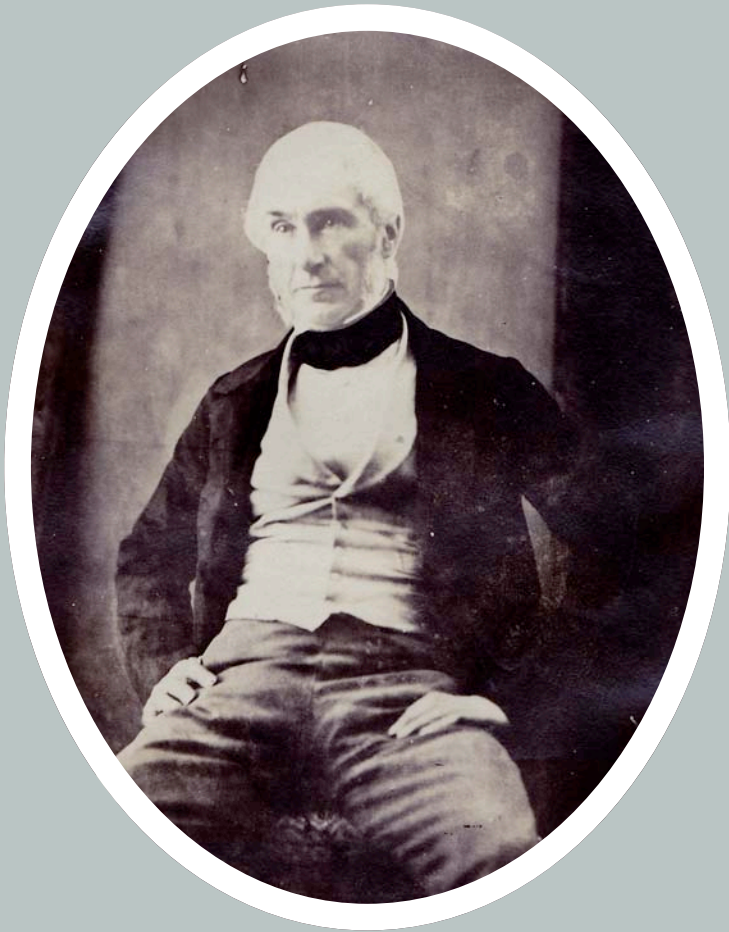
It appears that sometime after April 1851, Henry moved from his maiden aunts' house in Wyke Regis to Fulham in London, where he began an openly gay relationship with William Frandell, a professional opera singer from Wales. Homosexuality was, of course, illegal at that time and would have shocked *'polite society'*. This may have been the reason why, for the 1861 and 1871 censuses, Henry and William avoided recording the fact that they were living together. Henry died on 5 July 1876 at The Grove, Horley in Surrey. He left a personal estate of less than £100 and William Frandell Enderby was named as his sole executor.

As for the maiden aunts, Elizabeth Wheatley died in 1856 and her will went to probate on 10 May,

leaving her entire estate to her sister. Mary lived on until 3 October 1865; she left an estate of £35,000 and her executors were her nephews, Henry William Gordon (47) and Samuel Enderby Gordon (41).

Charles did not outlive his younger brother for very long and by the time of his death, he had very little money and was in poor health. He was living in lodgings in the back room of a house off the Fulham Road in London. He died at 12 Neville Terrace in Kensington, the residence of his youngest sister Amelia, on 31 August 1876. He died intestate and no record of where he was buried has yet been found.

George outlived both his brothers. On 3 April 1881, at the age of 78, he was still living at 77 Old Dover Road in Northfleet, Kent. He lived on for another ten years and, at some stage, moved to Beaumont Terrace, West Kensington, to be close to his only living sibling, Amelia. He was profoundly deaf but still liked a good argument, if he could find anyone who would engage with him. He dined at Amelia's home once a week, where it is said they used to shout at each other across the table. He died there on 30 January 1891. He left a personal estate of just £141 11s 0d. His sole executor was his nephew William, the son of his late brother.



