Ben Boyd National Park
Bicentennial Project

Davidson Whaling Station
Boyd's Tower
Bittangabee Ruins

Above: A small weatherboard cottage which formed part of Davidson's Whaling Station, established at Kiah Inlet in the late 1840's.

Anne Bickford, Sandy Blair, Peter Freeman
PREFACE

This publication is based on a report prepared for the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service for the Ben Boyd National Park Bicentennial Project. The original version of the report consists of a main volume and appendices as follows:

Report (1 Vol)

Ben Boyd National Park Bicentennial Project: Conservation Analysis and Conservation Policy; Davidson Whaling Station; Boyd's Tower & Bittangabee Ruins.

Appendices (3 Vols)

Vol. 1 Photographic Survey and Map Sources
Vol. 2 Oral History Transcripts: Interviews with Mrs Elsie Severs and Mrs Alice Otton by Colleen Dibley.
Vol. 3 Surveys and Inventories: Artefact Inventory, Davidson Whaling Station; Flora and Fauna Survey, all sites; Garden Inventory, Davidson Whaling Station.

The original report was also accompanied by the project architect's work specifications for each site. The accompanying documentation has not been included in this published form of the report. The original report including the 3 vols of appendices, is deposited with the NSW NPWS Central Office.

The historic sites covered by this report are situated on land held under the National Parks and Wildlife Act of 1974. They are managed by Service Officers from the Eden District, SE Region. The project manager for the Ben Boyd National Park Bicentennial Project was Ms Margaret Collins. The present status of the project sites is as follows:

Davidson Whaling Station cottage and precinct is currently occupied. Public access is deliberately limited and there is no signage or interpretation provided to the site at present. Public access is programmed for 1988/89.

Boyd's Tower: there is public access to the Tower by a pedestrian track. There are interpretative signs and general signage to the site.

Bittangabee Ruins: there is public access to the Ruins from the Green Cape Road. There are interpretative signs and directional signs to the Ruins.

Sandy Blair
(Historian, consultant team)
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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 BICENTENNIAL PROJECT BRIEF

This Project, to conserve and interpret historic sites within the Eden area, has been undertaken and managed by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service and is part of the Australian Bicentennial Program (NSW Council) to celebrate the Bicentennial of Australia's European settlement. The Project has been funded jointly by the ABA (NSW Council) and the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

The brief was issued by the National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) New South Wales (NSW) in December 1985. The proposed Stage 1 work within the Brief (the subject of this Conservation Analysis), required the following work:

STAGE 1

Davidson Whaling Station
Review of historical research and collection of oral history.
Site survey including try-works and Aboriginal midden.
Archaeological survey.
Horticultural survey.
Measured survey of buildings.
Assessment of structural condition leading to recommendation for conservation.

Boyd's Tower
Site survey to include parking area, track to tower, stairway and viewing area plus track to Edrom Lodge (c.200m).
Photogrammetric recording and documentation of plan, section and elevations of the tower.
Assessment of structural condition leading to recommendations for conservation.

Bittangabee Ruins
Site survey and recording of ruins, adjacent quarries, tracks and including unidentified ruin 300m north locally known as "slave grave".
Determination of archaeological requirements.
Stage 1 to be completed by March 1986.

This Stage 1 brief was subsequently modified substantially to rationalise the required Stage 1 activities into a conventional 'Conservation Analysis' framework, and to provide an outline Conservation Policy component to the work. The revised Stage 1 proposal was as follows:
Davidson Whaling Station, Kiah Inlet
Task: Preparation of Conservation Analysis (including physical and historical analysis, artefact inventory, oral history, horticultural and fauna survey, architectural and terrestrial survey, outline statement of significance).
Preparation of outline Conservation Policy (including policy constraints arising from Statement of Significance and from non conservation issues).

Boyd's Tower, Red Point
Task: Preparation of Conservation Analysis (including physical and historical analysis, inventory, architectural and terrestrial survey, visitation statistics, outline Statement of Significance).
Preparation of outline Conservation Policy (as for Davidson Whaling Station).

Bittangabee Ruins, Bittangabee Bay
Task: Preparation of Conservation Analysis (including physical and historical analysis, artefact inventory, architectural and terrestrial survey, visitation statistics, outline Statement of Significance).
Preparation of outline Conservation Policy (as for Davidson Whaling Station).

Project Generally
Task: Preparation of annotated bibliography for Ben Boyd sites generally.
The revised program was based on the need for a workshop to be organised by the NPWS, to discuss the Stage 1 work. Subsequent discussion determined that the inventory of whaling tools and techniques, and the preparation of Bicentennial signs for all the sites be carried out.

The professional fees for Stage 1 of the Conservation Project were agreed, after negotiation, at a figure of $22,700.00. This fee covered the Stage 1 work of the consultant team generally.

1.2 SCOPE AND DEFINITIONS
This analysis and outline policy covers the following three sites within, or adjacent to, the Ben Boyd National Park. The three sites are: Boyd's Tower, Red Point; Davidson Whaling Station, Kiah Inlet; and Bittangabee Ruins, Bittangabee Bay.
1.3 STRUCTURE OF THE CONSERVATION ANALYSIS/OUTLINE

CONSERVATION POLICY

The following structure has been adopted:
Section 2: Abstract of Conservation Analysis/Conservation policy issues.
Section 3: General History and context of Ben Boyd National Park and the three project sites.
Section 4: Davidson Whaling Station
Section 5: Boyd's Tower
Section 6: Bittangabee Ruins
Section 7: Bibliography
Section 8: Appendices

1.4 METHODOLOGY

Neither the original NPWS Brief, nor the Stage 1 Annexure to the Consultant Contract, makes specific reference to the methodology expected for the Conservation Analysis/policy. The consultant team have determined that the work should be consistent with the following:
ICOMOS Australia, Burra Charter
ICOMOS Australia, Guidelines to the preparation of Conservation Analyses and Policy, (1978)

The following work, preparatory to the preparation of this Conservation Analysis, has been undertaken by the Project Manager and Consultants:

Project Manager/Architect - Peter Freeman
The project was carried out by field work, office work and research, mainly in the National Library of Australia. The fieldwork consisted of three separate site visits by the Project Architect/Staff to the Ben Boyd National Park. The meetings consisted of two Sydney based and two Canberra based meetings of the consultant team. The work carried out by the Manager/Architect included the following:
- Co-ordination and management of the project and the various consultants to the project.
- Liaison with National Parks and Wildlife Service SE Region office with the Project Officer (Ms Sue Feary). About ten such meetings were held.
- Preparation of architectural drawings for the project, and historical/archival research. Preparation of report proper and compilation of all sub-consultants information.

Archaeologist - Anne Bickford
The work was carried out by fieldwork, and research in NPWS Head Office, the Mitchell Library, Lands Department of NSW, and State Library of Victoria.
The fieldwork consisted of three separate site visits by the Archaeologist to the Ben Boyd National Park. The meetings consisted of three Sydney based and two Canberra based meetings between the consultant team. Two additional meetings were convened by the Archaeologist in Sydney to discuss the problem of 'tryworks area' stabilisation.

The research work carried out by the Archaeologist included the following:

- Head Office NPWS. Catalogue all Ben Boyd National Park files and records and filed into site categories. Compiled a card index to these records. Filed, catalogue and labelled all slides held, including slides taken as part of this project.

Historian - Sandy Blair
The work was carried out by fieldwork and research in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, NSW AO, National Library of Australia and the Bega Family History Museum. The fieldwork consisted of two separate visits by the Historian to BBNP. These visits included substantial discussions with oral history correspondents to the projects, and others.

The meetings consisted of all consultant team meetings (see above) and other meetings with the NPWS Project Officer. A series of drafts of the histories were prepared for comment, resulting in the final form of the histories (Sections 4.2, 5.2 and 6.2). The historian was also responsible for the preparation of the bibliography (Section 7.0).

1.5 SUBMISSIONS

The Stage 1 documentation was presented to the NPWS (NSW) in draft form. On receipt of comment from the Service this document was finalised and printed.

1.6 COPYRIGHT AND CONFIDENTIALITY

The contract states that:

"...The property and copyright in all contract material will vest in the Director on behalf of Her Majesty and will not unless with the prior approval in writing of the Director be used by the Consultant for any purpose other than the provision of consultancy services under this Agreement by the Consultant."
Should the Director notify the Consultant that he requires one or more of the reports referred to in Clause 2 to be published as an Occasional Paper of the Service or in a scientific journal, the report in will be prepared in accordance with the Manuscript Preparation Guidelines of the Service, or of the relevant journal as appropriate.

Upon receipt of a written request from the Consultant the Director may permit the use of a portion or the whole of the materials prepared or collected under this Agreement by the Consultant in publications other than that referred to in Sub-clause 7.1 subject to such terms and conditions as the Director may impose...

1.7 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Grateful acknowledgement is extended to the following people who assisted in this work:

- Dr Michael Pearson, Canberra
- Mrs Mary Mitchell, Eden
- The Family History Museum, Bega
- Mr Donald Davidson, Sydney
- Mrs Edna Boyd
- Mrs Alice Otton
- Mrs Elsie Severs
- Dr George Gibbons, Assistant Director of the Geological Survey of NSW
- NPWS SE Region Office
- NPWS Eden District Office
- Dr Peter Roy, Sydney
- Mr David Wilkinson, Sydney
- Mrs Carrie Turnbull, Eden
- Mr Daryl Dibley, and Mrs Colleen Dibley, Eden
and to many others who assisted with information and time.

Special thanks to Mr Rene Davidson, Eden, for permission to use photographs from Whalemens of Eden.
2.0 ABSTRACT

2.1 STATEMENTS OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

2.1.1 Davidson Whaling Station
Davidson Whaling station (Tryworks Site and Davidson's Cottage Precinct) was the longest operating whaling station in Australia and the last of its type to close down. It has associations with the 19th century shore base whaling industry of south east Australia, and with the Imlay Brothers, Benjamin Boyd, Oswald Brierly, and the Davidson family. The entire site has high archaeological and interpretative potential. The site, with its small cottage buildings, pine trees and garden flowers and overlooking the Tryworks and the Kiah Inlet, has an undisturbed patina of age.

