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AND THE
EARLY LIFE OF SYDNEY

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Thomas Moore and the Early Life of Sydney

D. W. B. ROBINSON

A few days before Christmas in 1846, Bishop Broughton opened St James's College at Lyndhurst in the Glebe. The College was short-lived, but it represented Broughton's ambition to establish tertiary education in the colony under the auspices of the Church of England.¹ In the course of a Latin oration,² Broughton complained that no one had come forward to assist him in this plan to found a college which should be the germ of a university. But there was one exception:

One individual, a lowly man, and unlettered, living in seclusion, I think worthy of being commended after his death, with a due meed of grateful praise. I bring before your notice Thomas Moore, who (though himself destitute of literary accomplishments, yet being taught by some natural and innate power of discernment how great in the management of affairs is the use of them . . .) bequeathed his own residence and a small heritage for the purpose of a college. The insufficiency of the means provided has caused completion of the good man's design to be deferred to some future day.

Thomas Moore, landowner and magistrate at Liverpool, had died at an advanced age in 1840. At the time, it had seemed to Broughton that the terms of Moore's will would enable his own desire for a college to be fulfilled. In 1842 he wrote to his friend the Reverend Edward Coleridge at Eton:³ 'There is Moore's College to bring to maturity, in connection with the King's School at Parramatta and the [St James's] Grammar School at Sydney which are to be its feeders.' The financial depression of the 40's, however, temporarily reduced the value of Moore's estate, and Broughton had to seek other means of proceeding with his educational plans. Nevertheless, he was not unappreciative of the lowly Moore. Indeed, few things astonished Broughton in Australia as much as did the unexpected generosity of this unlettered recluse at Liverpool. His gifts and bequests seemed to change the whole outlook for the progress of the Church. There was hardly a project on Broughton's agenda for the establishment of true religion in the colony which Moore's benefactions did not promise to make possible.

Should these gifts and bequests be permitted to take effect, I must regard it as a remarkable interposition of Divine Providence, looking upon our poverty, and by the most unexpected means supplying a share of daily bread for His Church in a quarter where, unless I am an utterly false and incompetent prophet, its services will hereafter be more called for, and its fidelity more put to the proof, than perhaps in any other spot upon the earth.⁴

Broughton had known for some years that Moore intended to give a bequest to the Church. But it was only in 1838, after Mrs Moore's death, that Broughton learned, in a consultation between Moore, and Mr Justice Burton and himself, exactly what Moore proposed. His home at Moore Bank, with 2,000 acres, was to be a residence and endowment for the Bishop of Australia; another 4,000 acres was to provide the means of supplementing clerical stipends, and of supporting widows and orphans; a valuable property in Sydney was to provide an endowment for the Cathedral, whose building had recently recommenced; and a number of other causes were to be supported; his second home at Liverpool was 'to be the site of a College, to be called St Thomas's College, as a place of education connected with the Church of England, and all the land which he has in and about that town is to be devoted towards the support of the College'.⁵

Broughton could scarcely conceal his excitement when he wrote to his friends in England about the news. The character and circumstances of the donor served only to render the generosity the more remarkable:

There is in this colony an old gentleman named Moore who settled here many years ago: and being much favoured by Governor Macquarie obtained considerable property which has gone on continually accumulating . . . His origin was humble; and he is quite untutored. He had a wife, who I believe had *not* always been so respectable as her husband. She had a son who was a Captain in the Engineers. They were always very civil and hospitable to me in my visits to their house travelling through the country; and the old gentleman was forward in contributing to the support of the church [St Luke's Liverpool], the building of which, it seems, he had superintended.⁶

Broughton was also aware that Moore had been 'employed by Governor Macquarie . . . to clear away the timber and mark out the streets on the site of the intended township' of Liverpool, but he seems to have known little beyond that about his earlier life. 'He has enjoyed few advantages of education', he wrote to Coleridge,⁷ 'but he has good sense and good principles'.

He followed the sea many years: but I do not know in what capacity. I presume a subordinate one . . . His wife had been, I believe, once a prisoner of the Crown and not of very good character: however, from the time that I first saw her she was an inoffensive old person and behaved with the greatest respect, and therefore I never thought it necessary to go back into former histories: not always a pleasant inquiry even in the best of places; and *here* peculiarly ticklish and dangerous.

So much for the image of Thomas Moore as it appeared to Broughton, and as it has continued to appear—though more dimly—to such as know his name in connection with the

College eventually founded in his home in 1856, and in connection with his estate which still benefits the Church of England in many ways. The same image appears in the gloomy full-length portrait which hung for many years at Moore College and now hangs in the Cathedral Chapter House:⁸ an obscure figure, standing with his hand resting on a table, St Luke's Liverpool visible through an open window, and on the wall of the room a portrait of the bonneted Mrs Moore, inoffensive but respectful, if not always so respectable as her husband. We can appreciate Broughton being more concerned with the future than with 'going back into former histories'. But, having lost our inhibitions about the latter pursuit, we may take our cue from Broughton's own text about Moore: 'He followed the sea many years: but I do not know in what capacity. I presume a subordinate one.'

I

The brig *Britannia*, of 296 tons, owned by John St Barbe of London, sailed from Falmouth on 15 February 1792 under the command of William Raven, who was also part owner. She had been commissioned to carry stores for the four year old settlement at Botany Bay. David Collins says that she was 'the first of three ships that were to be dispatched hither having on board twelve months' clothing for the convicts, four months' flour, and eight months' beef and pork for every description of person in the settlements, at full allowance, calculating their numbers at four thousand six hundred and thirty-nine'.⁹

On 23 February a member of the crew, Godfrey Robinson Cook, who had been robbed and beaten between London and Gravesend, died of his wounds. On 2 June 'a sperm whale struck the ship an exceeding heavy blow abreast the starboard fore-chains with such violence that must have been fatal to him. The ship however received no injury.' On 9 June 'the wheel rope stranded and jamming in the leading block, the ship broached too . . . and the whole of the decks under water'.¹⁰ However, it was a comparatively fast journey of five and a half months, and *Britannia* dropped anchor in Sydney Cove in the evening of Thursday, 26 July. The next morning preparations were made to discharge the cargo. The arrival of *Britannia* gave great satisfaction to the colony, for her stores relieved the most severe shortage of provisions experienced during the governorship of Arthur Phillip. The carpenter of *Britannia* was Thomas Moore, at the time 30 years of age.¹¹

The last of the cargo was discharged by 19 August and *Britannia*, having concluded its government contract, prepared at once for sea. Captain Raven had a three-year fishing license from the East India Company, and his intention was to collect seal skins for the China market. He proposed to investigate the sealing grounds at Dusky Bay, a fiord at the south-west corner of the South Island of New Zealand, and if practicable leave a party there to collect skins. 'Duskey Bay' had first been observed and named by Captain Cook in *Endeavour* in 1770. On his

second great voyage in *Resolution*, Cook had spent five weeks at Dusky Bay, recuperating his crew and ship during March and April 1773, and exploring and charting the bays and islands of the fiord. It was Cook's observation of seals there which caused Captain Raven and his crew to turn in that direction in hope of trade nearly twenty years later.¹²

On 30 September 1792, *Britannia* moved out of Sydney Cove into the main stream of the harbour, and, leaving the Cove looking 'solitary and uncomfortable', proceeded down to Bradley's Head, where she anchored, waiting for suitable winds. Before she could sail, however, Major Grose of the New South Wales Corps made an approach to Captain Raven on behalf of himself and nine other officers of the Corps, as a result of which Raven accepted a charter to sail to the Cape of Good Hope to secure supplies. Governor Phillip disapproved of this commercial venture by the army officers, but the arrangement was made nevertheless. It was agreed that Raven would proceed via Dusky Bay in accordance with his original intention, and go from there to South Africa via Cape Horn and Brazil. So *Britannia* returned to the Cove.

'Our destination being changed', wrote Robert Murry,¹³ 'we of course were to begin a new set of operations. All hands were employed cutting and pressing hay sufficient for forty head of cattle which it was intended we should bring from the Cape of Good Hope—On Monday 22 of October we were once more ready for Sea—and on Wednesday unmoored weighed and worked out.'

Thus Thomas Moore concluded his first sojourn in New South Wales. It had lasted three months, and no doubt he had been sufficiently occupied with the concerns of the ship. But it was something to have seen the embryonic town of Sydney and to have shared in the life of the infant settlement in the days of its first administration.¹⁴

One day out of Sydney *Britannia* encountered a school of sperm whales, and gave chase. Raven lowered a boat and killed a whale. The following day they tried out the oil and got twelve barrels. So, like her namesake *Britannia* under Captain Melville, our *Britannia* could also hunt whales and try them down while at sea!

II

When the ship arrived at Dusky Sound, Raven made an inspection of its possibilities. The second mate, William Leith, 'in the most unequivocal and manly manner you can conceive', agreed to remain, and Raven put him in charge of a group of eleven volunteers. One of these was the carpenter, Moore. It was decided that the party should settle themselves at Luncheon Cove on the south side of Anchor Island. Moore's first task was to fell timber and prepare it for the needs of the ship, and then from 14 November all hands were employed, no doubt under Moore's direction, in building a house for the gang—the

first dwelling made by Europeans in New Zealand. It was 40' long, 18' wide, 15' high, and thatched overall with flax leaves. Provisions and stores for twelve months were landed, together with ironwork, cordage and sails for the building and rigging of a small ship to be used in the event of *Britannia's* failure to return. Raven reports that he left his shipmates 'perfectly satisfied with their situation'.¹⁵ Nevertheless, his departure must have been a solemn moment.¹⁶

So it came to pass that Moore spent what must have been a very lonely and arduous ten months in the remote south-land of New Zealand, in a fiord which even today, desolate and magnificent, is hardly touched by man. The gang collected 4,500 seal skins, though this was regarded as a disappointing result. Moore's chief concern, however, was the building of the ship. All the timber had to be found, felled and shaped, and the ship built on stocks.