George Enderby (1802-91)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

A Possible Royal Connection

The biggest mystery in the history of the Enderby family is why Samuel Junior's eldest son ran away to sea and then spent most of the next 25 years in the army in India, rather than joining the family business? Similarly, why did Samuel Junior's youngest son, William not become involved in the business, but still appears to have been able to live the life of a gentleman, without ever having a career of any kind? Keith R Dawson has a very plausible theory to explain this. Keith is a descendent of the Enderbys and has spent twenty-five years researching his family history. In 2010, he wrote a book on the subject called, *Caroline Princess of Wales and Other Forgotten People of History*.

Dawson believes that the teenaged Samuel Enderby had a liaison, or at least a one-night stand, with the Princess of Wales, then a mature woman of 36. The relationship appears to have developed when Samuel volunteered to dig a roman-style plunge bath in the grounds of Caroline's house. The result of this union was an illegitimate boy. Given that making the future Queen pregnant would have been high treason and punishable by death, drastic action was necessary if the situation was to be covered up. This would have gone against the principle of the puritanical Samuel

Junior and it was probably Mary, his wife, who took charge of the situation. It is suggested that the solution adopted was to send Samuel out of the country and for Mary, his mother, to claim the child as her own, once it was born. This child was christened William.

Up to this point in the family's history, no male child had ever been named William. It is also known that devout Protestants would often name illegitimate, or 'natural' boys after William the Conqueror (1028-87), who was also known as 'William the Bastard' because his mother and father never married. Other facts that support this theory have already been addressed in this narrative but here is some further relevant information.

Caroline Amelia Elizabeth of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was born on 17 May 1768. Her father was Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand (1735-1806), Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in Germany, and her mother was Princess Augusta Frederica (1737-1813), the elder sister of George III of England (1738-1820). In 1794, Caroline was engaged to her first-cousin George Augustus Frederick (1762-1830), the eldest son of George III.

George, then Prince of Wales, had an extravagant lifestyle and at the age of twenty-one, he became infatuated with Maria Fitzherbert (1756-1837). She was six years older than him, already twice a widow, and worst of all she was a Roman Catholic and therefore totally unsuitable to be the wife of a future King. However, George was determined to marry her and so a wedding took place in secret on 15 December 1785. The marriage was kept secret but reaction to George's mounting debts threatened to expose it.

In 1788, George III began showing the first signs of the illness that would incapacitate him for several years and allow his son to become Prince Regent on 5 February 1811. However, this time he recovered before Parliament could debate a Regency Bill. George's debts continued to mount and his father refused to help him unless he married legitimately. His cousin Caroline was chosen as the most suitable candidate. George acquiesced and although they had never met, they were married on 8 April 1795 in the Chapel Royal in St James' Palace. They had one child, Charlotte Augusta, born 7 January 1796, but the marriage was disastrous and despite the efforts of George III to mediate, they were formally separated the same year. George continued his profligate lifestyle, while denying Caroline access to her daughter.

Caroline left Carlton House in 1797 and went to live in the Old Rectory in Charlton, just downriver from Greenwich. In 1799, she moved to Montague House on Crooms Hill. It stood to the south of Ranger's House and was similarly set into the wall of Greenwich Park. She lived there until she went abroad in 1812. Montague House was a short distance from Samuel Enderby Junior's house, Hyde Cliff at 68 Crooms Hill. Among Caroline's visitors at Montague House were Spencer Perceval (1762-1812) and George Canning (1770-1827), a statesman and future Prime Minister. Perceval was the only British Prime Minister ever to be assassinated. He was shot by John Bellingham (c.1769-1812) in the lobby of the House of Commons at 17:15, 11 May 1812. Caroline quickly gathered around her an embryonic court; however, the indications are that its pursuits were rowdy, boisterous and frequently indiscreet. Her flirtatious manner worried some members of the government but public opinion remained indulgent. The people were sympathetic to her, as she had been left alone and neglected by her selfish husband, who maintained his relationship with Maria Fitzherbert and at least one other mistress.