2.1.2 Boyd's Tower
Boyd's Tower is one of Australia's greatest romantic ruins. The Tower has direct associations with Benjamin Boyd, and with one hundred years of whaling within Twofold Bay. The Tower is superbly constructed of Sydney sandstone and timber, and has remained remarkably intact in form and fabric. As a symbol, it played a very important part in Twofold Bay whaling mythology, as evidenced by the many contemporary works illustrating the Tower. The Tower continues to be used as a symbol of the Eden area.

2.1.3 Bittangabee Ruins
Bittangabee Ruins are significant because they represent a rare survival from mid 19th century pastoral settlement of this area, and of building technology of that period. The Ruins are also significant because of their associations with the Imlay brothers and with the Boyd empire.

2.1.4 The Sites Generally
Davidson Whaling Station, Boyd's Tower, and the Bittangabee Ruins, are a group of European sites of cultural significance that represent the whaling industry occupation of Twofold Bay and the NSW South Coast in the early to mid 19th century, and also represent the pastoral/whaling occupation by the Imlay brothers, Benjamin Boyd, and the Davidson family.

2.2 POLICY CONSTRAINTS/REQUIREMENTS AND POLICY STATEMENTS

2.2.1 Davidson Whaling Station
Policy constraints/requirements and policy statements refer to:
- Legislation and conservation guidelines
- Visitor use and access
- The Ruins
- New Structures
- Interpretation
2.2.2 Boyd's Tower
Policy constraints/requirements and policy statements refer to:
. Legislation and conservation guidelines
. Visitor use and access
. Existing structures
. New Structures
. Interpretation
. Forestry Commission

2.2.3 Bittangabee Ruins
Policy constraints/requirements and policy statements refer to:
. Legislation and conservation guidelines
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2.2.4 The Sites Generally
Policy constraints/requirements and policy statements refer to:
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3.0 BEN BOYD NATIONAL PARK AND THE PROJECT SITES

3.1 HISTORIC SITES IN THE BEN BOYD NATIONAL PARK

Early European occupation of the area which is now the Ben Boyd National Park was part of the expansion of whaling and pastoralism in the Twofold Bay region. The topography and resources of the Twofold Bay area have been a major influence on European settlement patterns. The distribution of soils and pastures and the seasonal abundance of right whales attracted entrepreneurs such as the Imlay brothers and Ben Boyd to the Twofold Bay area from the 1830's. The Bay itself was an important port which serviced the Monaro hinterland and coastal steamships carrying trade between Sydney and Melbourne, as well as to Tasmania and New Zealand. The activities of the Imlays and Boyd made Twofold Bay for a time an important commercial centre, with financial and trading links to major colonial and overseas capitals. Boyd's Tower and the Bittangabee Ruins serve as markers to the rapid expansion of the 1840's, and the decline of whaling and pastoralism after that period. The reduced scale of operations at Davidson Whaling Station after the 1840's indicates the limits to speculative activity associated with whaling.

Davidson Whaling Station, Boyd's Tower and Bittangabee Ruins were associated with nearby urban settlements at Eden and Boydtown and linked by sea to Australian and overseas ports. In 1986, the Historic Sites within the Ben Boyd National Park are accessible by roads which join up with the Princes Highway. However, in the 1840's, a coastal road linked settlements along the southern shores of Twofold Bay with Eden and Boydtown. A walking track maintained by the Service from Boyd's Tower at Red Point to the lighthouse at Green Cape traces part of this route in 1986. Wharves at Eden, Boydtown and East Boyd provided berths for coastal steamships, while Kiah Inlet and Bittangabee Bay were accessible to smaller vessels. Communications reflected patterns of work and residence associated with the major industries of whaling and pastoralism.

In 1986, there is a rich heritage of oral traditions and local histories relating to the Historic Sites in the Ben Boyd National Park. Families and descendants associated with the sites, notably the Davidsons, live in the Eden township and district. The Eden 'Killer Whale Museum' collects and displays whaling artefacts and historic photographs. Museums at nearby Tathra and Bega hold collections relating to the Imlay brothers. At Bega, the original Imlay homestead, 'Tarraganda House', is a private residence listed by the National Trust. Boyd's Tower and the Bittangabee Ruins are accessible to the public and are popular tourist destinations. These sites provide important links with Eden's past as well as being part of the larger story of whaling and pastoralism in the Australian setting.
3.2 INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF THE PROJECT SITES

Ben Boyd National Park is divided into two sections, from the Pambula River in the north, to Green Cape and Disaster Bay in the south, separated by Twofold Bay.

All three sites examined in this Conservation Study fall into the south section of the Park's area of responsibility. Boyd's Tower and Bittangabee Ruins are the two most important historic sites in the Park. Davidson Whaling Station at the mouth of Kiah Inlet in Twofold Bay does not fall within the Park boundaries, but is an Historic Site managed by the NPWS. All three sites are central to the history of shore-based whaling from the 1840's onward. Davidson Whaling Station and Boyd's Tower are directly connected with whaling, and were used together from the time of Boyd's demise in the late 1840's, as the Davidsons used Boyd's Tower as a lookout station for whales. The ruins at Bittangabee are the footings of a homestead, never completed, built by the Imlay Brothers in the mid 1840's. Whether they intended to expand their boat station at Bittangabee to a tryworks, or whether it was constructed primarily as a homestead for the pastoral run, is not clear.

The connections between Davidson Whaling Station and Boyd's Tower were close, for they were linked originally by a coastal track that connected Boydtown to Red Point. The operations of the whaling stations at East Boyd and Kiah Inlet were closely allied to the use of Boyd's Tower on Red Point as a lookout point.

Bittangabee Ruins and the Twofold Bay sites were less closely allied, but Bittangabee was an integral part of the Bay Whaling operation in the mid 1840's, for the Imlay look-out at Bittangabee worked in conjunction with the Imlay and Walker Whaling Stations in the Bay (Refer Pearson, Shore Based Waling at Twofold Bay, RAHS, and History of Bittangabee, Section 6.2).

No research has been undertaken on the route of the track to Bittangabee from the Bay. This is an area that requires further investigation.

3.3 ACQUISITION AND MANAGEMENT BY NATIONAL PARKS AND WILDLIFE SERVICE

The Ben Boyd National Park was dedicated under the National Parks and Wildlife Service Act in 1973 and the Bittangabee Ruins became part of the Park at that time. In 1970 that area of Red Point including Boyd's Tower was reserved by the Department of Lands "for the Preservation of Historical Sites and Buildings." In November 1976, this portion of land was gazetted as part of the Park.
Davidson Whaling Station has only recently been acquired by the Service, and was gazetted as an historic site under the NPWS Act in March 1986.

The NPWS Plan of Management for BBNP (published in July 1985), prior to the acquisition of Davidson Whaling Station, makes the following comment/policy proposals in regard to the European sites within the park (i.e. including Bittangabee Ruins and Boyd's Tower).

"...European occupation of this area dates from the 1840's, when the whaling and grazing operations of the Imlay family were succeeded by the various commercial enterprises of Benjamin Boyd. The major features within the park which have survived from these periods are the blockhouse and other ruins at Bittangabee, and Boyd's tower (intended as a lighthouse but also used for spotting whales) at Red Point. Elsewhere in the park other legacies of European occupation include ruins, old foundations and bricks, a bridge and post and rail fences. The area has also been used for grazing and logging activities, and pine plantations still survive in parts of both north and south Ben Boyd. Prior to the area being included in the park, there was a goat farm near Red Point. The park has been used for fishing-related activities almost continuously from the 1840's, initially for whaling, and later for salmon and abalone..."

"...The objectives of management for cultural resources proposed in this plan are:

- to preserve, protect and record Aboriginal and historic features as they become known;
- to encourage and undertake the necessary research to provide a comprehensive picture of the location and cultural significance of Aboriginal and historic features in the park; and
- to inform the public of the location and significance of these resources, where this will not conflict with the protection of the resource..."

"...Special protection measures will be taken as appropriate wherever they are deemed essential to protect Aboriginal or historic features from deterioration. The effectiveness of both existing and new methods of conserving both Aboriginal and historic sites will be assessed, as will the impact of visitors on these sites. The location of all development works (e.g., recreation facilities and fire trails) will be subject to satisfactory assessment of their impact on known sites of significant cultural resources, carried out through the Service's own impact assessment procedures. Sites subject to such procedures will include:

- Severs Beach;
- Green Cape;
- Saltwater Creek; and
- Boyd's Tower.

Proposals entailing an unacceptable impact on the park's cultural resources will be relocated or abandoned.
Where a decision is taken to proceed with a proposal involving disturbance of cultural resources, the site will be subject to appropriate salvage procedures...

"...The following action will be taken with regard to significant historical features already known to exist within the park. The Service will investigate the feasibility of maintaining and, if necessary, stabilising Boyd's Tower on Red Point. Subject to the results of this study, a programme to conserve the structure may be undertaken. An interpretation programme for the Tower will also be developed and implemented. Appropriate measures will be taken to protect the ruins at Bittangabee from further deterioration. Research into the history of the ruins and the surrounding area will continue, and an interpretation programme implemented. The shell of the concrete blockhouse at Bittangabee will be retained as a ruin...

3.4 PRESENT STATUS OF THE PROJECT SITES (AS AT 1986)

All three sites are now on land held under the NPW Act 1974. They are managed by Service Officers from the Eden District, South-eastern Region.

Davidson Whaling Station cottage and precinct is currently occupied. Public access to Davidson Whaling Station site is deliberately limited, and there is no signage or interpretation provided to the site at present.

Boyd's Tower: There is unlimited public access to the Tower, via a recently completed pedestrian track. There are presently no interpretative signs, and limited general signage to the site.

Bittangabee Ruins: There is unlimited public access to the Ruins, via Green Cape Road. There are no directional signs to the Ruins, and one information sign only (at the Ruin) which states:

"...HISTORIC RUIN
Preserve our heritage and encourage others to do likewise. Damaging defacing or removing any material from this site, not only threatens its historic value, but may render the offender liable to a $200 fine. Director, National Parks and Wildlife Service..."

3.5 POLICY CONSTRAINTS/REQUIREMENTS AND POLICY STATEMENTS FOR THE PROJECT SITES

3.5.1 Legislation and Guidelines
Policy is to be consistent with:

NPW Act 1974
Draft NPWS Policy on the Protection and Management of Sites, 1979
The above legislation and guidelines will be pursued in the Management and Conservation of the Project sites generally.