Finally, on 27 September the following year, *Britannia* returned to Dusky Bay. She had been to the Cape of Good Hope, via Cape Horn, having called at the island of Santa Catherina off Brazil *en route*. She had then done the round trip to Sydney, arriving with the commissioned stores in June 1793. This time the government at Sydney commissioned Raven to procure stores from Calcutta, and he was given permission to spend a maximum of fourteen days at Dusky Bay *en route*, to take off his party. So *Britannia* left Sydney on 8 September. On Friday 27 September she made Anchor Island harbour on the opposite side of the island to Luncheon Cove, and fired six guns, to announce her arrival. Shortly, Murry tell us, 'Mr Leith and five others came on board, who informed us that all the rest were well, which gave us no small satisfaction.' The rest of the sealing party were then collected, and all returned to a celebration supper on the ship. 'We killed a Goat (the only remainder of our live stock), and I will venture to assert that a more pleasant sensation than this afforded had never been felt by any of the persons who composed this entertainment.' There were four passengers on board *Britannia* on this voyage (including one woman, probably the first white woman to visit New Zealand). There was good reason for the 'pleasant sensation'. It had been an ordeal and an achievement even by mariners' standards in the eighteenth century. Murry continues: 'The satisfactory intelligence of their safety exceeded [our expectations]. They had now been Ten Months on a Desolate (and to them) and an Uninhabited Island, without communication of any sort, and without any kind of refreshment than what we left them. They had built a Vessel of Sixty or Seventy Tons and had proceeded so far in Her as to have been able to have left the place in 3 Months from the time of our arrival.'¹⁷

The Dusky Bay episode was more than a passing adventure for Moore. It may well have had a decisive effect on his future, in connection with his becoming a member of the civil establish-

ment of New South Wales. For although, strangely enough, he is not mentioned by name in any of the records of the expedition, the reputation of 'the carpenter' in two connections is more than once referred to. First, as an assessor of timber. Murry records in his journal: 'The timber which grows here would answer very well for plank, for the Ship Builder, Joiner, or Cabinet Maker. This is the opinion of our Carpenter in the *Britannia*, he being as well acquainted with its properties as any man of his profession.'¹⁸ David Collins, recording the report brought back from Dusky Bay by the schooner *Francis*, which had accompanied *Britannia* there when it went to collect the sealing party, mentions Captain Raven as having declared 'the spruce fir of that country to be the finest wood that he had observed for ship-building', and adds, 'the carpenter of the *Britannia*, an ingenious man, and master of his profession, compared it to English oak for durability and strength'.¹⁹ Later, in 1803, when the need arose to examine the possibility of exporting timber from New South Wales, it was Thomas Moore whom King appointed as 'Surveyor of timber throughout the colony for naval purposes',²⁰ and in commending him to the Home Government for a rise in salary, as 'a very valuable man to this colony', specified that 'he has selected and collected all the timber sent by the *Glutton* and *Calcutta*'.²¹

But Moore's chief claim to fame at Dusky Bay was his ship-building. Raven's report to King on reaching Norfolk Island, with his commendation of Moore, is the most important of a number of references to this achievement:

What excited my admiration was the progress they had made in constructing a vessel of the following dimensions:— 40 ft. 6 in. keel, 53 ft. length upon deck, 16 ft. 10 in. extreme breadth, and 12 ft. hold. She is skined, ceiled and decked, and with the work of three or four men for one day would be ready for caulking. Her frame knees and crooked pieces are cut from timber growing to the mould. She is planked, decked, and ceiled with the spruce fir, which in the opinion of the carpenter is very little inferior to English oak.

Her construction is such that she will carry more by one-half than she measures, and I am confident will sail well. The carpenter has great merit, and has built her with that strength and neatness which few shipwrights belonging to the merchant service are capable of performing.²²

In the light of this tribute by Raven, it is regrettable that we know nothing of where Moore may have received his earlier training. But it can hardly be a coincidence that within three years of the Dusky Bay enterprise, Moore had been appointed Master Boat Builder to the colony of New South Wales.

Raven's contract forced him to leave the nearly-completed ship on the stocks at Dusky Bay, but there was an interesting sequel, which, since the ship was built by Moore, we may briefly mention.²³ An 800-ton East-Indiaman, the *Endeavour*, under Captain William Bampton, arrived at Dusky Sound from Sydney two years later in October 1795, accompanied by the small brig *Fancy*. *Endeavour* was in very bad shape. Storms

at Dusky Sound further damaged *Endeavour*, and the ship was abandoned. Moore's ship of sixty-five tons was then completed, named *Providence*, and it set sail with ninety persons aboard for Norfolk Island. It is last heard of under Captain Robert Murry, erstwhile fourth officer of *Britannia*, sailing as escort to *Fancy*, under Captain Bampton, near the Loyalty Islands, probably bound for Batavia. The remains of *Endeavour* lie to this day in Dusky Sound, and were identified as recently as 1963 by Charles and Neil Begg, who also found the site of the house used by *Britannia's* sealing gang. 'Signs of their activity still remain, and it is possible to see the stumps of trees which were cut down for use in the house and ship, or for spars and yards.'²⁴ Thus has Thomas Moore left his mark to this day in the place where the first pages in the history of Europeans in New Zealand were written.

III

Britannia sailed away from Dusky Sound with all aboard on 20 October 1793, heading for India. She called at Norfolk Island, and landed two cases of scurvy. The Lieutenant Governor, Philip Gidley King, partly under the pretext that the wind was not suitable for continuing the voyage to India at once, commissioned Raven to take him to the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, for the purpose of returning to their homes the two Maoris kidnapped by the *Daedalus* who had been brought to Norfolk to instruct the settlement in the uses of the New Zealand flax plant. 'We were employed clearing and cleaning the tween decks', writes Murry, 'to receive a party of soldiers, in order to proceed to Knuckle Point, New Zealand, with the two natives, Tooky and Hoodoo'. Thus *Britannia* left Norfolk Island on 9 November and returned on 18 November. King's encounter with the Maoris of the Bay of Islands is recorded, and it may be supposed that Moore took an interest in these proceedings.²⁵ It would also have been his first meeting with King, under whom he was later to serve in New South Wales.

Britannia arrived back at Sydney Cove on 1 June 1794. It had been a slow journey and beset with difficulties. In the event she did not reach Calcutta. They reached Manila, after discovering a number of islands, on 22 January 1794. On 2 February they entered the Straits of Malacca, where they were attacked by pirates. For six hours, from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, *Britannia* was engaged by large sixty-oared proas, which Raven described as 'mounted with a twelve or nine pounder, beside swivels on their platforms'. Raven turned back to Batavia, where he was advised not to attempt to run the blockade, as the infestation of pirates continued into the Bay of Bengal.²⁶ He decided to secure what stores he could in Batavia. Negotiations were difficult, but he duly made his purchases and returned to Sydney.

Britannia made two further voyages on behalf of the colony. On 1 September 1794 she sailed for the Cape of Good Hope 'on a second speculation for some of the gentlemen belonging to the settlement'.²⁷ This was her second circumnavigation of the world, and it was a voyage to be remembered. In 125 days at sea, *Britannia* logged 16,977.7 miles, averaging 136 miles 6 fms per day, or 5 miles 5 fms an hour.²⁸ She was back in port on 2 March 1795 and landed her cargo, which included thirty-three live mares. She sailed again on 18 June, under charter by Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, to go to Calcutta for livestock and other needed stores, and returned eleven months later on 11 May 1796. But when Captain Raven again left Sydney Cove on 29 September to take *Britannia* back to England, Thomas Moore was no longer a member of her crew. She had been discharged from her charter to Paterson on 5 June, and we may assume that from about that date, if not earlier,²⁹ Thomas Moore, having 'followed the sea many years' (no doubt 'in a subordinate capacity') had become a free settler in the colony of New South Wales.

IV

'Mr Thos. Moore is appointed to the place of master boat-builder, in the room of Mr Daniel Paine, commencing on the 2nd instant.' So stated the Government and General Order issued by the Governor, John Hunter, on 13 September 1796.³⁰

Before Hunter left England, to replace Phillip as Governor of the settlement, he had taken up with Under-Secretary King the matter of a boat-builder for the colony. He wrote on 1 May 1794:³¹

I have found a clever young man from Deptford Yard to fill the office of boat builder, etc. at Port Jackson—a situation which you seemed to think, when I mentioned it to you, highly requisite there, and desired that I would look out for a person whom I might think qualified. The person whom I first had in mind has since declined, not thinking the encouragement sufficient. The present officer, Daniel Paine, who is well recommended to me, both for his theoretical and practical knowledge, cannot obtain his discharge from Deptford Yard until I can assure the Navy Board that he is actually entered upon the establishment of the colony.

The appointment was made, and Paine sailed for Port Jackson with Hunter in *Reliance*. They arrived in Sydney on 7 September 1795, and Paine's name appeared on the civil establishment list on 25 October of that year.

Paine, however, was replaced by Thomas Moore within twelve months. No reason for Paine's supersession is given in the records. Other replacements mentioned in the same Government Order of 13 September give the reason for the predecessor relinquishing his office; but not so in the case of Paine. However, Hunter was at this time greatly troubled by the inefficiency of a number of the lesser officers on the civil establishment, and on 20 August he had written to Under-Secretary King to seek his approval to make his own appointments for certain

of these positions from suitable people—even convicts if necessary—locally recruited. He wrote:

In many of those people recommended to Government at home to fill little offices here much imposition has been practised. It would be far less expensive to the public if, when any particular work is wanted, the Governor for the time being were allowed to offer some little pecuniary reward to some of the ingenious people who are sometimes to be found here, whether convicts or free; such particular work might in this way be accomplished without the burthen of a salary. The millwright and miller, one at 100 gns and the other at 50 gns a year, are sad impositions, and I have no opportunity of sending them home for want of a ship going from hence immediately to England in the service of Government.³²

It may only be coincidence, but among the disabilities which Hunter deplures in the same letter is this, 'Our boats gone to ruin and decay'.