In 1804, a dispute arose over the custody of their daughter, Princess Charlotte, which led to her being placed in the care of King George III. At



Caroline of Brunswick
by James Lonsdale (1777-1839) c.1820
(Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery)

the same time more serious rumours began to circulate. Lady Charlotte Douglas was the wife of Lord John Douglas (1763-1814), who had had a distinguished military career in the Royal Marines. In 1801, when Lord John had returned from Egypt due to ill-health, they came to live in Montpelier Row on Blackheath. After the birth of her first daughter, Lady Charlotte formed an intimate relationship with Princess Caroline and when her youngest daughter was born, she named her Caroline Sidney. She was baptized on 22 August 1802 at St Mary in Lewisham and the godparents were Sir Sidney Smith, the Duchess of Athol and Her Royal Highness Princess Caroline. It was Lady Charlotte who alleged that Caroline had admitted to her that she had given birth to an illegitimate child, who was known as William Austin, and her husband repeated this in royal circles in order to ingratiate himself. These rumours spread and, in the summer of 1805, they led to the setting up of a Royal Commission of Enquiry that became known as the *'Delicate Investigation'*. During the enquiry a Montague House footman, Samuel Roberts, said that *'The Princess is very fond of fucking'*. Caroline's doctors, Mills and Edmades, both denied having told Jenny Lloyd, Caroline's coffee room servant, that the Princess of Wales was pregnant.

It is believed that George III visited his daughter-in-law, with whom he sympathised, at Montague

House on several occasions and to show his support for her during the enquiry, he made her Ranger of Greenwich Park. This gave her greater financial security and independence. It appears that, in private, the Lords Commissioners received clear instructions from King George III as to the required outcome of the enquiry. On 14 July 1806, the enquiry concluded that:

'There is no foundation for believing that the child now with the Princess is the child of her Royal Highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has anything appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our enquiries - 14th July 1806.'

William Enderby was born 18 March 1805 and so was conceived in the summer of 1804, just at the time these rumours began to circulate, but he would have been born before the Royal Commission met for the first time. The Commission was not required to look at this period of Caroline's life and so it was not within the compass of its enquiries.

Spencer Percival threatened to publish a detailed account of the findings of the enquiry if Caroline was not fully restored to her royal position. Despite Caroline being hastily received at court,



Caroline's Roman Bath, Greenwich Park

the book was printed, which provided ammunition for her supporters over the next few years.

In 1814, Caroline moved to Italy, and almost as soon as she had left the country, her husband had Montague House demolished, brick by brick. The Roman Bath was not filled in until the 1980s, but in 2001, the Royal Parks re-excavated it with funding from the Friends of Greenwich Park, the Greenwich Society, the Friends of Ranger's House and individual donations. It can now be seen in the south-west corner of Greenwich Park, against the wall close to Ranger's House and next to the Rose Garden.

In Italy Caroline employed Bartolomeo Pergami as a servant. He soon became Caroline's closest companion, and it was widely assumed that they were lovers. Caroline was devastated when she heard that her daughter Charlotte had died on 6 November 1817, due to complications during childbirth. She heard the news from a passing courier - her husband had refused to write to her and deliver the sad news himself.

George was determined to divorce Caroline and set up a second investigation to collect evidence of her adultery. So, in August 1818, he appointed a three-man commission to investigate his wife's activities. However, Lord Liverpool's government was

reluctant to advise the Prince to begin proceedings for a divorce.

King George III died on 29 January 1820, and Caroline's estranged husband became King George IV, making Caroline Queen Consort. George hated her and vowed she would never be the queen. He insisted on a divorce, which she refused. On 5 June 1820, Caroline returned to Britain to assert her position as queen. She was extremely popular with the general public, whereas the new king was despised for his publically immoral behaviour. George attempted to divorce her by introducing the *'Pains and Penalties'* Bill to Parliament, soon after his accession. However, because George and the bill were so unpopular, and Caroline so revered by the masses, it was quickly withdrawn by the government.

On 19 July 1821, Caroline tried to attend George's coronation but was barred from entering Westminster Abbey, on the orders of her husband. She fell ill shortly after and died on the 7 August. George remained vindictive to the last, refusing to allow her funeral cortège to pass through London and instructing that it should only travel at night. His orders were ignored and the procession did pass through London. In accordance with her wishes, her body was taken to her native Brunswick, where it was buried.