3.5.2 Visitation of the Sites
Policy should encourage visitors to visit the three project sites.

- Provide a brochure which describes the Project and the Project sites.
- Provide a roadside orientation and information point on Edrom Road which describes the Project and the Project sites. This information should suggest a 'round trip' sequence of visitation; so that the visitor can appreciate the physical and historical links of the sites.

3.5.3 Forestry Commission
Policy for the sites generally should take into account the proximity of the sites to Forestry Commission property, and the need for liaison between the Service and the Commission in providing access and interpretation facilities for the Project sites.

- The NPWS will liaise with the Forestry Commission concerning access and interpretation matters for the sites.
'George Davidson Holding a Lance in the manner ready for Attack'... from: W. J. Dakin
Whalemen Adventurers. 1934 p.184

George Davidson's home and whaling station inside the mouth of the Kiah River. The large mound at the edge of the water is the carcass of a whale.
4.0 DAVIDSON WHALING STATION

4.1 SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF DAVIDSON WHALING STATION

Davidson Whaling Station is a convenient description for a group of buildings and sites around Kiah Inlet, in Twofold Bay. Some of these sites, however, are part of the Kiah Lodge complex of buildings, and are not considered further in this Analysis. For the purpose of this analysis, the term Davidson Whaling Station has been used to refer specifically to portions 41, 61 and 62, and the Kiah Inlet shoreline to those portions.

The following sites are considered to be part of the Davidson Whaling Station complex:

Davidson's Cottage Precinct (formerly known as 'Loch Garra') including the Cottage buildings and planting, the workshop, barn, schoolhouse, orchard, garage, and spring sites.

Davidson Whaling Station Tryworks Precinct
Including the Tryworks, boatshed, huts, jetty and whale boat remains sites.

Kiah House Precinct
Including the Kiah House, boat sheds, jetty and huts sites.

East Boyd Precinct
Including the 'Merton Cottage', Huts and jetty sites.

Only the Davidson's Cottage and Whaling Station Tryworks precincts will be examined in detail in this analysis.

4.2 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

4.2.1 SITE HISTORY: DAVIDSON WHALING STATION

Davidson Whaling Station is on Kiah Inlet at Twofold Bay on the far south coast of New South Wales. Operated as a shore-based whaling station by three generations of the Davidson family, the station had a lifetime of nearly seventy years, from the early 1860s until the late 1920s, making it the longest-running shore-station in Australia. The Kiah Inlet site may have been used by whalers as early as the 1840s, when Otaheiti Bill operated from somewhere in the vicinity in competition with shore-stations at East Boyd and Snug Cove.

4.2.2 NINETEENTH CENTURY WHALING IN AUSTRALIAN WATERS

Whaling itself was an important maritime industry in the life of the early colony. Whale products, notably candle and lamp oil, were the largest grossing Australian export until 1833, when they were displace by wool. British merchants dominated the early ship-based industry in Australian waters, protected from local competition by the prohibition against the construction of colonial ocean-going vessels. In addition, heavy duties designed to
protect the British whaling industry were levied on colonial oil entering Britain. The removal of these duties in 1823 stimulated rapid growth in the Australian whaling industry. Even so, shore-based whaling had been established in Tasmania as early as 1806, though the first stations on mainland Australia, at Twofold Bay and Portland Bay, date from 1828. Shore stations hunted the southern right whale almost exclusively, while whaleships pursued the more lucrative sperm whale at sea, or anchored in bays and 'Bay-Whaled' for Right Whale oil and baleen (whalebone). In the early 1840s, Ben Boyd pursued profits as opportunities arose, operating both whaleships and a Twofold Bay shore station.

4.2.3 EARLY WHALING AT TWOFOLD BAY
In 1828, Sydney merchant, Thomas Raine, sent a whaling party to Twofold Bay. During the first season, Raine's Twofold Bay station produced around 100 tuns of oil and 20 tons of baleen, worth £29 per tun and £180 per ton respectively. The considerable profit realised by the expedition encouraged Raine himself and others to return in the seasons following, probably to a site at Snug Cove. From 1834, the Imlay brothers took over this site, occupied in 1986 by the Eden wharf, as a permanent whaling station. In the 1840 season alone, the Imlay station produced 200 tuns of oil, estimated by Pearson as triple the return of whaling stations in New Zealand at that time. The Imlays expanded their operations to the southern side of Twofold Bay, and further afield to Gabo Island, Wilson's Promontory and Van Diemen's Land during the 1830s.

4.2.4 RIVAL WHALING EMPIRES: THE 1840S
The Imlays dominated whaling at Twofold Bay up to the establishment of Boyd's East Boyd station in 1843. By the 1840s, profits were harder to win because of the depletion of whale populations through over-fishing. In Van Diemen's Land, where as many as thirty-five whaling stations had been established in boom conditions, the industry collapsed and stations were abandoned during the economic recession in the period after 1841. At Twofold Bay, shore-based whaling entered an intensely competitive stage, reflected in the setting up of several new stations around the bay. East Boyd became the focus of whaling activity during the 1840s, with separate stations established by Boyd and a partnership including variously Barclay, Faulkner and Rixon. According to Pearson, the probable location of Boyd's station was in the sandy bay south of Munganno Point, supervised by Oswald Brierly from a stone cottage at the site of the present Edrom Lodge. The Imlays' whaling station was in the bay below Edrom Lodge (part of Boyd's purchase, 1844), while the Barclay partnership occupied the area immediately to the south, at the northern end of Fisheries Beach (portion 7).
Owen Stanley Watercolour
'Killing the Whale'
Source: Mitchell Library 2PX C281
Note that Stanley depicts six boats moving in for the kill
Local historian H.E. Wellings estimated that in 1845 alone, up to twenty-seven whaleboats operated in the Bay, with at times twelve boats in pursuit of a single whale. Fierce competition for available whales led to the use of faster, seven-oared boats rather than the more manoeuvrable five-oared craft. Where European labour was hard to recruit and difficult to retain in slack times, Aborigines were used to make up the boat crews. In 1842, the Imlays employed three Aboriginal crews on the more remote southern side of the bay, reserving the Snug Cove station at Eden for European crews. Crown Lands Commissioner Lambie reported that Aborigines adopted European lifestyles for the duration of the whaling season, and that like European whalers they were paid a 'lay', or share of the profits. However, the conversion of monetary values to 'slops and provisions' may have reduced the cost of Aboriginal labour to employers. Boyd used Aboriginal crews, and perhaps indentured Pacific Island labourers as well, at the East Boyd station.

However, by the late 1840s, Twofold Bay shared in the decline of shore-based whaling that was the general pattern elsewhere as oil prices fell and whale numbers became depleted. Boyd's financial situation became unstable in the late 1840s, and he lost interest in concerns that were only marginally profitable, including the East Boyd station. Pearson calculates that the shore station made up only a small percentage of the income derived from Boyd's whaling ventures. According to Pearson, in 1848 Boyd's nine whaleships together with the Twofold Bay shore-station produced 500 tuns of sperm oil, 200 tuns of black oil (from Right Whales) and ten tons of whalebone. Allowing for a generous catch of ten to thirteen whales each producing five to eight tuns of oil, at most one hundred and four tuns of oil and five tons of bone could have been produced at the East Boyd station. The previous season, Boyd's station had only two seven-man whaleboats in use compared with the seven boats in 1844. At that time, the Imlays' stations had been taken over by Walker and Co., who provided unbeatable competition with the latest whaleboats imported from Sydney. In the face of Boyd's failure to maintain the shore-station, Brierly left East Boyd and became artist on Owen Stanley's HMS Rattlesnake expedition to Northern Australia. Boyd himself departed from Australia forever in 1849, and was later killed in the Soloman Islands. The Walkers abandoned the Snug Cove station sometime during the next decade.

After the 1840s, whaling continued at Twofold Bay at a less intense pace. Shore stations in the period 1850 to 1880 maintained fewer boats and were run on lower budgets with less expectation of high returns. The reduced scale of operations was a response to decreasing whale numbers and declining demand for whale oil, as other products were used for lighting and lubrication. In 1853, Barclay and
I. Notice

DEDICATED

December 1861

No. 1914-

BBNP BICENTENIAL PROJECT

Davidson's

Top Left
Plan of Portions 61 and 62, County of Auckland, Parish of Kiah. Survey completed 29 July 1930.
Source: Department of Lands (NSW)

Top Right
Plan of Portion 41, County of Auckland, Parish of Kiah. Survey completed 20 Dec. 1922.
Source: Department of Lands (NSW)

Bottom Left
Plan of Portion 52 (adjoining Portion 67) Parish of Kiah, County Auckland. Survey completed 23 November 1900.
Source: Department of Lands (NSW)
Rixon's East Boyd station consisted of four buildings and a well immediately behind Fisheries Beach. A local merchant, Solomon, took over the Snug Cove site and an 1860 sketch plan indicates his store adjacent to the old Eden wharf. At Kiah Inlet, Davidson's station was established, probably using at least some structures and equipment left over from the 1840s whaling establishments.

4.2.5 THE DAVIDSONS AT KIAH
Alexander Davidson, with his wife and six children all under twelve, arrived in Sydney as bounty immigrants from Aberdeen, Scotland early in 1842. Unable to find suitable work in Sydney in the climate of growing economic depression, in 1843 Davidson answered one of Boyd's advertisements for carpenters at Twofold Bay. A skilled tradesman, Davidson was presumably put to work on the numerous buildings under construction at Boydtown. At the beginning of 1847, Boyd instructed Brierly by letter that Davidson was to build a place for himself at the mouth of the Kiah to forestall Walker's occupation of the area. It seems that Boyd was concerned about his rival gaining control of Otaheiti Bill's old whaling station. The cottage was completed before September, and Brierly frequently walked over from 'Merton' to visit the Davidson household. Davidson's adolescent daughters may have attracted the attentions of a lonely bachelor, though Brierly also made regular payments to Davidson for operating a ferry service, presumably across the river entrance, linking Boydtown to East Boyd via the beaches.

Boyd planned to establish small farms a short distance from Boydtown on the fertile Kiah River flats. In 1847, Brierly urged Boyd to secure allotments with river frontage, linked by a good dray-road to Boydtown via a crossing place three and a half miles up the Towamba River. About this time a subdivision was in fact laid out and an area which included Davidson's cottage site at the mouth of the Kiah River reserved for an official township. However, Boyd was already losing interest in the Twofold Bay projects and was unwilling or unable to extend his commitments there. The following year, Boyd's cousin, William Sprott Boyd, began to wind up his Australian ventures.