This complaint was not, of course, new. Hunter had written to the Duke of Portland on 21 December 1795:

The boats of the settlement, by which our principal communication between this place and the other districts is to be kept up, having also fallen to ruin and decay, it becomes a very essential concern to have them rebuilt or repaired, as without them we cannot convey the necessary supplies of provision or other stores from one place to the other; no time must therefore be lost in putting them in such a state as to render them safe and useful.³³

One has the impression that the situation was little improved by the following August, and that Hunter may have been anxious to replace Paine with one of 'the ingenious people who are sometimes to be found here'.

Whether or not Daniel Paine was one of the 'persons sent here upon salaries who have not yet been of any use',³⁴ there can be no doubt of the suitability of the former carpenter of *Britannia* for the urgent task of putting the small shipping of the colony into order. As we have seen, Captain Raven had a very high opinion of Moore as a boat-builder, and had reported his efficiency to King at Norfolk Island following the Dusky Bay expedition in 1793.

Hunter also knew of the ship which had been built at Dusky Bay. He may therefore have already known of Moore's ability as a boat-builder, and have been confident that he had found the man he was looking for, to take charge of the dock-yard which he had established on the west side of Sydney Cove, and to supervise both the repair and building of boats for the use of the colony. In particular, there was need for a small vessel to maintain communications regularly between Sydney and Norfolk Island. *Francis* had been shipped out in frame on *Pitt* in 1792 and put together on stocks by a former carpenter's mate from *Sirius*, and launched and fitted out by Captain Raven and his crew in July 1793, while Moore and the sealing party were in New Zealand. She was of forty-three tons, and had sailed between Sydney, New Zealand and Norfolk Island, and now carried a foremast of Dusky Sound red pine (fitted by

Moore?).³⁵ But in November of 1796 Hunter gave notice of needing something more reliable:

The small schooner sent out some years ago in frame grows very infirm, and she is the only vessel we have in the absence of the King's ships for keeping up our intercourse with Norfolk Island. We give her occasionally such repairs as she may require, and we have the power of applying, but she is too small. If I had a sufficient strength in carpenters, I would undertake to build one of 70 or 80 tons burthen, which I think would be highly serviceable between this and Norfolk Island.³⁶

It is not out of place to see Hunter's appointment of Moore as, in a small but not unimportant sphere, an aspect of his 'new regime', the establishment of which is the subject of a long despatch to the Duke of Portland in June 1797.³⁷

V

There may have been other reasons for Moore's decision to become a free settler in Sydney and to accept appointment as master boat-builder, for on 11 January 1797 he married Rachel Turner. The marriage was solemnized by the Reverend Richard Johnson, chaplain to the colony,³⁸ and it presumably took place in the church building which Johnson had himself erected on the eastern side of the town in 1793.

Rachel Turner had been in the colony since 1790. She had received a seven year sentence of transportation at the Old Bailey in March 1788, and had been sent out in *Lady Juliana* with more than 200 other female convicts. The treatment of the convicts on this ship had been particularly good—in contrast to that on some other transports—and received very favourable comment from some of the convicts themselves. The ship arrived at Port Jackson on 3 June 1790. Most of the women were taken on to Norfolk Island, but some were assigned to officers of the colony in Sydney. Rachel Turner became housekeeper to Mr John White, surgeon in the first fleet, and now senior surgeon in the colony.³⁹

Presumably she was one of the 'well-behaved women' classified by King as 'among the comparative few who came from the English counties'.⁴⁰ On 23 September 1793 she bore White a son, who was baptized Andrew Douglass White by Mr Johnson on 30 November. When White left for England on leave in *Daedalus* on 16 December 1794 he apparently took his fifteen-month old son with him.

Did White's relation with Rachel Turner have any bearing on his final decision not to return to the colony? Taking his son to England suggests that he did not contemplate a regular union. He was still nominally senior surgeon; but he procrastinated about his return. Rienits says that it was clear in the first part of 1796 that he had 'no real intention of returning to New South Wales'.⁴¹ Yet it was not until he received an ultimatum from Under-Secretary King on 10 August of that

year that he formally resigned.⁴² He was replaced by William Balmain on 16 August. But he could hardly ignore Rachel and her future.

Two circumstances may have had some relevance to White's intentions. On 30 October 1795, Under-Secretary King despatched to Hunter certificates of the sentences of Rachel Turner and her friend Margaret Dawson (housekeeper and *de facto* wife of surgeon William Balmain), 'by which', he said, 'you will perceive that the term of years for which those women were sentenced to be transported has been for some time concluded'.⁴³ Records of sentences were not efficiently kept, and it was often difficult in the colony to ascertain exactly when a convict's sentence was due to expire. Was the despatch regarding just these two women coincidental? Was it perhaps prompted by some representation on White's part, designed to put Rachel's freedom beyond dispute? He had arrived in London in July that year, and would have had access to the Under-Secretary in the ordinary course of his duty.

The other circumstance was the presence on the scene of Moore himself. White must have known Moore in Sydney. A survey of certain damaged stores on *Britannia* had been conducted by White and two others in August 1792.⁴⁴ White's house in the High Street was next door to Captain Raven's.⁴⁵ *Britannia* was in port for three months in 1792, and again for three months in 1794 prior to White's departure. The most natural place for Moore to have lodged on shore would have been the vicinity of these houses, perhaps even in the house of either Raven or White. There is every likelihood that he was well acquainted with both White and his housekeeper during his first visits to Sydney. Later, White allowed Moore the virtual ownership of his house, and entrusted him with the agency of his other properties. Now the despatch about Rachel's emancipation reached Sydney probably by *Indispensable* on 30 April 1796. *Britannia* reached port on 11 May following, bringing Moore into the vicinity, if he was not already lodging there.⁴⁶ He was appointed to the dockyard over the road on 13 September. He married Rachel on 11 January the following year. Yet notice of White's resignation as principal surgeon was not posted in Sydney until 17 May 1797,⁴⁷ by which time Moore was not only married to White's housekeeper, the mother of his child, but was in all probability living in White's house. Considering Moore's reputation for probity, it seems likely that he would have acted with White's knowledge and approval in making an honest woman of Rachel, and this means that the whole matter must have been in White's calculations during 1795 and 1796 as he considered whether or not to return to the colony. At all events, Moore was a member of the civil establishment, and Rachel Turner was a free woman, when the marriage took place, by special permission of the Governor and witnessed by Thomas Smyth and Margaret Dawson.⁴⁸

There was a certain social symmetry about Moore's wedding. Thomas Smyth was a member of the civil establishment, like himself, locally recruited and of about the same grade; their first land holdings were of the same extent and were side by side in the same area of Bulanaming. Rachel and Margaret were apparently both English country girls, who had entered and been discharged from His Majesty's detention together; had both been assigned to surgeons of the settlement, and could both sign their own names (Margaret quite prettily) at the wedding.⁴⁹ The marriage marked the one essential difference between their statuses. Rachel, having borne a son to White, was now becoming the lawful wife of a respectable inhabitant of the colony; the birth of Margaret's first child to Balmain was only ten weeks away when she attended Rachel's wedding, but she never attained respectability.

VI

Moore's first task was the rebuilding of several government boats which had become 'mere wrecks and useless'. In the course of the year there were also surveys to be made of HM's ships *Reliance* and *Supply*, which had arrived at Sydney in a most unseaworthy condition.⁵⁰

Hunter's Return of Labour for 1797 gives some idea of the responsibilities of the master boat-builder.⁵¹ With sixteen shipwrights, caulkers, boat-builders, labourers, and watchmen in the dockyard, the following work was executed:

Built a new pinnace; a whaleboat for Paramatta, a burthensome punt for discharging ships with the more expedition, a boat for H.M. ship the *Reliance*; a longboat for H.M. ship the *Supply*; repair the Francis schooner, the hospital, and South Head boats; erected a steamer for seasoning of plank; pailed in the dockyard, hung gates, built sheds for boats and for the sawyers; lined the inside of the provisions store; remounted upon new carriages the two brass field-pieces; made sheds, hacks, barrows, molds etc. for the brickmakers, the former ones having been suffered to go to decay; layed the keel of a new brig of 150 tons burthen; built a new wood boat for the hospital.

In addition, 'the foundation of a new house for the master-shipwright' was laid by government labour. This was a large stone house built adjoining the dockyard at its northern end, and it was apparently still not completed early in 1799, so we cannot say just when Moore moved into it. But this may be a convenient point at which to say something about the topography of the west side of Sydney Cove.⁵² For with this cradle of our city none had closer or longer associations than Thomas Moore.

The hospital, the market-place, and the dockyard, were the three centres of activity on the High Street where it moved through the Rocks area, a little in from the shore. Moore had a kind of link even with the hospital, through his oblique relationship with White, but he was intimately part of both the market-place and the dockyard. The market-place was a kind of

bulge in the High Street where it passed by the Public or Hospital wharf. On the harbour side of the market, and adjoining the dockyard, was the house of Daniel Cubitt, not far from Isaac Nichols' house on the other side of the approach to the wharf. Looking down to the wharf from the west side of the market were the houses of John White and Captain Raven. Evidently, as we have seen, Moore lived in White's house from 1796 to 1799, if not earlier. He and Cubitt were called upon, having been Isaac Nichols' nearest neighbours, to testify to the latter's general conduct, at a trial early in 1799.⁵³ White had been given a fourteen year lease of his site in May 1793, and he renewed this in 1806 in the name of his and Rachel Moore's son Andrew.⁵⁴ But there is little doubt that this was the residence advertised for letting in the *Sydney Gazette* in March 1804, and there described as 'known by the name of Mr Moore's house . . . nearly opposite the hospital wharf'. It had 'an excellent garden containing some choice fruit-trees', and was ideal for trade. After Moore moved out of it to live in his official residence, it had been rented by William Tough, a close associate of Moore's. (Tough and Moore were fellow trustees of William Cox's estate, until the former died in February 1805.) Then two friends of Tough's operated there, Captain Buyers and another sailor named Turnbull,⁵⁵ who, having been shipwrecked in the Pacific, arrived in Sydney from Tahiti in *Dart* in September 1803. The new tenant in 1804 was Rosetta Stabler, who 'dressed victuals', and sold beer and pork pies there.⁵⁶ (Stabler's beer was perhaps the first to be brewed commercially in the colony!) Moore's name was to be linked with this spot for a century. In September 1807, Raven's house next door, 'painted red', was put up for auction.⁵⁷ Presumably Moore bought it. At all events, a lease of 79½ rods here (White's and Raven's places?) was given to Moore by Paterson in July 1809, and, with slight adjustments, given to him as a crown grant by Macquarie on 25 August 1812.⁵⁸ By this time Moore had left Sydney for Liverpool, and the property was let. In the 1820's and 30's, Francis Mitchell, a wealthy ship's chandler, ran his business in the premises.⁵⁹ Eventually Moore gave the property to Bishop Broughton in 1839 to assist in the building of St Andrew's Cathedral, and to provide an endowment. The site—today it comprises three shops with a frontage of 100 ft. on the south-west corner of George and Globe Streets—was resumed by the State Government in 1901, and the Cathedral received £20,000 compensation, which still represents the only large endowment the Cathedral has been given for its maintenance, in its history since 1819.