It appears that Caroline was one of the first feminists and quite possibly a promiscuous woman. On the face of it, her life-style would not have found favour with the devoutly Protestant Enderbys but it is very likely that a close friendship did develop between her and Samuel Enderby Junior's wife Mary, when she lived in Greenwich. Such a friendship could explain why Mary's youngest children were named Caroline and Amelia. As to whether William was the love child of Samuel and Caroline, you will need to read Keith Dawson's book and draw your own conclusions.

Epilogue

It is an old cliché that the first generation founds the business, the second develops it and the third throws it away. This, however, does fit fairly well with the history of Samuel Enderby & Sons. Samuel Enderby Senior did establish a strong business based on the shipping of whale oil and then expanded into whaling and seal hunting. Under Samuel Junior the business grew to a peak in 1791 with 68 vessels owned or under charter. However, by the time Samuel Junior died, the market for whale oil was in decline and intensive fishing was threatening the stocks of whales and seals worldwide. Therefore, Charles Enderby cannot be held entirely to blame for the loss of the family fortunes. As improvements were made in gas lighting and the production of gas, it was inevitable that gas lighting would replace oil lamps. They did try to diversify into rope and sail manufacture but the Enderby brothers did make some very poor business decisions. Throughout the 1830s they spent extensively in developing the Hemp and Rope Works, building the *Samuel Enderby* and, of course, sponsoring their three profitless Antarctic expeditions. It is probable that Charles's obsession with exploration of the Antarctic, regardless of the cost and with no consideration for commercial return, set the company on its fatal course. It is

also likely that this expenditure was undertaken without consideration of the possibility that the beneficiaries of their father's will could take their capital out of the business at the end of the decade. Whether the beneficiaries trusted Charles and George with their inheritances is unknown but it is probable that most of them did take the opportunity to remove their money when it arose. Samuel Junior's daughters and his youngest son, William, all appear to have lived comfortable lives from 1840 onwards and died in relative luxury, while Charles, George, Henry and, of course, Samuel died in poverty.

It is almost certain that the brothers under-insured the Greenwich factory; it is also probable that the fire was an unfortunate accident and not set deliberately, as was intimated at the time. It is not known what lighting system was used in the factory buildings, but it would be ironic in the extreme if the products that made the family's fortune were the cause of the fire that brought the company to its knees. After the 1845 fire, whatever insurance money that was obtained was invested in building Enderby House, with a new coach road up to it, instead of rebuilding the factory. The Hemp and Rope Works had been a viable business for over a decade, so why Charles chose to build

himself a new home, rather than put the business back on its feet again, is mystifying. As a final throw of the dice, Charles and George put all their eggs into one basket and gambled everything on the success of the Auckland Island settlement, which was an abject failure.

When Enderby House was sold, the 'Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon bed' passed to Amelia Enderby and was in her guest room at 12 Neville Terrace until her death. She also had the model of the *Samuel Enderby* in her drawing room. After her death in 1907, the bed was sold at auction by Christies. Apparently, the auctioneers claimed that it was not genuine because it was made from timber that was not obtainable in Europe at the time, and so it sold for just £80. This claim seems poorly researched. Henry married Catherine on 11 June 1509. Columbus's famous voyage of discovery with the *Niña*, *Pinta* and *Santa Maria* took place in 1492. In 1493, he sailed again to the Americas, this time with a fleet of seventeen ships. *The National Geographic Magazine* of November 1986 states:

'...returning in 1496 to Spain in Niña and Santa Cruz with a cargo of gold, wood, cotton, and a barrel of sand he thought to be precious ore.'

Therefore, over a decade later, it was quite possible that the red wood from which the bed was made, unlike any wood native to England or Spain, could have been available in either country to make a bed as a wedding present for Henry and his first bride. It appears that the bed was subsequently sold to an American buyer for £800 but its whereabouts now is unknown.