In 1851, Alexander Davidson applied to purchase the village lot occupied by his cottage (portion 3). The residence was described as 'a good slab dwelling' surrounded by one and a half acres of cleared, fenced land. The purchase was completed 1 March, 1852, and the following year Davidson enlarged his property by purchasing the adjoining lot (portion 4). In this period the Davidsons established a vegetable garden, kept fowls, a milking cow and ran sheep. Work was scarce with the decline of Boydtown, though Alexander Davidson apparently
owned horses and boats and operated as a carrier for a time. In 1855, Davidson operated the 'Squatters Arms' hotel at Bunyan (Reid's Flat) on the Monaro. Late in 1857, the Davidsons returned via Boyd's road to Kiah and constructed the family home, 'Kiah Lodge' (portion 3). The house was set on high ground facing the river (north) on the north-western side of portion 3. According to family tradition, it was built from timbers salvaged from the wreck of the 'Lawrence Frost'. Until its destruction by fire in the 1930s, 'Kiah Lodge' was the centre of Davidson family networks in the Kiah Inlet and East Boyd area. 'Kiah Lodge' was closely associated with John Davidson's widow, 'Effie', who came to Kiah as a bride in 1859 and lived there throughout the entire whaling operation until the mid-1920s. The site of 'Kiah Lodge' is occupied by cottages owned by Davidson descendants in 1986.

4.2.6 DAVIDSON WHALING STATION
The Davidsons apparently began whaling around 1860, for at the beginning of the 1861 season, Davidson (presumably Alexander) was sued by an employee for his 'lay', amounting to a seventh share of a whale. According to family sources, Alexander purchased whaleboats from Barclay and Solomon, and boatsheds and tryworks were built inside Kiah Inlet, where whales could be drawn up on a sandy beach. In the early stages, boats were kept at Kiah Inlet and East Boyd, where Alexander's married son, John, rented Brierly's old 'Merton' cottage. In addition, a lookout was kept at Boyd's Tower and, weather permitting, a boat launched from a rocky shelf just inside South Head. Crews were made up from the Davidson family and local Aboriginal people. In the 1870s, John Davidson moved his family to Eden for schooling and operated a boat from Snug Cove, towing his catch across to the try works at Kiah. More or less full-time whaling was carried out from the Davidson's station until the first decade of this century, with a catch of ten to fifteen whales a season. After that time, whaling became an opportunistic activity, with no regular watch kept and a scratch crew made up at a moment's notice.

By the end of the century, John Davidson's son, George had taken over the whaling business established by his grandfather in 1860. In 1890, George married Sara Ellen Galli and in 1896, built a small cottage, 'Loch Garra' on seventeen acres of leasehold land above the try works at Kiah. It is unclear when the kitchen block was built, though it may represent an earlier 'squatting' residence constructed by the Davidsons on unsecured Crown Land. In 1920, when Davidson applied to convert his leasehold to freehold title, his holding consisted of a cleared, partly fenced area with a six-room weatherboard house, detached kitchen, workshop, established orchard, garden and dam. As a result of this
application, in 1923, Davidson was allowed to purchase an area of approximately four acres representing the site of his cottage and outbuildings (portion 41). Davidson attempted to secure the remaining leasehold area, including the try works site and partially cleared grazing and agricultural land, in 1929. The area he eventually purchased (portions 61 & 62) excluded the try works site, which was part of a reservation of river and by frontage land. Davidson lost control of this area with the expiry of his leasehold in 1938. By then, whaling had ceased altogether, after years of falling profit margins and difficulties in recruiting whalers skilled in the open-boat techniques used at the station.

Davidson's station was operated very much as a family venture, with George Davidson's brothers, sons and son-in-laws working in all phases of the industry. Whaling was a seasonal occupation, lasting from June to November, according to the migration patterns of certain whale species, notably the Right, or Black Humpback, and Finback whales. Profits were very much tied to the season's catch. In 1906, after a run of good years, George Davidson calculated that during his lifetime he had killed as many as one hundred and sixty whales. Profits from the 1906 season alone enabled Davidson to purchase a launch to make his operation more efficient. However, whale numbers seem to have declined from that period, so much so that in 1925, the entire catch for the season was only two whales. Local industries, especially sleeper cutting and bark stripping, provided alternative work during poor seasons and supplemented incomes during the off-season for families dependent on the whaling industry. George Davidson described himself as a whaler, but farming and grazing buffered the station against fluctuations in the market and uneven seasonal changes. 'Loch Garra' was largely self-sufficient in fruit, vegetables, meat and dairy products. In the period leading up to the 1930s, Davidson attempted to combine the cultivation of small crops with grazing sheep and horses. However, he later abandoned his farming activities and his land became infested with rabbits and noxious plants.

4.2.7 THE INDUSTRIAL PROCESS
Davidson Whaling Station was described by Professor Dakin in 1927 as coming out of Melville's time, using the technologies of 'the old bay whalers of the 1840s'. The station had one or two neat weatherboard houses sited well back from the water's edge, where an open wooden shelter covered the old brick try-works and a number of large iron vats and tanks for oil. A ramp built of tree trunks, and a wooden windlass, provided the means for transferring blubber cut from the whale where it lay in the water to the try works. In a nearby boatshed lay two old whaleboats. Dakin found such technology anachronistic in an age of steam whaling ships and harpoon guns. Yet the
E. Kent photograph

'Whaleboat and Crew'
Eden, 1907
Source: Mitchell Library,
from Lone Hand Vol 3 1908 Sydney. Ref: DQ.850/L847

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'Bring the Contrast
There she blows'-
of Kick Aven

Source: Rene Davidson, Eden.
very longevity of the station indicated that the traditional technologies were well-adapted to local conditions. The only concession Davidson made to modern technology was to purchase a motor launch in 1906 to tow whales to the try works.

The whaling process as practised at Davidson's Station was a dangerous and backbreaking occupation. Open-boat techniques could mean long hours at the oars in cold weather, with all the dangers of capsizing while being towed by a harpooned whale for miles, often out to sea. Closing for the kill with the hand-held lance exposed crew and boat to the smashing action of the flukes of the whale in death agony. Back injuries were common, and in one case a crew member was killed in a Davidson boat. The cold waters of the bay were an additional hazard for men clad in heavy winter clothing and often miles from shore. Night work increased the risks enormously. The Davidsoms favoured light, manoeuvrable five-oared boats and routinely used two boats in a chase to allow for a pick-up vessel in case of accidents. With the smaller number of boats in use compared with the 1840s, the whale catch was allowed to sink, frequently carried to the bottom by the killer whales, rather than towed back to the try works immediately. The towing process was more easily accomplished, without the attentions of the killer whales, when the gases of decomposition refloated the carcase roughly twenty-four hours later.

At the try works, the whale was lanced to release the noxious gases, after which the blubber was cut from the carcase in 'blanket pieces', which were then cut up again into smaller pieces and boiled down in the try pots. The trying-out process was arduous work performed with the constant stench of boiling oil and coating the whalers in grease and refuse. George Davidson's daughter, Elsie Severs, recalls the smells which pervaded the Inlet, and in certain weather conditions carried across the bay to Eden, and the slurry on the beaches after trying-out. The whalers themselves took meals prepared by Sarah Davidson on the grass outside the kitchen during the trying-out process. The noxious smell remained about their bodies for some time.

Aborigines were an important component in the workforce at Davidson whaling station, based on a pattern of employment dating from the 1840s. During Elsie Severs' childhood early this century, local Aborigines formed one of George Davidson's boat crews and Aboriginal women worked as domestic servants at Loch Garra. Alice Otton (Davidson), who lived at 'Kiah House' in the same period, remembers her grandmother 'Effie' Davidson and various aunts preparing baskets of food for Aborigines occupying huts near the try works. Photographs of local Aboriginal families in European clothing in industrial and domestic settings point to the disruption of Aboriginal culture and
way-of-life by their absorption into the whaling industry. Local traditions may be important in the future interpretation of the site, as Davidson whaling station is within living memory of Aboriginal communities in the Eden area.

The most controversial part of the whaling process at Twofold Bay was the role played by the Killer whales. From at least 1843 to 1930, a pod of Killer whales (Orcinus orca) returned annually to Leatherjacket Bay in the Twofold Bay area and harassed passing Right whales, driving them into the bay. Whalers exploited this situation by harpooning and killing whales trapped by the Killers. According to Pearson, such activities are consistent with Killer whale attacks on certain whale species elsewhere, where the whaling industry is not a contributing factor. However, Twofold Bay whalers attributed more purposeful, cooperative motives to the Killer pack. Brierly in 1843 and Davidson in 1927 believed that Killers drove whales into the bay in anticipation of being rewarded with the choice parts of the carcase. Elsie Severs claims that as a girl she heard Killers 'flop tailing', or leaping out of the water, near her home when the whalers failed to detect a whale in the bay. Mead, in his fictionalised account of George Davidson's life, attributed to the Killers the ability to recognise and assist Davidson boats. At Eden, locals claimed to be able to identify individual Killers by pet-names and attributed great longevity to some of the pack. 'Old Tom', the so-called last of the Killers, has achieved legendary status and its skeleton is preserved in the Eden 'Killer Whale Museum'. Recent analysis suggests that 'Old Tom' may in fact have been female and was in any case around thirty-five years old rather than Dakin's estimate based on local testimony of fifty to eighty years at death.

Pearson suggests that the Killer whales were of only marginal economic importance to the whaling industry. The slight advantage gained by their behaviour in forcing passing right whales into the bay was probably offset by the increased occurrence of carcases lost at sea after being sunk by Killers.

4.2.8 FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LIFE
During George Davidson's lifetime, Kiah Inlet was an isolated community centred around the Davidson residences, 'Kiah House' and 'Loch Garra'. Before 1930, when the area was connected to Eden via the Forestry Road and the Princes Highway, the trip to town involved a thirty-mile sulky ride via the river-crossing at Kiah. Even with the short-cuts favoured by the children, Eden was an hours' ride away. The alternate route across the bay by boat was far quicker in favourable weather. However, the bay could
be treacherous, and three of the Davidson family were
drowned there when their boat was swamped crossing to Kiah
in 1926. Weekly shopping trips and occasional social
outings to Eden provided the only outside contacts for the
Davidsons during Elsie's childhood and adolescence.