Hunter's dockyard was north of the Public wharf. It extended from about the front door of the present Maritime Services Building to a point a little beyond Cadman's cottage. The house built for Moore as master-shipwright was immediately north of this, approximately where the Mariners' Church was later built, which is now the main hall of the Missions to Seamen. The shore-line was precipitous at this point, and the large

rocks at the water's edge, which formed an island at high tide, make it easy to identify Moore's house on early maps and drawings. It evidently had upper gable rooms, and stood back in its own garden, facing the Cove. Here, or hereabouts, had been the very first burial ground of the colony. Behind Moore's house, across the High Street, but a little further south, was the residence of Surgeon Balmain and the hospital buildings. To his north, where Captain Henry Waterhouse and John Baughan the master carpenter had originally resided, Moore's neighbour was merchant Robert Campbell, who purchased the Waterhouse and Baughan properties about June 1799,⁶⁰ and so began his trading about the time of Moore's arrival at that end of High Street. The two men were closely associated: Robert Campbell Junior became executor and trustee of Moore's estate after the latter's death in 1840.

Early in 1799 the location of Moore's new house figured in the trial of Isaac Nichols, the proceedings of which are recorded in full in the *Historical Records of New South Wales*.⁶¹ Nichols, an emancipated convict, was overseer of convicts in Sydney at the time. Later he became a shipowner and landowner, and under Paterson and Macquarie became the colony's first postmaster. In 1799 he lived in a substantial house which he had built on the south side of the dockyard. As we have seen, Moore was called on at his trial (on a charge of having received stolen goods) to testify to his good character and his orderly house, Moore having lived opposite him in the market-place for some time. Part of the evidence was that the stolen tobacco had been placed by a certain party 'between two rocks near the new house building for Mr Moore'. Lieutenant William Kent, whose own house was on the north-east corner of George and Bridge Streets, and who voted to acquit Nichols, offered the following comment on the location: 'The dockyard is between the house of Isaac Nichols and Mr Moore's, and the fence of the dockyard runs into the water over the rocks on that side Sydney Cove, which rocks are steep to, so that there is no way of passing from Nichols's house to the two rocks where the tobacco was found but on the main road, by the hospital and other public and private buildings, along which many people must have been passing and repassing . . .'

In August of 1798 Moore was appointed an officer of the Vice-Admiralty Court which tried the case of the mutiny on *Barwell*. The court consisted of some eight naval officers and the same number of civilians. With Moore sat the surgeon, Thomas Arndell and Baron Alt the surveyor of the colony.⁶² Moore continued as a member of this court on other occasions. In August 1802, for example, he was a member of the Court which tried the master of *Hercules* in connection with the shooting of mutineers.

As the colony's boat-builder, Moore was closely concerned not only with the colony's main means of transport, but also

with the various coastal expeditions of men like George Bass and Matthew Flinders.

For Bass's expedition of 1798 on which he established the existence of a strait between Van Diemen's Land and the mainland, Hunter had 'furnished him with an excellent whale boat, well-fitted, victualled and manned to his wish'.⁶³ This boat had been built in Sydney of native banksia timber. It is quite possible, therefore, that it was built by Moore. Positive evidence is lacking, though a whale-boat is listed among the items constructed at the dockyard in 1797.⁶⁴

Investigator, in which Flinders charted the whole coast of Australia, came out from England, but it was Thomas Moore and his team who repaired and refitted it in Sydney when it limped home after it had nearly come to grief in the Gulf of Carpentaria.⁶⁵

Moore of course knew both men, who were about his own age. He sat with Flinders on the Vice-Admiralty Court. When Flinders finally left for England in September 1803, it was in the tiny *Cumberland*, placed at his disposal after the wreck of *Porpoise*. The departure of *Cumberland* raised a cheer. 'This vessel', reported the *Sydney Gazette*, 'is only 29 tons burthen; but being built by Mr Moore under the direction of Governor Hunter . . . there is no doubt of her continuing as a good sea boat as experience has shewn her to be in very tempestuous weather off Norfolk Island and in Bass's Straits, and in every way equal to carry a Sufficiency of Provisions and Water for Captain Flinders, the Officers, and nine men who are appointed to navigate the first vessel built in this Colony to England . . . May her voyage be safe and expeditious!'⁶⁶ It was scarcely Moore's fault that so small a ship, originally built to bring grain from the Hawkesbury, was hardly equal to its task. Flinders practically apologizes to the builder for the complaints he was forced to make of the increasing problems of sailing her. Nevertheless, Flinders records that in *Cumberland* he was able to 'add much' to his 'former investigation of the dangerous strait between New Holland and New Guinea' and do 'everything for the advancement of geography and navigation' that his orders made possible.⁶⁷ He was compelled, as everyone knows, to put in at Mauritius, to his lasting loss. There *Cumberland* remained when Flinders was released six and a half years later, the French refusing to give her up. Flinders records that between 1803 and 1810 he 'saw the *Cumberland* employed in the French service'.⁶⁸ I know not what became of her.

George Bass had closer links with Moore. In 1800 Bass married Elizabeth Waterhouse, sister of Captain Henry Waterhouse, in London. The Waterhouses were friends of John White, and Elizabeth was acting as foster-mother to Andrew White, Rachel Moore's child, in England. Bass returned alone to Sydney in his brig *Venus*, and in 1803 set out to explore the commercial possibilities of Dusky Bay, and to go on from there

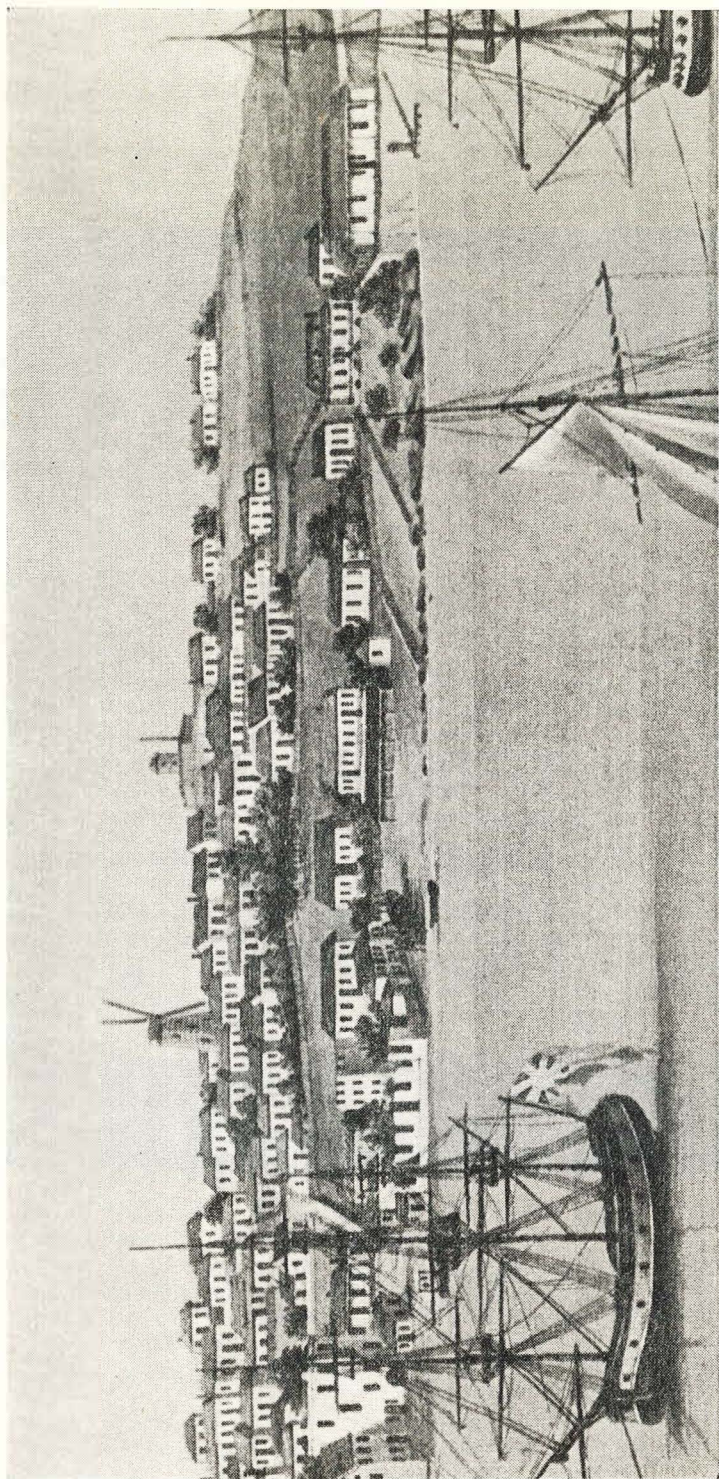
to South America.⁶⁹ It is natural to suppose that he was in consultation with Moore about Dusky Bay before he left. But no certain trace of him was ever discovered thereafter. One of the last rumours of him is contained in a letter written by Moore, dated at Liverpool, New South Wales, on 15 December 1817:

I have just heard a report that Mr Bass is alive yet in South America. A captn. of a vessel belonging to this port, trading among the islands to the east, fell in with a whaler, and the captn. informed he had seen such a person, and described the person of Mr Bass. The captn. of a vessel out of this port knowing Mr Bass well, he is of a belief, the description that the master of the whaler gives of him, it's certainly Mr Bass—being a doctor too—which is still a stronger reason.⁷⁰

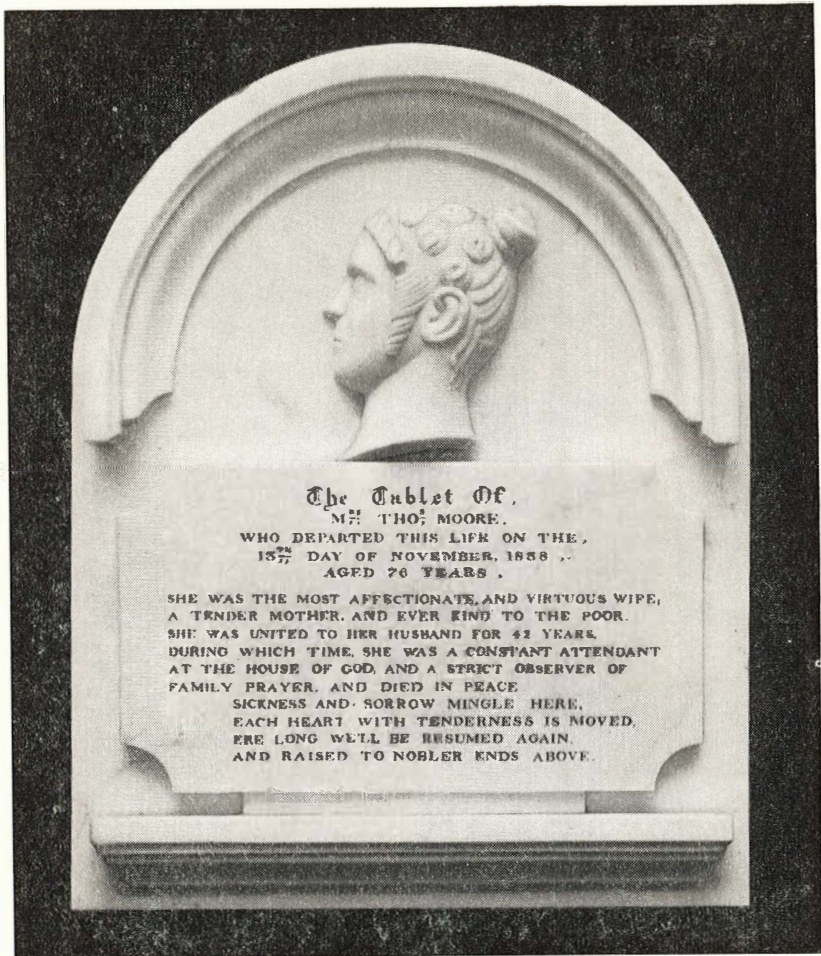
VII

It is not clear how early Moore, whose ultimate wealth came chiefly from the land, actually became a landowner. He received a grant of 470 acres at Bulanaming on the 5 October 1799, but in Hunter's account of land grants for that year there is a note: 'By different Governors, but renewed in one grant by Governor Hunter'.⁷¹ The same note is attached to a similar grant to Thomas Smyth, the Provost Martial, whose allotment adjoined Moore's. If the note is accurate it presumably means that Moore had acquired some sort of title to land even before the arrival of Hunter in 1795, that is while he, Moore, was still on *Britannia*. He was, as we remember, on shore for a time during 1794 when Grose was acting governor and again from March to June 1795 in Paterson's administration. His name does not appear among the Bulanaming allotments on Grimes' 'Plan of the Settlements in New South Wales' of 1796,⁷² and neither does Smyth's, but he may have had some sort of holding nevertheless.

The Bulanaming settlement was the closest agricultural settlement to Sydney itself. It was formed in February 1793. It was a section of the district of Petersham, south from Parramatta Road, and by 1799 comprised approximately what is now Stanmore and Enmore. Moore's holding, known as 'Douglas Farm' adjoined the southwest corner of Major Johnston's 'Annandale Farm' and lay south of the properties of Thomas Rowley (Kingston Farm) and Edward Laing (who formerly had a holding at Watson's Bay).⁷³ I surmise that today's Douglas Street, by Stanmore station, marks approximately the northern boundary of this farm. Thomas Smyth's holding was on Moore's eastern boundary towards Camdenville. By 1801 Moore had only five acres of his property cleared.⁷⁴ He supported one horse and five hogs and was assigned one convict to assist him in the oversight. A year later the return shows that he had 100 acres cleared, five of which were in production of maize and wheat. He had six horses, eleven horned cattle and four hogs, and still one convict to work the property.⁷⁵ In October 1803 Moore's farm was enlarged by a further grant of 700 acres.⁷⁶ This extended his property southward to Cook's



*Sydney Cove, west side, about 1810. From a painting probably by J. Syre.
(See also Note, page 192)*



*Memorial to Rachel Turner (Mrs Thomas Moore) in St Luke's Church,
Liverpool, N.S.W.*

River and was approximately within the area of Marriekville bounded today by Stanmore Road to the north, Livingstone Road on the west, Princes Highway on the east and Cook's River on the south.

In December 1805 Moore received his first grant of land at Banks Town—750 acres in the bend of the George's River in the area now known as Moorebank. When he resigned his position as master boat-builder in October 1809 his Moorebank estate was enlarged by 1,300 acres (300 acres granted on the 6 September and six smaller farms on the 1 November). He continued to increase his holdings in the Liverpool district and later was granted a further 2,000 acres by Macquarie in recognition of his work as a magistrate.

There is a reference to Moore's Bulanaming farm in Macquarie's Journal. On 13 December 1810 Macquarie inspected the farms of the Petersham district, between Robert Campbell's farm at Canterbury and the Grose farm on the present university site. He and Mrs Macquarie came by carriage from Parramatta that morning and had first visited the Townson and Laycock farms on the west side of Botany Bay. Having arrived at Campbell's farm the governor sent his lady on by carriage along the Canterbury Road to await him at the Grose farm while he inspected the remaining properties on horseback. 'I called at Mr Moore's, Mr Blaxcell's, Mr Blaxland's, Captain Rowley's and several other smaller farms in the district of Petersham, all of which are poor and of little value; the farm houses, however, are tolerably good and considerable pains have been taken to clear, enclose and improve the lands.'⁷⁷

Moore firmly established his position in the colony under Hunter, and he received even warmer encouragement under King, who found him 'a most useful and necessary officer'.⁷⁸ His ships began to sail. *Cumberland* was completed in 1801, and was used fully for local purposes until she was given to Flinders in 1803. The cutter *Integrity* was begun in 1802, and launched in January 1804. King was pleased:

Although there was much interruption in the work, yet the average was only 4 carpenters' labour for 13 months, and one pair of sawyers 20 weeks, exclusive of the labour in getting the timber. We have only 2 men that can be called ship carpenters, the rest being rough house carpenters and 'prentice boys. I have stated this circumstance to show the time it has taken, with the people we have, to build that vessel, which is extremely well put together and strong, and for her first voyage is gone to Basses Straits and the Derwent.⁷⁹

The *Sydney Gazette* was also pleased.

This vessel, built by Mr Moore, is allowed to be the first piece of workmanship that has hitherto been performed here; her cabin is spacious and commodious, and by the introduction of a sliding or shifting partition, can be extended forward as far as the forecastle bulkhead: her keel measures 46 feet, and she is 60 feet over-all; across the beam 16 feet 9 inches, and her computed tonnage 59 3 4ths.⁸⁰

On 4 February, when *Integrity* set out on her first voyage to Port Phillip and the Derwent, the governor himself 'took

an excursion down the harbour and out of the heads' on board her 'by way of trial; and it is acknowledged that both in fast sailing, working, and her appearance under way, this handsome vessel answers every expectation'.⁸¹

Unfortunately her life was a short one. King sent her to South America, under a flag of truce, with letters to the Governor of Chile concerning the seizure of Spanish vessels by *Harrington*. She sailed from Sydney on 20 June 1805, and was never heard of again.

The *Portland*, a larger brig of 160 tons, whose keel had been laid in Hunter's time, was still proceeding. There was not enough labour to finish her, and in fact she was not completed until after Moore's time at the dockyard. In 1816 she was launched and renamed *Elizabeth Henrietta*.

Thus the colony was very short of shipping after the departure of both *Cumberland* and *Integrity*. But Moore had his hands full.

In April 1805 King wrote: 'The constant work there has been for the few carpenters under the master-builder in repairing the *Buffalo*, cutting down and refitting the *Investigator*, and keeping the other Colonial vessels in repair, and building boats for this and the other settlements, has prevented any other vessel being begun for the use of the Crown, which will be commenced as soon as the indispensable work will admit of it.'⁸²

Meantime, Moore had a second official appointment. For in March 1803 King had appointed him Surveyor of Timber for Naval Purposes. Hunter had written enthusiastically of the New South Wales timbers and their value for ship building, and how it was proposed to send a ship load to England. Moore had to inspect and select the wood, and he was given a team of carpenters and labourers to hew the wood to suitable lengths for the ships' holds. He used some timber from his own farm and from Captain Eber Bunker's, which adjoined it: 'Red and other gums, string and iron bark, mahogany, and other hard woods' were preferred. A new species was discovered on the George's River, resembling the *lignum vitae*. King requested Moore to examine it, and, on his approval, a quantity was got ready for export.⁸³

Moore's job was an important one, and he was understandably disappointed that his name was not among those who received a rise in salary early in 1804. But the governor was not slow to impress Lord Hobart with his worth:

The master boat builder, who has built two deeked vessels, and is beginning a third, exclusive of every other work incident to a person in his active situation, has made known to me his disappointment in not finding himself included in the advance. Could his pay be increased to 10s. a day, I humbly conceive it would be securing the zeal and services of a very valuable man to this colony. He has selected and collected all the timber sent by the *Glatton* and *Calcutta*.⁸⁴

Another piece of carpentry—very minor—in King's regime may be mentioned.