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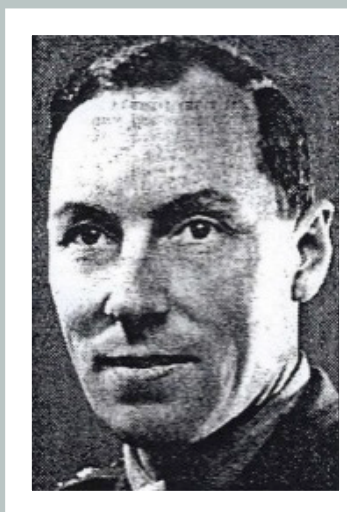
Legacy

With the death of George Enderby, the male line of the Enderbys that were engaged in Samuel Enderby & Sons came to an end – Charles, Henry and George having no legitimate heirs. Their older brother, Samuel, had no surviving male children either, so the male line only continued through William (1805-1876). William had two sons: William born in 1834 and Charles born in 1836. Charles emigrated to New Zealand, where he married and had two sons. Charles Edward was born in 1870 and in 1900 died from typhoid in South Africa, during the Boer War. Herbert Howis was born in 1879 and died in the World War I trenches. Neither of them married and so had no heirs. William married Mary Jane Folliot Nicholls in 1865 and they had two sons, Samuel Herbert, born 1867 and Charles Lewis, born 1868. It is from these two gentlemen that the name of Eponymous Enderby descends.

Samuel Herbert was a captain in the army. He fought against the Dervishes in Omdurman in 1898, and against the Boers in 1900. Samuel Herbert married Mary Isobel Cunningham on 8 September 1903. He was promoted to Colonel and commanded a battalion of Northumberland Fusiliers in the First World War.

Samuel Herbert and Mary had a son whom they named Samuel. He was born on 15 September 1907 in Northumberland. He was awarded a Military Cross in Palestine in 1939, and the Distinguished Service Order in Italy in 1943. He was promoted to Colonel and after retiring from the army in 1954, he was for 23 years a member of the Sovereign's Bodyguard, the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms. He was also an outstanding all-round athlete and horseman. Samuel married Pamela Hornby in Hexham in 1936. They had one daughter and two sons, so the male line continues through them. Samuel died in December 1996.

The Enderby family lived and owned property in the Greenwich and Blackheath area for almost a century, between 1758 and 1857, and for around fifteen years, they brought jobs to the Greenwich peninsula. There are permanent reminders of them in Greenwich today, as they lent their name to Enderby Wharf and Enderby Street in East Greenwich. Perhaps most significantly, the house that Charles lived in for just over three years, a Grade II listed building since June 1973, still bears his name. Enderby House still stands on the banks of the River Thames and is now part of a new



Samuel Enderby (1907-96)

(Courtesy of Dawn Oliver and Anthony Taylor)

housing development. In addition, a number of memorial plaques to members of the Enderby family can be found in St Alfege's church and churchyard in Greenwich town centre.