Family networks and domestic routines shaped the daily
lives of the Davidson women and children. Elsie Severs'
impression of her family home was that it was comfortable,
despite the crush of seven brothers and sisters in a
six-room cottage. The Davidson boys slept in an attic
room reached by a set of steps, while the girls occupied
a bunkroom on the ground floor. The children apparently
had the run of 'Kiah House' as well, and nearby 'Wyoona'
was occupied by Archer and family, including Elsie's
cousin, Alice (Otton). Frequent excursions shell-
collecting and playing along the beaches took the
children as far as Edrom, occupied by the Logans from the
1920s. The children made the landscape their own by
naming out of their imagination topographical features in
the country between Kiah Inlet and Edrom.

Schooling was a continuing problem in such an out of the
way location. After the closure of the Kiah school in
1903, George Davidson was granted a government subsidy to
employ a private tutor for his own and his brothers'
children. A room in the cottage was set aside for the
governess and a schoolroom erected in the yard sometime
early this century. This arrangement lasted until at
least 1911, when four of the Davidson children were sent
to Eden to attend school. Elsie Severs received no formal
schooling after the age of fourteen and by sixteen she was
delivering mail to Green Cape Lighthouse on a weekly
contract awarded to her father. This involved a four-hour
horse ride along a bush track, there and back in the same
day. Elsie also helped her father in the Post Office
agency and telephone exchange located at the 'Lock Garra'
during the 1920s.

George and Sara Davidson moved to Eden sometime during the
1940s, by which stage they were both in their sixties.
Sarah Davidson died at Bega in 1951, followed by George in
1952.

4.2.9 THE BOYD PERIOD
From 1953, 'Loch Garra' was occupied as a private
residence by Dr and Mrs Boyd, formerly of Eden. Before
his death, George Davidson agreed to sell the Kiah Inlet
property to the Boyds, and the purchase was completed in
1954. 'Loch Garra' appears to have been largely
unoccupied from the Davidsons' departure. When the Boyds
arrived in 1954, noxious weeds had become established in
the garden and orchard area and forest had regenerated in
the areas formerly grazed by sheep and horses. Much of
the 1986 garden area was planted in the period of the
Boyds' residence, lasting in
Mrs Edna Boyd's case until 1984, when the Coastal Council of New South Wales acquired the property.

4.2.10 DAVIDSON WHALING STATION: HISTORIC SITE

Davidson whaling station provides a link with Twofold Bay's whaling industry over the century of its operation. It is the only substantially intact shore station in the Eden area, preserved by the isolation of the Kiah Inlet site. Plans put forward in the 1930s to provide homes with views over Twofold Bay in the area around the Davidson's cottage did not eventuate. The cottage has survived in its original setting, though changes have occurred in the vegetation, and forest now obscures what was formerly a clear view to the water. The associations of the site with the Davidson family remain strong within the local community. Descendants of the Davidsens themselves and families who worked at the whaling station still live in the Eden area. The Eden 'Killer Whale Museum' celebrates Eden's whaling past, and displays relics from the Davidson station. Local residents run the museum and promote whaling sites to visitors and tourists.

Davidson whaling station has national as well as a local significance as an historic site. The Twofold Bay industry was part of a larger maritime frontier involving other colonial ports and coastlines. Comparison of the Twofold Bay site with other whaling stations may in the future reveal regional and national patterns. Maritime industries have suffered comparative neglect in Australian history because of the widespread preoccupation with land-based industries, particularly pastoralism. Whaling sites such as Davidson whaling station provide opportunities for a reassessment of existing interpretations.

4.2.11 ENDNOTES

A brief account of the Davidson whaling station is contained in M. Pearson 'Shore-Based Whaling at Twofold Bay: One Hundred Years of Enterprise' JRAHS, Vol. 71, part 1, June 1985, pp.3-27; T. Mead The Killers of Eden, Angus & Robertson 1961, is a fictionalised work based on the life of George Davidson.

Histories of shore stations elsewhere provide a comparative perspective, notably H. O'May Wooden Hookers


For early whaling at Twofold Bay see H.P. Wellings Eden and Twofold Bay: Discovery, Early History and Points of Interest, Sydney 1954; Pearson 'Shore Based Whaling...' op. cit., pp. 4-7.

pages 17-19
See Dunbabin's analysis of the depletion of whale populations in 'Whalers, Sealers and Buccaneers', JRAHS, Vol. II. 1925, pp. 1-32, p. 25; see also Pearson 'Shore Based Whaling...' op. cit., p. 7.

For whaling sites at East Boyd see Pearson 'Shore Based Whaling...' op. cit., p. 8; see also Lands Department of NSW, plans 3-1206 & 10-1206.

For the design of whale boats in use at Twofold Bay see Pearson 'Shore Based Whaling...' op. cit., pp. 10-11.

Pearson discusses the use of Aboriginal crews in 'Shore Based Whaling...' op. cit., pp. 8-10; see also M. Colwell Whaling Around Australia, Adelaide 1969, p. 78.

For Solomon's station see letter re Eden Wharfage, 30 August 1860, Public Works Department, NSWAW, 2/894; Solomon is described as Davidson's partner in Mead op. cit. p. 95-97.

An unpublished family history, partially based on primary sources held in the Mitchell Library and Archives Office of NSW, has been written by a descendant, Don Davidson, 'The Davidsonsons of Kiah' Sydney 1986; see also details of the Davidson family, bounty immigrants on the 'Mathesis', arrived Sydney 30 Jan. 1842, Index of Bounty Immigrants, 1828-1842, AONSW, 4/4887.
For Davidson's purchase of land see plans of portions 3 & 4, County Auckland, Parish Kiah, Lands Department of NSW.

For survey information see portion plans 41 and 61 & 62, County of Auckland, Parish of Kiah and papers LB 30.1820, Lands Dept. of NSW.

page 20
For non-whaling activities see Lands Department of New South Wales, papers LB 30.1820.

page 21
For the description of Davidson Whaling Station in 1927 see W.J. Dakin Whalemen Adventurers, Sirius 1963, pp. 146-147.

pages 22 - 23
For whaling technologies see Pearson 'The Technology of Whaling...' op. cit. pp. 40-54; see also Colwell op. cit., pp. 84-89; see also an untitled article on the Davidson Whaling Station in the Town and Country Journal, 29 Aug. 1906.

page 24
For the activities of the killer whales see Pearson 'Shore-Based Whaling...' op. cit., pp. 20-22; see also M. Mitchell Whale Killers of Twofold Bay. Bega, n.d; Colwell op. cit., pp. 84-89; Dakin op. cit. pp. 150-158.

page 25
For family life at Davidson whaling station see transcripts of interviews with Alice Otton and Elsie Severs, Davidson Whaling Station Historic Site Oral History Project.

For the operation of the school at Davidson Whaling Station see School File, Kiah, NSW AO 5/16464.
Site plan of Davidson's Whaling Station and Davidson's cottage.

To accompany Mrs Alice Otton's transcript.

BBNP
BICENTENNIAL PROJECT
Davidson's
4.3 PHYSICAL ANALYSIS

4.3.1 Davidson's Cottage Precinct
The following buildings are within the precinct:
Building A (Residence)
Building B (Bedroom attached to Building A)
Building C (Kitchen/Dining Room)
Building D (Shed)
Each building will be considered in turn.

Building A Exterior
This is a gable roofed building with skillion wings to the north and south, and porches to the east and north. There are four principal rooms beneath the main gable, and two lesser rooms to the north skillion.
A number of water tanks, a trypot, and a boiling down vat are placed at the building perimeter. The buildings are of timber construction with traditional 'weatherboard' external cladding generally and corrugated iron roofing. There is 'board and batten' timber cladding to the northern skillion section. The cottage buildings grew from the cottage building (C) built in 1896 by master Whaleman George Davidson (refer History Section 4.2.6.).

Room 1
Now living room, was used by Davidson's as living room. Sheet linings to walls, floor-boards to floor and timber lining boards to ceiling. Access man-hole to attic room over.

Room 2
New kitchen was used as Mrs Sarah Davidson's bedroom. (Refer Elsie Severs interview) Finishes as for Room 1 was originally serviced by landing and steps to the exterior (west), before the addition of Room 13 (Building B).

Room 3
New bedroom, was used by Davidson's as spare (front) bedroom. Finishes as for Room 1.

Room 4
Now bedroom, was used by Davidsons as the parlour.

Room 5
Now porch, added during the Boyd occupancy (Refer Edna Boyd interview).

Room 6
New passage.

Room 7
Now empty, was used as boy's bedroom by Davidsons (Elsie Sever's interview).

Room 8
New bathroom, was used by Davidson's as a girls bedroom and then as a telephone room.

Room 9
Modern porch, built in Davidson's occupancy.
Room 10
Verandah. Stairs to verandah were originally wider (Elsie Sever's interview). Verandah has makeshift balustrade and crudely constructed roof. Boarding to cottage (S elevation) is weatherboard. There is evidence of original doorway at window to Room R3.

Building B Exterior
Built within the Boyd period (1954 to 1984). This building is elevated on stumps and is simply clad with timber (hardwood) weatherboards. Roof is a slightly pitched corrugated iron skillion roof. The building is joined to Building A by means of a weatherboard link building.
Windows to Building B are side hung casements.

Room 13
Bedroom, added to Building A during the Boyd occupancy. (Edna Boyd interview).
The building is built over a Davidson garden which was outlined in whale ribs. The garden site is still discernible.

Building C Exterior
This building has a central section with a gable roof; with skillion roof extensions to the south and north (rooms R, 17, 18 and 19). Wall cladding generally is in traditional weatherboard profile, apart from 'board and batten' cladding to the western end and some corrugated iron cladding to the upper walls of the central section. Roof cladding is corrugated iron, painted green. The extraordinary elements of the external elevations are the chimneys/flues to the kitchen room (R17). The northern flue has an external timber frame with corrugated iron cladding.

Room 14
Now vacant was dining room. Modern partition has been placed between dining room and kitchen (Edna Boyd interview and Alice Otton interview). Mrs Boyd recalled that in this room whalers used to take their meals.

Room 15/16
Now vacant, was saddle and harness rooms, and was used by Davidsons as kitchen. (Prior to modern partition).