One of King's first actions, and perhaps the earliest form of corporate benevolence in the colony, was the founding of the Orphan School in 1800. Captain William Kent's fine house and garden, on the N.E. corner of George and Bridge Streets, was purchased, and a committee which included chaplains Johnson and Marsden was charged with establishing the home. Mrs King and Mrs Paterson were daily visitors and a solution to the problem of the unwanted or illegitimate children of convicts was attempted. One of the first necessities was to provide beds, and it was to Thomas Moore 'the master carpenter' that the committee turned to give an estimate of the quantity and price of timber required to make fifty 'cradles' holding two children apiece. Moore duly informed the committee that 1757 feet of timber at 10/- per 100 feet would be required.⁸⁵

Our knowledge of Moore's character is derived entirely from incidental references to his activities, and from occasional remarks made by others about him. We have nothing from his own pen. But it seems clear that, as Broughton said, he had 'good sense and good principles'. He is frequently found in positions of trust. In 1804 he acted for his friend Captain Bunker, letting both his farm, and his 'elegant and substantial' new stone house in Pitt's Row.⁸⁶ The same year he became a trustee of William Cox's estate, with Marsden, Rowley and Robert Campbell.⁸⁷ Captain Rowley himself died in 1806, and Moore was eventually appointed by the government to be guardian of his children and trustee of his estate.⁸⁸ When Thomas Smyth died suddenly in 1805, Moore was called on to act as coroner;⁸⁹ he also succeeded Smyth as lieutenant and second in command of the Sydney Company of the Loyal Association.⁹⁰ (This seems to have been his first experience in the militia; though he had earlier acted as a kind of honorary artilleryman, for it is reported that 'when the guns were to be loaded, even for a salute upon a holiday, the master shipwright was the person selected for that purpose!'⁹¹ He was in demand as a business agent. In 1805 he was engaged by William Campbell of Madras, master of *Harrington*, to survey cargo aboard two Spanish prize ships,⁹² and a year later he appeared in the Vice-Admiralty Court as agent for *Harrington's* owners, as did also Simeon Lord.⁹³

VIII

King finished his term as governor in 1806, and Moore, having concluded ten years on the establishment, gave notice of his own intention to 'depart for Europe'.⁹⁴ However, he did not carry this out. He was still in Sydney when Bligh took office in August, and with Richard Rouse, the Superintendent, submitted a report to Bligh on the condition of the public buildings in the colony, beginning, incidentally, with his own house, which

was, of course, the first public building at the north end of High Street.⁹⁵

Moore occupied a somewhat ambiguous position in relation to Bligh. On the one hand, he retained his situation without disturbance by Bligh: Surgeon Harris might complain to ex-governor King that 'every person who held any situation in your time is turn'd to the right about', but Moore at least seems to have been an exception.⁹⁶ On the other hand, Bligh specified Moore as one of those who sought his arrest, and he mentioned him again in his famous proclamation of 1809 as one of fifteen civilians whom he forbade to leave the colony.⁹⁷

Moore, however, though his signature certainly appears on the petition to Johnston to arrest Bligh, and again on the letter of thanks after the event,⁹⁸ does not seem to have been actively involved in the rebellion. He did act with Blaxcell, John Blaxland, Laycock, Bunker and others on a commission to survey the government stores, a survey designed to demonstrate that 'the most shameful abuses had been practised',⁹⁹ but he declined to serve when appointed to the court of civil jurisdiction.¹⁰⁰ He said he was too busy with his regular duties; but perhaps he had qualms about the whole procedure. He continued at his civil job, and Bligh may have been glad enough to know that he was at work on *Porpoise*, which had been damaged at Hobart and was some months under repair at Sydney in the latter months of 1808.¹⁰¹ When it had been first agreed that Bligh should return to England in *Porpoise*, it was Moore who had been called in to make the necessary alterations to Lieutenant Symonds's cabin so as to accommodate Bligh to his wishes.¹⁰² One of Bligh's last acts before finally getting away in *Porpoise* was to give the naval brig *Lady Nelson* into Moore's charge, with directions to hand her over to Paterson should he require her for the use of the colony.¹⁰³

Bligh's indictment of Moore must have been because of the position he held in the colony rather than because of any overt act. After all, he was an officer of the civil establishment, who had been party to the governor's arrest. He was also an officer in the Loyal Association. In fact, a few weeks after Bligh's arrest, he was promoted by Johnston to be Captain and Commandant, in place of Richard Atkins, Bligh's judge-advocate.¹⁰⁴ Officers of the Association ranked next but subordinate to army officers of the same rank,¹⁰⁵ and this may mean that Bligh regarded the Association as in as mutinous a position as the New South Wales Corps itself.

Bligh had further grounds of apprehension regarding Moore in that, while he (Bligh) was under arrest, Moore purchased the Spanish prize ship *Pegasus* and announced that he was sending it out on a sealing expedition.¹⁰⁶ Only a few weeks earlier it had been proposed to send Bligh home to England in *Pegasus*. To make things worse, *Pegasus*, instead of going after seals, left Sydney with a very high-powered party of naval

and merchant officers and a detachment of New South Wales Corps to give chase to *Harrington* which convicts had made off with.¹⁰⁷ After an expensive and fruitless jaunt of nine weeks to New Zealand and New Caledonia, she returned, Moore being fully recompensed for the charter trip.¹⁰⁸ No doubt some of Bligh's annoyance and apprehension over the whole incident rubbed off on to the new owner of *Pegasus*.

Moore's work as boat-builder, however, was nearly finished. A few months after Bligh's departure he formally resigned. He had growing interests in trade and land. About the same time as Bligh left Sydney in *Porpoise*, Captain Bunker brought Moore's *Pegasus* back to Sydney (on 15 March 1809) from a highly successful sealing expedition, with no less than 12,600 seal skins. *Pegasus* left on another sealing trip in May 1809 under Captain Chase, first conveying fifty male prisoners and provisions to Hobart, where she was intercepted by Bligh.¹⁰⁹ Over a year later she arrived in London (18 August 1810), via Stewart Island, Chatham Islands and Rio de Janeiro, and was sold.¹¹⁰ Sealing was Australia's first export industry, and Moore's associations with sealing—both at Dusky Bay and through his own ship—were not insignificant.¹¹¹

Moore had never got his rise in salary, but his services to the colony were not unrecognized. In November 1809 Lieutenant-Governor Paterson wrote to Lord Castlereagh: 'Mr Thomas Moore, Master Boat Builder, having requested to retire, I have permitted him to do so, and from his having faithfully served in that capacity for upwards of 13 years, I have judged him a proper Object of the indulgences given to settlers of the most respectable class.'¹¹² So Moore became a gentleman by government direction, despite his humble origins, and it was Thomas Moore Esquire whom, on 17 May 1810, Macquarie appointed a magistrate in the district of George's River; the same order appointing D'Arcy Wentworth and Simeon Lord, also now Esquires, to be magistrates in Sydney.¹¹³ Macquarie entered on his duties on 1 January that year, and Moore's life in the colony entered a new phase which lies outside the scope of this paper.¹¹⁴ Thomas and Rachel entertained the governor and his lady on his tour of the district in December of that year, and Macquarie largely entrusted Moore with the arrangements for the founding of Liverpool on the other side of the river from Moore Bank. 'Good honest Mr Moore' was the opinion formed by Macquarie, and Moore was invited to a dinner-party with the governor at which the founding of the five new towns was celebrated.¹¹⁵

In all his activities, philanthropic, religious and commercial, Moore remained a figure of general esteem. When in 1827 he sold his shares in the Bank of New South Wales, with which he had been associated from its inception, the *Sydney Gazette* 'exquisitely rejoiced' that they were taken up by Mr Daniel Cooper, 'of the insulted firm of Cooper and Levy', but the editor

expressed regret at Moore's loss to the Bank, on the ground that 'Mr Moore is an honest, plain-dealing and unsophisticated man, and one of our primitive and most respected Colonists'.¹¹⁶

IX

I should like to tie a last thread.

In February 1823 Lieutenant Andrew Douglass White returned to Sydney in *Mortey*, and joined the Moore household at Liverpool.¹¹⁷ He had left Australia as a babe. He had been cared for at first by Elizabeth Waterhouse, whom he called 'the earliest friend of my infancy'. When John White married in England, Andrew became part of the White household. In his will he provided generously for his half-sisters and brother, as a mark of gratitude for the 'constant kindness and maternal affection' of 'my dear and much esteemed Mrs White'. But side by side with this is a more tender reference to Rachel Moore: 'to my dearest Mother I know not what to leave except my Waterloo medal. It is the only honorary mark of distinction I have received. I think she will value it more than anything else.'¹¹⁸

To his mother he now returned. Perhaps Moore paved the way for this during a visit to England in 1818.¹¹⁹ Shortly after Andrew returned to New South Wales he described his step-father as 'a real friend of whom few can know the value and few can form any idea of my obligations to him'.¹²⁰ In 1827, Andrew White made a codicil to his will which throws an interesting light on Thomas Moore's own intentions at that time: 'Knowing the disposal he has made of his property in my favour, I wish whatever property in the colony of New South Wales belonging to me at the time of my decease in consequence of the bequest of Thomas Moore may be bestowed according to the provisions of the last will and testament of Thomas Moore of Moore Bank in the same manner as if they never had come into my possession'.¹²¹ This seems to imply that Moore was at that stage planning to make Andrew White his heir, but that Andrew himself considered he should have no more than a life interest in the estate, so that some other intention which Thomas Moore entertained might not be robbed of fulfilment. It is natural to suppose that Moore had already conceived the design of benefiting the Church of England, and if so, Andrew White's self-denial may be taken as a further mark of his esteem for the character of his step-father. If we could be sure that Moore had thoughts of a benefaction for the Church of England as early as 1827, we might speculate as to the possible influences which led to this. Broughton did not arrive as archdeacon until 1829. His predecessor, the first archdeacon of New South Wales, was Thomas Hobbes Scott, whom Moore would have known as Commissioner Bigge's assistant some years earlier. Scott's work has been variously estimated. But it would be interesting if it could be established that Moore's 'pious and humble design' owed something to the influence of Scott.