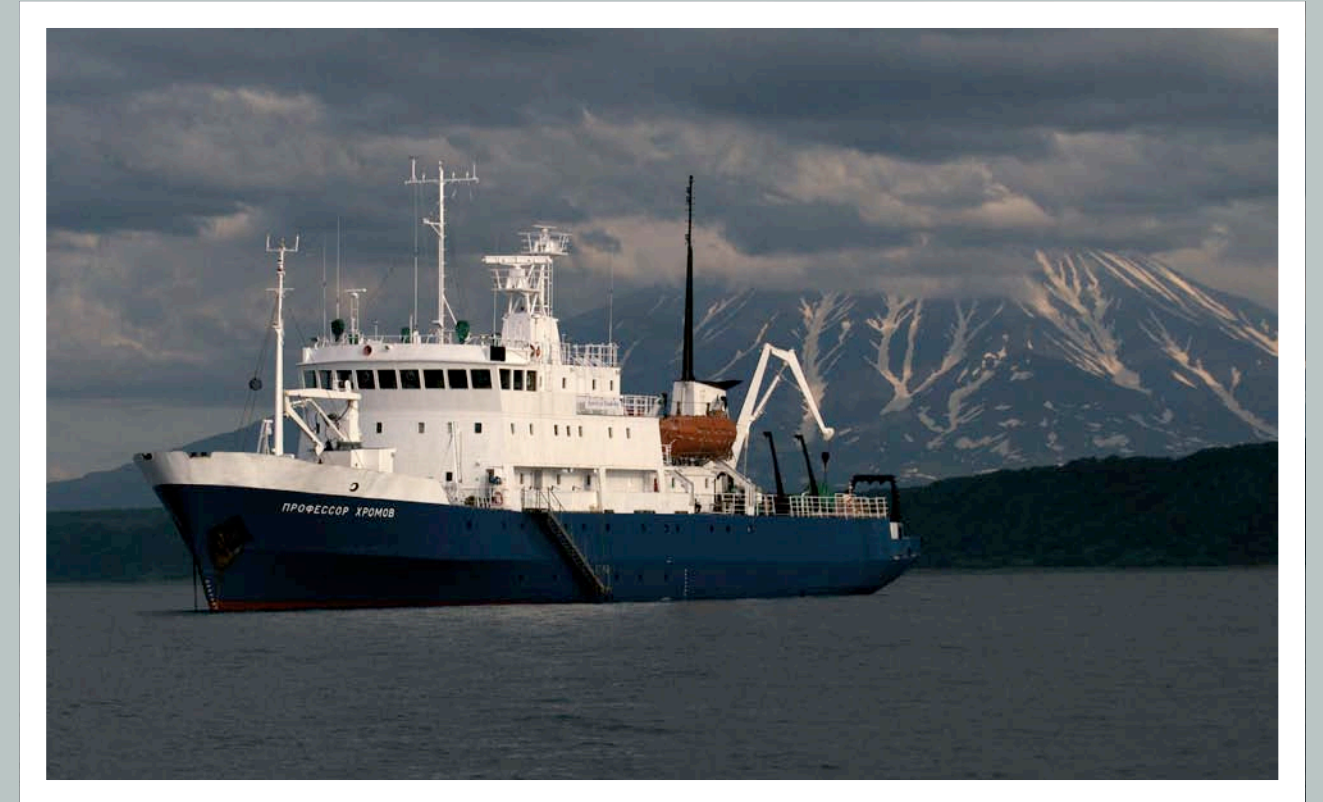
Their legacy extends to the remote Antarctic continent, through Enderby Land, Mount Gordon and Enderby Island, one of the Auckland Islands of the sub-Antarctic. There has never been a permanent settlement on the Auckland Islands. It is, however, a tourist destination, which includes the Erebus Cove Museum in the causeway boatshed, next to the landing site in what was Port Ross. A track leads to the Hardwicke settlers' cemetery and the sites of some of the houses that they built, and took down when they left, can still be made out.

The Auckland Islands are part of New Zealand and Enderby Island is now a wildlife sanctuary. The island is an 'Important Bird Area', identified as such by *Bird Life International* because of its significance as a breeding site for several rare species of seabirds, as well as the endemic Auckland Shag, Auckland Teal, Auckland Rail and Auckland Snipe. Enderby Island is also home to the unique and rare Enderby Island Rabbit, introduced from Australia in 1865.

In Christchurch, New Zealand, there is an Enderby Trust that awards scholarships, giving recipients the opportunity to experience the Southern and

Pacific Oceans in the same spirit of exploration and discovery as the vessels of Samuel Enderby & Sons in the early 19th Century. The Enderby Trust works in conjunction with one of New Zealand's expedition travel companies, Heritage Expeditions, to offer scholarship positions on expeditions to the Sub-Antarctic Islands and Antarctica aboard the Russian Federation owned *Spirit of Enderby*.

The pioneering spirit of Charles Enderby and his forefathers lives on!



The Spirit of Enderby
(Courtesy of Heritage Expeditions)



About the Author

Stewart Ash is an independent consultant to the subsea telecommunication industry. His career in subsea systems spans over 45 years, working first for STC Submarine Systems, then Cable & Wireless Marine and Global Marine Submarine Systems Ltd, before setting up his consultancy in 2005. From 1976 to 1993 he worked on the Enderby Wharf site. Stewart is a historian and has written extensively on the history of the subsea cable industry. He has written a companion booklet to this called *The Story of Subsea Telecommunications and its Association with Enderby House*.

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