Room 17
Now vacant. Was used by Davidsons and Boyds for cooking. Mrs Boyd recalls how her husband used to smoke fish over the stove.
Three cooking facilities remain intact: a baker's oven, an open chimney, and a stove. The chimneys/flues are clad in corrugated iron.

Room 18/19
Now vacant, was used by Davidsons as bathroom (Room 18) and laundry/wash house (Room 19). Lean to building added to original cottage.
Building D Exterior
A simple boarded shed open on the north side. Skillion corrugated iron roof.

4.3.2 Davidson's Cottage Precinct Generally
The cottage buildings present as a homogeneous set of timber and iron buildings, surrounded by densely planted and landscaped garden, and a diverse collection of tanks, trypots, ship-tanks, and other paraphernalia related to whaling.

The cottage garden at Davidson Whaling Station has a south west aspect and is protected from winds by natural ridges to the west, north and east, and a wind break of trees to the south.

The existing garden is very much the creation of Dr and Mrs Boyd, the previous owner of the property. It was created as a pleasure garden incorporating both interesting exotic and indigenous native species. The attraction of bird life to an informal garden setting was an objective of the Boyds and the fruits of the orchard were, in the main, sacrificed to the birdlife towards this end.

A result however of this informality was that plantings tended to be cramped and several years of neglect has resulted in the death of some trees. Insect pests have not been a problem due to the high bird population but fungal diseases are prevalent due to the high humidity and low air movement.

George Davidson had a large area to the East of the home paddock which he used as vegetable garden and orchard. None of the original orchard trees have survived in this area but the fences, though collapsed and overgrown, can be traced. This area was overgrown with wattle regrowth and weeds when purchased by the Boyds in 1952 and was left undisturbed by them. Mrs Davidson has a flower and rose garden outside her bedroom (Building A) and there were a few fruit trees in the home paddock. The remnants of the Davidson garden were incorporated into the Boyd garden. Dr Boyd (now deceased) also enjoyed budding and grafting, so it is possible that some of the 'old' orchard plant material was transferred to the home paddock garden.

Evidence of a few garden beds bordered with timber slabs remain and remnants of the whalebone borders to the flower garden (now under Building B) can be seen. Paths laid by the Davids:ons were of timber slab and the Boyds duplicated these in places with brick. Interestingly one slab path appears to go under the wall of Room 7, possibly indicating its existence before Room 7 was built. Bulbs (Daffodils and Jonquils) from the Davidson period have multiplied and form a path border from the house to the gate in the SW fence as well as irregular groupings both
Figure 1
Elsie Sever's Plan of Davidson's Cottage and surrounds

Figure 2
Elsie Sever's Plan of Davidson's Whaling Station and Environs

Figure 3
Elsie Sever's Plan of Tryworks site, Davidson's Whaling Station.
inside and outside the home paddock. Irregular groupings of Iris and Garlic are also from the Davidson period. Carpet plantings of Forget-me-nots were sown by Mrs Boyd. Native vegetation on the property generally ranges from Woolybutt and Silver-top Ash on the exposed ridge overlooking the slope behind the ridge, Black wattle and Pittosporum in the gully to Mountain Grey Gum with heavy Bracken undergrowth on the slopes above the Kiah Inlet.

Beyond the cottage enclosure a number of sites are still discernible, and contribute to our understanding of how the site was used by the Davidson's during the whaling station period. The following sites are considered to be culturally significant:

- Schoolhouse Site.
- Orchard and surrounding fence.
- Spring
- Houseyard.

These sites are referred to in the oral histories and located in the sketch maps.

An inventory of the garden species within the Davidson's cottage precinct has been prepared.

An inventory of the flora and fauna species within the precinct has been prepared.

An inventory of artifacts within the cottage precinct has been prepared.

4.3.3 Davidson Whaling Station Tryworks Precinct

There are no buildings remnant at the Tryworks precinct, and the only artifacts/building material still evident is that adjacent the eastern end of the former tryworks building. (Refer detailed plan, Davidson Whaling Station Survey).

These remains have been archaeologically surveyed and documented.

Although little now remains extant, our knowledge of the Tryworks precinct is assisted by a comprehensive photographic record and by comprehensive oral history accounts of the tryworks.

The following sites at the Tryworks precinct are considered to be culturally significant:

Tryworks building and interior, including whale ramp, capstan site, tryworks pots etc., (Note: examination of photographs indicates that the tryworks building changed
little in form, but its cladding was changed from bark to corrugated iron.

Jetty and tripod (Note: these structures were to the east of the tryworks building.

Boatshed and Boatshed ramp (Note: this building was the easternmost structure of the precinct.

Huts (Note: the wreck in Kiah Inlet is referred to in the oral histories.

4.3.3 Kiah House Precinct
This precinct is not part of the study area; however there are substantial references to Kiah House and outbuildings within the oral history transcripts and the photographs. Kiah House was the centre of the Davidson Whaling Station operation in the 19th century, and as such the precinct is historically/culturally significant.

The following sites within the precinct are considered to be culturally significant: Kiah House Site and associated orchard, fowl yard, sheepyard; and fencing; Kiah House boatsheds, boat ramp and huts; 'Wyoona' house site.

4.3.4 East Boyd Precinct
This precinct is not part of the study area, however, there are substantial references to East Boyd within the transcripts and photographs. Alexander Davidson and family occupied Oswald Brierly's cottage 'Merton' at East Boyd before building 'Kiah House'. It was from East Boyd that Davidson actually commenced whaling.

The following sites within the precinct are considered to be culturally significant:
'Merton' cottage site;
East Boyd Jetty site;
Huts below 'Merton' cottage.

4.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

4.4.1 Generally
The site was inspected several times during Stage I. A brief summary and photography took place on 6 May 1986. A detailed survey, mapping and description of artifacts was carried out on 17, 18, 19 June 1986.

4.4.2 The Artefact Inventory
For the purposes of this survey, particularly the artefact inventory, the DWS site has been divided into two areas; the tryworks and beach sites; the homestead, consisting of the house and out-buildings, and the remains of any other artefacts and structures in the homestead area.
The tryworks
Davidson Whaling Station
with a whale beside the lamp,
c1910

Note the corrugated iron roof and boarded walls
Source: Rene Davidson, Eden

'Davidson Whaling Station,
Twofold Bay'
National Library of Australia
(Pictures File)

Note that trywork shed is clad in bark sheeting
4.4.3 Tryworks
This site, at Kiah Inlet, directly to the south of Brierly Point, consists of three ships tanks, some roofing timbers, the brick footings for a trypot, and other associated artefacts. These are all that remain here of the tryworks in use until the 1920's. Several of the artefacts have been removed for use elsewhere.

Elements at tryworks:
- remains of the shed - round timbers, and battens with iron attached by nails
- artificial cut in the bank to make a vertical wall at the rear of the shed
- remains of brick footings for trypot
- Aboriginal midden and dingo burial
- Aboriginal midden on Brierly Point
- remains of trying-out equipment - three ships tanks, barrel hoop
- hole where capstan stood
- tree stump of tree which held pulley
- artifacts lying on the shore in front of the site, having eroded from the bank - deck spikes, bricks, metal tangs for an anchor, unidentifiable pieces of metal, whale bone.

Elements from tryworks at homestead
- 5 ships tanks - 2 at shower for wood storage; 1 at pine tree; 1 at rear of kitchen block; 1 in gully to south east of cottage site
- 2 sheep tallow boilers
- 1 trypot with lip at north of Building A.

Elements from tryworks at Killer Whale Museum
- 1 trypot with lip - given by Mrs Boyd. Referred to in interview as a twin to the one at Building A
- capstan

Brick Footings
These are labelled in the plan as 'hearth'. These are the footings for a trypot. They are exposed on the face of the bank, being eroded away by the action of the tides and flooding from the Towamba River.

Bricks from the footings lie on the beach below the site. The two on the left of the photograph appear to have the same frog as bricks examined at Boydtown. These were presumably made there in the 1840's and used at a later date here.

4.4.4 Description of the Tryworks Section Drawing
(Refer Section Drawing overleaf (cross-section).
Described from the earliest to the most recent layers.)

LEVEL E consists of boulders piled up from the beach to stabilize the section undercut by the salvage excavation of a dingo skull on 30 and 31 January 1986. The team of archaeologists was led by Ms Sue Feary, Regional Archaeologist, Southeastern Region. The skeleton lies in sand, just below a layer of Aboriginal shell midden.
The rest of the matrix and post cranial material was left in situ. Dr Klim Gollan, an authority on the prehistoric dingo is to analyse the skull and present a report to the Service. The issue of the relative significance of the dingo and the tryworks footings above it must be addressed in the Stage II Conservation Policy document. On receipt of Dr Gollan's report a decision must be made whether to excavate the rest of the skeleton, and if so, methods developed to do so without endangering the footings above.

LEVEL D is a layer of Aboriginal midden, densely packed with shells.

LEVEL C is a single row of blackened bricks laid as headers, with the timber plank in the same line to the east. These bricks are wider and thinner than those of Level A. Their size indicates an early date. They are blackened from the burning of 'scrap' pieces of blubber and skin skimmed from the boiling whale oil and used to keep the fire going. On the night of Saturday 14 June 1986, 2 inches of rain fell in the area. The pressure of the runoff caused two bricks from this layer to fall out of the section onto the beach, along with several lumps of Aboriginal midden to the east of the drawn section. This damage was observed on Tuesday 17 June and, following a report by myself and Peter Freeman to the District Office on Wednesday 18 June, District staff came to the site and carried out emergency stabilisation measures. At this time one of the fallen bricks was left in situ, and one collected for examination and possible dating by Dr George Gibbons of the Geological Survey of NSW, who is the foremost specialist on brick analysis and dating in NSW. As yet, Dr Gibbons has not been able to report on the brick.

Level C is clearly separated from Level A by what appears to be a layer of fill or undisturbed material (Level B). This could indicate a period of lack of activity after the footings at C were no longer in use. The whaler Otaheiti Bill had a shore-based station somewhere in the Kiah Inlet area in the 1840's. The Davidsons began whaling in the early 1860's.

It is likely that Level C represents the remains of Otaheiti Bill's tryworks in the 1840's, and the site was re-used by Davidson about 1860. Level A, the substantial section of footings, represents the Davidson period.