It will be remembered that, after his return to England with Commissioner Bigge, Scott had been ordained, and had become rector of the parish of Whitfield near Durham. In 1823 his views on the future of education in the colony of New South Wales were sought by Lord Bathurst. Scott had set out his views in full, and amongst other things had recommended that in one of the central schools (which he advocated) there should be organized an academy to lay the foundations of a university in which students would proceed to degrees in classical, scientific and general subjects. Bathurst was impressed with Scott's ideas, and the following year Scott became the first archdeacon of the colony. In 1826 Scott made a further report to Governor Darling on the needs of education, and again referred to the need for an institute of higher learning which would pave the way for a university.¹²² One must allow the possibility that Moore was aware of Scott's ideas, and that he may have had in mind to assist in their execution. When Scott returned to England, it was to the Whitfield Rectory in Northumberland, whence he had come. Not far away lived Thomas Moore's brother, and his nephew, and Scott was in touch with them.¹²³ This itself suggests a link between Scott and Moore.

However, Andrew White did not become Moore's heir, for he died in 1837.¹²⁴ A year later his mother, Rachel Moore, died also.¹²⁵ Thomas survived her two years,¹²⁶ and finally the names of all three appeared on the vault which still stands in the Liverpool cemetery.

In St Luke's church nearby is a monument to Rachel showing her face in profile, and with these words: 'The Tablet of Mrs Thomas Moore who departed this life on the 13th day of November 1838 aged 76 years. She was the most affectionate and virtuous wife, a tender mother, and ever kind to the poor. She was united to her husband for forty-two years, during which time she was a constant attendant at the house of God, and a strict observer of family prayer, and died in peace.' This encomium on a virtuous woman reflects as much honour on Thomas as it does on Rachel. It is pleasant to think that, if she had once been less respectable than her husband, at least it was all above forty-two years before. Time mends all, and today the portrait of this one time prisoner of the Crown, appearing on the same canvas as her husband's, hangs in the Chapter House of St Andrew's Cathedral along with those of Bishop Broughton and his episcopal successors.¹²⁷

REFERENCES

1. For St James's College see an appendix in M. L. Loane, *A Centenary History of Moore Theological College*, Sydney 1955, and B. R. Davis, 'The Church of England in N.S.W.: The Beginnings and Development of Training Men for its Ministry, with Special Reference to the Diocese of Newcastle, 1825-1925', M.A. Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1967.

2. Translated for the *Sydney Morning Herald* by two of the divinity students, George Fairfowl Macarthur and George Gregory. See Davis, op. cit.
3. Original letter in the Broughton Library, Moore College, Sydney.
4. Broughton to Joshua Watson, 29 November 1838. Original in Broughton Library.
5. Ibid. In his will, dated 6 February 1839, Moore directed that the College was to be called 'Moore's College', though from the time it was opened in 1856 it seems to have been called 'Moore College', and more recently 'Moore Theological College'. A new church at Moorebank, opened on 4 January 1970, has been called 'St Thomas's Church', in the spirit of the original proposal.
6. Ibid.
7. Original letter, dated 25 February 1839, in Broughton Library.
8. Painted by a Mr Griffiths, who also did a portrait of Mr Justice Burton. Both oils are described by an art critic in the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 July 1847, as deficient in drawing and effect.
9. *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, London 1804, p. 174. This *Britannia* is frequently confused with *Britannia* under Captain Melville which came out in the third fleet in July 1791, went on a local whaling expedition returning to port in November 1791, left Sydney in January 1792 and did not return until 1797.
10. Journal of Robert Murry, fourth officer of *Britannia*. The MS journal is in the Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, and covers the period 16 February 1792 to 16 April 1796. These and other extracts were copied by Dr Neil C. Begg of Dunedin, to whom my thanks are due. The portion of the log relating to the Dusky Bay expedition is reproduced in *Dusky Bay*, A. Charles Begg and Neil C. Begg, Christchurch 1966 (revised ed. 1968).
11. John Cobley, *Sydney Cove 1791-1792*, Sydney 1965, p. 284f. No information of his earlier life has so far come to light. *The Australian Encyclopaedia* says 'born apparently in Ireland'. A plaque in St Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney, erected by the Chapter in 1919 says 'born in England 1762'. Bishop Broughton's correspondence (see Notes 3-7) indicates that Moore had a brother, sister and nephew in either Northumberland or Durham at the time of his death in 1840.
12. Begg, *Dusky Bay*, pp. 17, 42; also article 'Seals and Sealing', *The Australian Encyclopaedia*.
13. Begg, op. cit., p. 184, Cobley, op. cit., pp. 301, 310f.
14. We can assume that Moore's impressions of Sydney would have corresponded, more or less, with those of Murry, whose journal contains very interesting comments on the colony as it appeared to him in 1792. He praises the system of trade and the administration of justice as 'most equitable', and is impressed with the opportunities for settlers and prisoners. 'It is universally acknowledged that the present Governor has done wonders.' Murry reported a very different story on *Britannia's* second visit, when Grose was in charge. Incidents during the first visit included *Britannia* being robbed of gunpowder (17 September) and Captain Raven being robbed while staying ashore at the house of Esther Abrahams, a convict (9 October). (Cobley).
15. Captain Raven to Lieutenant-Governor King, *Historical Records of New South Wales*, Vol. II, p. 94.
16. This is the comment of Charles and Neil Begg, whose beautiful and fascinating book greatly enlivens our understanding of this episode in Moore's career.
17. Begg, op. cit., p. 188.
18. Ibid., p. 206.
19. Ibid. p. 232.
20. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. V, p. 107.
21. Ibid., p. 340.
22. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. II, p. 95.
23. For the full story, see Begg, op. cit., pp. 78-83, 192-208; also Collins, op. cit., pp. 315f.
24. Begg, op. cit., p. 73.

25. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. II, pp. 86-93.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 193, 218. Collins, p. 265, reports Raven's encounter with this 'fleet of piratical Proas', adding, 'from whom he might have found some difficulty to escape, had he not fortunately killed the Captain of one of them when in the act of making preparations for boarding him'. Moore was getting his share of adventure.
27. Collins, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
28. Begg, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
29. I do not know for certain that Moore accompanied *Britannia* on these last voyages to Cape Town and Calcutta. F. B. Boyce, *Thomas Moore, An Early Australian Worthy*, London, 1914, says 'We read of him as in 1796 the ship's carpenter of the *Britannia*', p. 1, but gives no reference.
30. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, p. 115.
31. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. II, p. 214.
32. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, p. 73.
33. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. II, p. 345.
34. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, p. 89.
35. Begg, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
36. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, p. 180.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 214ff.
38. Photosat copy of register of marriages, St Philip's Church, Sydney. The original is held by the Registrar-General's Department, Sydney.
39. Rex Rienits, Biographical Introduction in *Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales*, by John White, edited Alec H. Chisholm, Sydney, 1962.
40. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VI, p. 150.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
42. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 70.
43. *Historical Records of Australia*, Vol. 1, p. 548.
44. Cobley, *op. cit.*, p. 288.
45. Grimes' Plan of Sydney, 1800, *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. V, p. 838.
46. See note 29.
47. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. II, p. 208.
48. Smyth had been a sergeant in the marines, and had been appointed Superintendent of Stores by Governor Phillip in 1792, when Moore was first in Sydney. Robert Murry stayed at his store in 1795, and wrote in his journal: 'the character of that gentleman is so well known by persons who visit Port Jackson that any tribute I could pay would be superfluous'. He was later to become Provost Marshal. When he died suddenly in 1805 at the Hawkesbury, it fell to Moore to act as coroner for his friend, and he succeeded him as lieutenant in the Sydney company of the Loyal Association. Margaret Dawson was Rachel's opposite number in the household of the second surgeon, William Balmain. She was a convict from Lancashire. She bore Balmain a daughter (Jane) on 27 March 1797, and a son (John William) on 20 August 1800. She evidently returned with Balmain to England in *Albion* (Captain Eber Bunker, Moore's friend) and there was another child in 1803. Balmain died shortly after this, only a little over 40, and although he and Margaret had not been legally married he provided for her and the children generously in his will. See *Australian Dictionary of Biography*.
49. See note 38.
50. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, pp. 280, 308.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 337.
52. The late M. H. Ellis kindly gave me his assistance in the following section, and provided additional information about Turnbull and Buyers.
53. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, p. 608.
54. Rienits, *op. cit.* pp. 28, 31.
55. *Sydney Gazette*, 4 March 1804.
56. *S.G.*, 8 April 1804.
57. *S.G.*, 23 and 30 August 1807: 'That excellently situated dwelling house in the High Street, Sydney, belonging to and formerly occupied

- by Captain Raven, the whole painted red and in good repair, and occupying a lease whereof nine years are unexpired'. Raven's lot was 25 rods in 1799.
58. *H.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. VII, pp. 304, 654. See also *The Saint Andrew's Cathedral Property Investment Ordinance of 1906*, Synod of Sydney Diocese.
 59. Mitchell was still the tenant when Moore gave the property to Bishop Broughton. Mitchell witnessed Moore's will in February 1839 along with Dr Kinchela and John Gurner, chief clerk of the Supreme Court.
 60. *H.R.A.*, Series III, Vol. VII, p. 809.
 61. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, pp. 584ff.
 62. *Ibid.*, p. 453; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 811.
 63. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, p. 363.
 64. *Ibid.*, p. 337. The list of government floating craft at September 1800 included 'a whaleboat for the Governor's use, built at Port Jackson', *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. IV, p. 157. Mr. Allan Bax has kindly supplied me with the following description of Bass's whaleboat as given in K. M. Bowden's *George Bass 1771-1803, his discoveries etc.*, p. 59: 'The whale-boat was built in Sydney of native timber. It was 28 feet 7 inches in length, rather flat floored with a somewhat curved keel and with head and stern alike, as was the case with all whale-boats. It was constructed of banksia wood and was lined with cedar. It was designed to row eight oars but six were sufficient for ordinary purposes'.
 65. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. V, pp. 610, 626.
 66. *S.G.*, 18 September 1803.
 67. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VII, p. 456.
 68. *Voyage*, Vol. II, p. 496.
 69. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. V, pp. 1, 14.
 70. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III, p. 313.
 71. *H.R.A.*, Series I, Vol. II, p. 461.
 72. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. III frontispiece.
 73. The grant describes the property as bounded 'on the north by an allotment granted to Mr Edward Laing and extending to the South-west corner of Annandale and up to the North side of Jeffries and Abell's Farms and bounded on the East side by an allotment granted to Mr Thomas Smyth. The said 470 acres to be known by the name of Douglas Farm'. Other references to its location in relation to neighbours are in various advertisements in the *Sydney Gazette*, e.g. for 17 July 1803. See Land Titles Office, Sydney, Land Grants Register.
 74. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. IV, p. 648.
 75. *Ibid.*, p. 933.
 76. L.T.O. Register. It was bounded on the East by a swamp, on the South by Cook's River, and on the North by various farms, including his own.
 77. *Lachlan Macquarie . . . Journals of His Tours in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land 1810-1822*, Sydney, 1956, p. 37.
 78. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VI, p. 139.
 79. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. V, p. 338.
 80. *S.G.*, 11 December 1803.
 81. *S.G.*, 5 February 1804. The *Sydney Gazette* of 15 January described the launching of this, 'the first vessel ever launched in the Colony (those formerly built having been floated off). At a quarter past 9 the tide answering, the props were struck, and she darted into the bosom of Neptune with a facility and velocity that could not be exceeded. As soon as she dipped, HIS EXCELLENCY performed the baptismal ceremony, and such was her way that she nearly half crossed the Cove before she brought up. . . . She went off in as capital a manner as could be expected or wished; and as soon as she started, the Yard being full of spectators, her being afloat was gratulated by three English Cheers . . .'
 82. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. V, p. 610.
 83. *S.G.*, 17 July 1803; also 19 and 26 March 1803.
 84. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. V, p. 339.

85. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. IV, p. 232.
86. *S.G.*, 4 March 1804, 9 September 1804.
87. *S.G.*, 8 July 1804.
88. The circumstances are obscure. Moore was an 'intimate friend' of Rowley's, but he accepted the guardianship only with reluctance on Macquarie's insistence in 1812. For some reason he was involved in heavy financial losses as a result, and many years later, in 1837, he petitioned Sir Richard Bourke for compensation. The home government refused to acknowledge the validity of Macquarie's authority in the matter, but the N.S.W. Legislative Council voted Moore £2,500 compensation in September 1840—3 months before his death. See *H.R.A.* I, Vol. XIX, pp. 79, 421; Vol. XXI, pp. 47, 386.
89. *S.G.*, 23 December 1804.
90. *S.G.*, 2 March 1805.
91. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VII, p. 249.
92. *S.G.*, 26 May 1805. The same issue reports that Moore was 'overturned in a chaise and . . . had his leg broke by the fall'.
93. *S.G.*, 1 June 1806.
94. *S.G.*, 15 June 1806.
95. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VI, pp. 163-4.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 340.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 620, Vol. VII, p. 66.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 434 and p. 455.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 460 and p. 581.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 515 and p. 521.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 736.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 550, p. 565, p. 566, Vol. VII, p. 15, p. 32, p. 57, p. 72.
103. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VII, p. 268.
104. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VI, p. 532.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
106. *Pegasus* arrived in Port Jackson on 1 October 1807, having been captured from the Spaniards by H.M. Frigate *Cornwallis*. The *Sydney Gazette* of 12 May 1808 stated that Mr Thomas Moore had purchased *Pegasus*, and Bligh's complaint to Castlereagh (8 July 1809) spoke of the ship which pursued *Harrington* as Moore's ship. D. R. Hainsworth's article on Simeon Lord in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* claims Lord and Dr John Harris as joint owners with Moore.
Robert McNab in *Murihiku* (1909) described *Pegasus* as 'destined . . . to be recorded pioneer of Foveaux Strait between South Island and Stewart Island, N.Z. and to give her name to the southern port of Stewart Island' (p. 155).
107. An ineffectual pursuit had first been attempted by Macarthur's small vessel, *Haleyon*, which has thus sometimes been confused with Moore's vessel.
108. *H.R.A.* I, Vol. VI, p. 689, *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VII, p. 191. She had sailed from Sydney on 26 August 1808, on a very lucrative sealing voyage, during which Foveaux Strait was pioneered. See 'Seals and Sealing' in *The Australian Encyclopaedia*.
109. *H.R.A.* I, Vol. VII, p. 175.
110. I am grateful to Mr A. E. Bax for some of the foregoing information, and for other assistance in connection with this paper.
111. For the reprehensible aspect of this industry, see now Alan Moorhead, *The Fatal Impact*, London, 1966.
112. *H.R.A.* I, Vol. VII, p. 177.
113. *H.R.N.S.W.*, Vol. VII, p. 381.
114. Moore had already built a house at Moore Bank, which is mentioned in the flood reports of June 1809 (*H.R.N.S.W.* Vol. VII, p. 166). The George's River rose 34' above normal. 'The whole space, extending from the bottom of the Horse-shoe Pond to the house of Mr Moore, was totally under water, and has the resemblance of an extensive lake.'
115. Macquarie's *Journals* (see Note 77), p. 3, p. 32. Rachel, the ex-convict, is now 'our kind hostess Mrs Moore'. Macquarie enjoyed the Moore's hospitality on a number of occasions.

116. I owe this reference, with other information regarding Moore's early association and dealings with the Bank of N.S.W., to Patricia Quinn, Archivist of the Bank of N.S.W. in its sesqui-centenary year.
117. *S.G.*, 13 February 1823. See note 39.
118. Andrew White's will, 1571 (1), Probate Office, Sydney.
119. M. L. Loane refers to such a visit in his article on Moore in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Rienits states that Andrew White, who had been an officer in the Royal Engineers since 1812, remained on service in France, after the battle of Waterloo, until 1818. White was promoted second captain in 1826, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
120. From his will, dated 12 June 1824 (see note 118). He left Moore his gold watch and chain: 'he will value them because they once were mine'.
121. Dated 30 November 1827. See note 118.
122. *H.R.A.* 1, Vol. XII, p. 316; A. G. Austin, *Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900*, Melbourne 1963, p. 7.
123. Broughton to Watson, 29 November 1838: 'I learned that he had still a brother and a nephew living in England. They live I believe in the North of England near to Archdeacon Scott, through whom some communication has been once or oftener made to them.'
Broughton to Coleridge, 22 December 1841: '... the old gentleman has left a brother and sister . . . Moore's family are in communication with the Reverend Archdeacon Scott, Whitfield Rectory, Haydon Bridge, Northumberland, and with the Reverend George Fielding, Bishop-Auckland: through either of whom the papers might be conveyed to them: most readily I believe by the latter'. Originals in Broughton Library, Moore College, Sydney.
124. On 24 November, at his residence, Parramatta, after a short illness', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 27 November 1837. Rienits says 'he lived for some years in Macquarie Street, Parramatta, where on 18th June 1835 he married Mary Ann, eldest daughter of A. K. Mackenzie, J.P., of Dockcairn, Bathurst', *op. cit.*, p. 31.
125. 'At Liverpool, on the 13th instant, Mrs Rachel Moore, after a long protracted illness . . . aged 76 years. She died in peace, much, and deservedly, lamented', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 November 1838.
126. 'At his residence, Liverpool, on Thursday, the 24th instant, in the seventy-ninth year of his age . . . Mr Moore was one of our oldest Colonists and much esteemed for his piety and charity', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 December 1840.
127. My interest in Moore's early career was first stimulated by Archdeacon F. B. Boyce's pamphlet, *Thomas Moore, An Early Australian Worthy* (London, 1914). There are short articles in *The Australian Encyclopaedia* and the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, and some reference in Archbishop Loane's *A Centenary History of Moore Theological College*, Sydney, 1955. There is room for a further study of Moore's years at Liverpool, 1810-1840, his place in the life of the colony during those years, and of the history of his benefactions to the present day. Self-perpetuating trustees, appointed under his will still administer Thomas Moore's Estate which is an important feature in the affairs of the Diocese of Sydney.

Note: Sydney Cove, West Side, about 1810 (Picture facing page 180). In the centre is the Government Dockyard, with the Hospital buildings immediately beyond it. At the left, visible between the foremast and the mainmast of the ship, is Thomas Moore's house, up from the public wharf and beyond the market place. Essex Lane (now Globe Street) extends up the hill beside it. At the right is the master boatbuilder's house occupied by Moore in 1799, beyond the rocks and trees and next to Robert Campbell's house at the extreme right. This section of the shore is occupied today by the Maritime Service Buildings and the Overseas Terminal.

A POSTSCRIPT

Since this essay went to press, some documents relating to Captain Henry Waterhouse have come to light, not previously published. They contain interesting references to persons and affairs connected with the colony of N.S.W. References in them to Andrew White lead me to think that Andrew did not accompany his father, John White, to England in 1794, but that Thomas Moore accepted responsibility for the child after his marriage to Rachel Turner, and entrusted him to the care of Henry Waterhouse when the latter returned to England in 1800. Andrew was certainly living with the Waterhouses in 1804 and 1806, though spending vacations at the home of his father, John White. I further surmise that Moore may have purchased Andrew's commission for him. In 1812 William Waterhouse (Henry's father) wrote to Moore about Andrew who had just been commissioned as Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, that "he is a very handsome young man, and I am confident as good as handsome, and I doubt not will by his conduct repay you for all your expense and trouble".

Henry Waterhouse had been an officer on the Sirius and had then commanded the Reliance. He had property in Sydney and Parramatta, which Moore became agent for after Waterhouse's departure. He introduced the first merino sheep into N.S.W. from the Cape of Good Hope in 1797, and supplied lambs to Macarthur and Marsden, with well-known consequences. Did he also sell lambs to Moore? In October 1804 he wrote to Moore: "The Spanish wool....I believe will shortly be an object of attention to Government, from which I think you may profit, by keeping your wool etc.". D.W.B.R.