LEVEL A. Many of the bricks appear to be Boydtown bricks, having the same shape, colour, and frog. In 1860 Boydtown was an abandoned township and it is likely that the bricks were taken from derelict buildings at Boydtown and re-used here.

In the section the footings are seen to be at least seven courses of headers high. From above, they form three sides of a square, but the fourth or southern side has eroded away.
Looking N.
Scale is 50 cm segments.

Bottom
Looking down from ship's tank.
Ranging poles outlining the outer edge of courses of bricks.
Scale in 50 cm segments.
Dingo jaw and bones excavated by archaeologists on 30 and 31 January 1986.
Photo: K. Gollan

Site of tryworks looking West.
Ships tanks; barrel hoop; round timber roof members; ranging pole in capstan hole stie.
The bricks are most blackened toward the edge (or southern end) of the bank, indicating that this is near the mouth of the fire hole, or the middle of the fire. Some calculations from this analysis may enable us to estimate how much of the bank has been eroded away since the demolition of the tryworks.

4.4.5 The Beach Sites
The early photographs looking east from the tryworks show two huts and the boatshed on the edge of the beach. The huts are referred to as the 'Aboriginal huts', being the places where the Aboriginal whalers lived during the whaling season. However, I do not know the source of this attribution.

In a survey of the area I found little evidence of these huts. The bank may have been eroded by the sea, like that at the tryworks, leaving no remains. Two posts were recorded in this area and planned in by the Surveyor. They may be related to the whalers' huts. Visibility in the area was low, and survey time was limited. A more intensive survey may reveal more substantial remains of these structures.

4.4.6 The Homestead
The artefacts at the homestead have been plotted on two plans:

- the 1:500 Davidsons site plan
- the 1:200 Cottage and Kitchen block plan

and have been described in the Artifact Inventory.

The most interesting feature about the artefacts is that most are derived from the tryworks. Once it fell into disuse in the late 1920s and early 1930s all but three of the ships tanks, trypots, and sheep tallow boilers used as trypots or cooling tanks were brought up to the homestead and reused beside the buildings as rainwater tanks or wood boxes. They still serve those functions today.
'The Whaling Station, Kiah River, Twofold Bay'
Note the ramp, jetty and boat shed
Source: Rene Davidson, Eden

Deblubbing a whale at Davidson's Whaling Station c1920
Source: Rene Davidson, Eden
Looking down into a Whale Boat, showing harpoons, lances and bomb gun.
Davidsons Whaling Station

Whaling Station at Eden
E. M. Davis photograph
Note the capstan/pulley arrangement for bringing in the whales
4.5 ASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Demonstrative Ability

The extent Tryworks site is tangible evidence of the tryworks operation at the Station, and is the only such site in New South Wales. Another whaling station site has been excavated in Australia, at Fremantle in 1984, and comparative study of Davidson Whaling Station with this site would be rewarding.

The extent Tryworks site contains evidence of Aboriginal middens and deposits (dingo remains) within Aboriginal occupation of the area. Further investigation of these remains will provide understanding of the Aboriginal occupation of Kiah Inlet, and of Aboriginal involvement in the whaling industry.

Whaling at Twofold Bay utilized Aboriginal labour to a remarkable extent throughout its 100 years of operation, and in the mid-nineteenth century there is historical evidence of a combination of traditional Aboriginal and European Whaler lifestyles among the Aborigines engaged in whaling. Aboriginal habitation sites from this period (and later periods) may prove very valuable for study.

The whaling station tryworks are themselves built on top of an Aboriginal shell midden, which may have significance for prehistoric archaeological study as well as being of some considerable interpretive value.

The extant Cottage precinct, and historic sites adjacent the cottage precinct, provide evidence of lengthy European occupation of the site, and in particular, direct reference to the occupation of the site by the Davidson family and the Boyd family. The cottage garden in particular provides references for early and mid 20th century 'cottage' gardening practice. The extant flora and fauna of the precinct have individual cultural significance.

The extant Building C (Cottage precinct) provides evidence of cooking and dining facilities as used by the whalers. The other Davidson buildings (Buildings A and E) contribute to this evidence. The remnant artifacts are evidence of whaler's tools and equipment.

Associational Value

Davidson Whaling Station is historically significant as the longest operating whaling station in Australia and the last of its type to close down. It thus has associations with the 19th century whaling industry in Australia, and the shore based whaling industry of the south east coast of Australia. The station is associated with the Davidson family, and through that family and its activities to the Boyd and Imlay period of the 1830s and 40s. As such it is a site with
unique connections with the total history of shore based whaling in Australia, from the 1820's to the 1920's.

The station is associated with the Davidson occupation of Kiah Inlet and East Boyd, and in particular with the Kiah House precinct (including the house, boatsheds and outbuildings), and with 'Merton' cottage at East Boyd (including Oswald Brierly's cottage 'Merton', and the whaling station at East Boyd).

The station is associated with the several whaling sites along Twofold Bay, and with Boydtown and Boyd's Tower, to which sites it was once joined by a coastal track (now no longer extant), and by boat traffic around the Bay and down the coast.

Aesthetic/Formal Quality

The Davidson Whaling Station precinct now presents as a sheltered cove (Kiah Inlet) without noticeable European remains, apart from cottages (Davidson's Cottage 'Loch Garra' and 'Holmwood' cottage opposite) set amidst trees some distance above the cove. The 19th century precinct had a good deal more coherence because the whaling station buildings at the shore were intact, and because the 'Loch Garra' and 'Kiah House' precincts were not hidden by trees and undergrowth as they now are.

The Davidson's cottage buildings present as a haphazard arrangement of timber and iron buildings surrounded by vegetation. The early 20th century cottage would have been more coherent together with the now removed structures (schoolhouse, workshop, and fencing etc.) and would have presented as an operational rural residence.

Archaeological Potential

As the longest operating shore-based whaling station on the East coast of Australia, the Davidson Whaling Station is a most significant archaeological resource. Archaeological excavation of the tryworks footings should reveal the relationships between the early and later tryworks footings. The tryworks site also has rarity value as it is one of the few shore-based stations with in situ remains. The significance of the dingo skeleton beneath the Aboriginal midden can also be assessed after archaeological examination of the excavated skull.

The underfloor area of the kitchen/dining Building (C) and other sites within the Cottage precinct will also be rich in archaeological evidence of the Davidsons site occupation.

4.6 STATEMENT OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Davidson Whaling Station (Tryworks Site and Davidson's Cottage Precinct) was the longest operating whaling station in Australia; and the last of its type to close down. It has
associations with the 19th century shore base whaling industry of south east Australia, and with the Imlay Brothers, Benjamin Boyd, Oswald Brierly, and the Davidson family. The entire site has high archaeological and interpretative potential. The site, with its small cottage buildings, pine trees and garden flowers, and overlooking the Tryworks and Kiah Inlet has an undisturbed patina of age.

4.7 POLICY CONSTRAINTS/REQUIREMENTS AND POLICY STATEMENTS

4.7.1 Legislation and Guidelines Policy is to be consistent with:

- NPW Act 1974
- Draft NPWS Policy on the Protection and Management of Sites, 1979
- Burra Charter
- The above legislation and guidelines will be pursued in the management and conservation of each site.
- A plan of management should be prepared for the DWS Historic Site.

4.7.2 Visitor Access and Use Policy should ensure that visitor access and use of the site should be controlled to ensure the protection of the site's values and the continuing conservation of the site structures.

- Visitor parking should be provided for off the site proper (ie. the gazetted Historic Site) except for access by disabled visitors.
- The numbers of visitors to the site at any one time should be limited to a number that can be "guided" around in one group.
- Visitor access from the beach in the vicinity of the Tryworks site will be actively discouraged.
- Visitor (pedestrian) access from outside the site along the newly created walking tracks will be actively encouraged.
- No further vehicular tracks within the site will be permitted.
- The collection of visitor fees at some future date may be required.

4.7.3 Caretaker Access and Use Because the site is relatively fragile, isolated and hence vulnerable, policy must allow for the regular maintenance, protection and security of the site and its structures.

- A permanent caretaker should be resident at the site.
- The caretaker will be allowed vehicular access into the site, however, caretaker parking should be restricted to the end of the existing formed track, and such parking to be properly delineated.
A lease agreement will be entered into between the Service and the caretaker outlining the lessee's conditions and responsibilities.

4.7.4 Existing Structures

Use of the existing buildings may allow for residential, display/interpretation, and storage uses. All uses should require no irreversible structural alterations and should be sympathetic to the existing historic fabric.

Caretaker will be allowed residence in the main cottage. Long term policy should allow for a new caretaker's cottage (Buildings A & B) to be built on the site, such that the existing cottage can be properly interpreted, and opened to public visitation.

Building C is to be used as an interpreting facility. Extensive restoration of this building's fabric will be required to allow for this function.

All other existing structures within the Cottage precinct to be conserved. Where removal of modern or unsympathetic additions/alterations are required, these elements are to be documented beforehand.

4.7.5 New Structures

No new permanent structures will be erected unless required for conservation interpretation, firefighting, and for caretaker/visitor facilities, provided they are essential to the conservation and presentation of the site.

A new toilet will be provided adjacent the main cottage primarily for caretaker's use. This toilet will be also available for special (eg. handicapped) visitor use.

A new water storage tank will be provided for firefighting and domestic use purposes.

A permanent storage facility for pumps/generators etc will be provided at a suitable site. This building will be designed to have minimal impact.

A new stone retaining wall to protect the existing Tryworks site will be built. The area between the extant Tryworks remains and this wall will be backfilled. A structure replicating the original Tryworks building profile will be built over this new retaining structure.

Interpretation signs will be provided at four discrete points within the site.

4.7.6 Interpretation

Policy should ensure that the Cottage precinct and Tryworks site are interpreted to the visitor as the culturally significant sites that they are, ie. an extant shore based whaling station.

Interpretation of the site will cover the main periods of the site's occupation, with an emphasis on the 1820-1920 whaling period.
4.7.7 Forestry Commission
Policy for this site should take into account its location within the East Boyd State Forest, and the consequent need for cooperation between the Service and the Forestry Commission in achieving the access, conservation and interpretation goals of this policy plan.

The NPWS and the Commission will establish a picnic area on State Forest land south of the Historic Site, and construct a walking trail from this area to Edrom Lodge via the DWS Historic Site.
"Boyd's Tower, Twofold Bay."
Illustrated Sydney News
1872, p92.

'Bay Whaling off the Boyd Town Light House, Twofold Bay, NSW' (engraving)
from: W. Wells
Geographical Dictionary and Gazetteer of Australian Colonies 1848. p.72

Note Boyd's Tower and Flag at Red Point and the absence of vegetation at the Point
Note also the killer whales depicted shepherding in the whales
5.0 BOYD'S TOWER

5.1 SUMMARY DESCRIPTION

Apart from the tower, the site includes the following:

• Boyd's Tower scattered stone blocks, and whalers hut
  site.
• Aboriginal midden.
• Geological formation to cove south of Boyd's Tower.
• Tracks to the Tower from the west (parking area), and
  the north (from Edrom/Brierly's 'Merton' Cottage)

5.2 HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

5.2.1 SITE HISTORY: BOYD'S TOWER

Boyd's Tower at Red Point was designed and built for Benjamin
Boyd in 1847/8 at a time when Boydtown was the centre of
whaling, shipping and pastoral activities based on Twofold
Bay. Conceived as a lighthouse, the high sandstone tower
dominates the long headland which forms the southern shore of
Twofold Bay. Cut into the three faces of the tower visible
from the sea, the word 'Boyd' impresses the personality and
the enterprise of the owner onto the tower and the larger
setting of the bay itself. Boyd's grandiose plans for a
financial empire based on Twofold Bay and the private
township on its shores made him a controversial figure in his
own lifetime. In its historic setting, Boyd's Tower is a
striking monument to the legendary status Boyd has since
acquired.

5.2.2 BENJAMIN BOYD AND TWOFOLD BAY, 1842-49.

Benjamin Boyd was a London stockbroker who, with
substantial amounts of Scottish investment capital behind
him, arrived in New South Wales in 1842 with visions of
establishing a commercial empire. The manner of his arrival,
with entourage aboard his own yacht, the Wanderer, a unit
of the Royal Yacht Squadron, was calculated to impress the
inhabitants of Melbourne and Sydney with the grandness of his
vision and the vast sums at his disposal. Boyd rapidly made
a reputation as a larger-than-life capitalist, combining his
own interests in ships and shipping with pastoralism and
banking, activities linked in the minds of British investors
with quick profits. With partner Joseph Phelps Robinson,
Boyd established the Sydney office of the London-based Royal
Bank of Australia as his financial headquarters. By 1844,
Boyd was one of the largest landholders and graziers in the
colony, with extensive interests in the Monaro and Riverina.
Boyd's coastal steamships plied the southern route to Twofold
Bay and Hobart, and his whaling fleet operated out of Mosman
Bay, Sydney.

Within a short period Boyd came to focus his attention on
Twofold Bay as the linchpin of a financial empire based on
whaling, trading and pastoralism. The location of the Bay,
he believed, was ideal for articulating the sea and
land-based components of his commercial enterprise. The Bay
provided a safe deep-sea harbour for shipping and was
well-placed for carrying on coastal and trans-Tasman trade. Already from the 1830s, the Imlay brothers had shipped whaling products and tan-bark to Sydney and salt-meat and livestock to Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand from Twofold Bay. Boyd's main use of the Bay was as a port to ship out to primarily London markets, via his stores and wool-washing establishment in Neutral Bay, wool, tallow and livestock from his extensive squatting runs in the Monaro. To facilitate this trade, he began construction of a private road to the Monaro in 1843. An additional commercial advantage to be gleaned from the Bay and adjacent ocean waters were the products of the whaling industry, which had been pioneered in the area by, among others, the Imlay brothers.

As Boyd looked forward to a thriving commercial empire centred on Twofold Bay, he envisaged a bustling, wealthy port settlement that one day would rival Sydney and Port Phillip. He planned a settlement whose major buildings would be of a style and scale to match the grandness of his vision. On 8 March 1843, he purchased 640 acres of town land on the southern shore opposite the recently established official township of Eden and began to build the town he called Boydtown to service both the port itself and the Monaro hinterland. In addition to houses, stores, salting and boiling-down works and a jetty for the town, Boyd built on a more lavish scale a church and hotel, the Sea Horse Inn. All were constructed of locally quarried stone or timber, or bricks fired on-site. A smaller settlement was established at East Boyd, at the whaling station managed by Boydtown's diarist and artist from 1843-1848, and later marine artist to Queen Victoria, Oswald Brierly.

5.2.3 BOYD'S TOWER AND BOYDTOWN
The most extravagant in scale and construction of the buildings Boyd erected at Twofold Bay was Boyd's Tower. It was designed principally as a prominent landmark at the entrance to the Bay in daylight and as a lighthouse to indicate it at night. But the inscribing of Boyd's name in bold letters at the top of the Tower and the care taken over its construction show that it was also meant to stand at the gateway of Boyd's empire as a lasting symbol of his vision and achievement. In contrast to the other buildings at Boydtown, the Tower was constructed of Pyrmont sandstone imported at considerable expense on Boyd's coastal steamships from Sydney to East Boyd, from where it was carted by bullock teams to the site on South Head. Skilled stonemasons, notably John Hellmrich, were also brought in from outside the Eden district to dress the stone. Brierly estimated that the Tower, never completed, cost Boyd over $2000, though Boyd himself had no idea of the expense involved.

Aside from its utilitarian and symbolic purposes, the Tower was and is a monument to the creativity and skill of Boyd's workmen. Boyd himself visited Twofold Bay only occasionally, and left the work in the hands of Brierly, to whom he issued instructions by the letter. Brierly wrote early in 1847 to
reassure Boyd that construction of the Tower was following the original plan. Local tradition maintains that Brierly himself designed the structure, but it is possible that it was a standard lighthouse design well known to Boyd's master stone mason, John Hellmrich. Hellmrich had worked in local granite to build Peter Head lighthouse at Buchaness and Aberdeen lighthouse at Girdleness before emigrating to New South Wales with his wife and son in 1838. In 1845 or 1844, the family had answered one of Boyd's advertisements in Sydney newspapers offering free passage for labouring families to Twofold Bay. Presumably, Hellmrich was first employed as a stonemason at Boydtown, but in 1846, Brierly noted in his diary that he was working on Boyd's Tower. Hellmrich is the only individual who can be identified out of the otherwise anonymous army of workmen that would have been required to heave the sandstone blocks into position. Boyd had a reputation as a tough, even ruthless, employer who kept wages as low as possible by exploiting non European labour.

Work came to an end on the Tower towards the end of 1847 with the structure still unfinished. In September of that year, Captain Owen Stanley inspected the Tower during his coastal survey for the British government and found it completed as far as the external walls and parapet. Late the following month the Tower commenced operations as a lighthouse when a light was rigged up and a watch kept. However, Boyd was refused permission to maintain a private lighthouse and operations were soon abandoned. The Tower became, in so far as its original conception was concerned, a white elephant. Brierly suggested that Boyd might give the Tower to the government, but Stanley recommended the Gabo Island site and a lighthouse was subsequently constructed there during the late 1840s.

5.2.4 WHALERS AT THE TOWER

During 1848, the Tower at Red Point was used as chief lookout point for Boyd's whaling crews. Previously, Boyd had shared a lookout with opposing crews on the inner southern headland of the Bay at Honeysuckle Point, where sightings had resulted in a frantic race to boats in the nearby cove as crews vied with one another to catch up with and harpoon the whale before their rivals. The vantage point offered by the Tower, however, gave Boyd's crews a decided break over their competitors, especially when in favourable weather boats could be anchored close by so that immediate chase could be given to whales on sighting. A signal could also be sent to the East Boyd station to give crews stationed there early warning of an approaching whale before it was visible from other vantage points. The watch crew probably signalled the East Boyd station in the same way as the Davidsons later did in the using smoke, gunshot or mounted riders to convey the news.

With the failure of his financial empire Boyd left Twofold Bay and Australia forever in 1849. Some time later, both the Tower and the East Boyd area were taken over by the Davidson family to use in conjunction with their whaling station at
Boyd's Tower, Twofold Bay, 1919

Source: Mrs Mary Mitchell, Eden

'Historic Twofold Bay'
from: The Town and Country Journal, March 14 1906

Note Boyd's Tower with corner missing (no. 1), and Sir Oswald Brierly's house 'Merton' (no. 6)
Kiah Inlet. During the whaling season, from June to November, whalers were stationed at the Tower in daylight hours. Photographs of the site early this century show whalers standing in the open windows of the Tower, and occupying shelters at its base.

A block of sandstone carved into squares is still in existence at the base of the Tower, suggesting that the whalers played board games to pass the time between whale sightings. Local tradition supports this interpretation. George Davidson's daughter Elsie Severs remembers whalers based at the Tower every day during the whaling season, playing draughts and fishing to pass the often lengthy periods between whale sightings.

Memorial inscriptions carved into two of the window sills on the ground level of Boyd's Tower form a link with the whalers' occupation of the site, and to the special status accorded to the Twofold Bay Killer whales. One inscription commemorates the death of a young whaler, Peter Lia, killed in a whaling accident in a Davidson boat in 1881. The second inscription records the drowning of a killer whale, 'Jimmy the Killer' in 1896. Both incidents are recreated in Mead's partly fictional version of George Davidson's life.

5.2.5 BOYD'S TOWER: HISTORIC SITE
The Tower and its site remained part of Boyd's entangled financial affairs in the period after his departure from Australia in 1849. In September 1860, Boyd's Tower and the land on which it stood was offered to the Colonial Government for $5,000. A sketch of the tower in the 1860s indicates that damage to the top western corner, allegedly caused by lightning, had already occurred at this time. Government officials considered the cost of the Tower to be prohibitive, and instead recommended the Eden Lighthouse project at Lookout Point, completed in 1862. By at least the 1870s, the Davidsons used the Tower site, though it is doubtful if they were ever the legal occupants. Early this century, the land adjoining the Tower site was purchased by J.R. Logan for the construction of 'Edrom', and access to the Tower area itself was from the Logans' property at East Boyd.

During the 1930s, Boyd's Tower was one of Eden's 'Historic Ruins' promoted by local historian H.P. Wellings, the brother of photographer, C.E. Wellings. Eden and the surrounding district attracted increasing numbers of tourists as a stop-over point on the newly opened Princes Highway between Sydney and Melbourne. In 1935, a miniature of the Tower was constructed in association with a camping ground and tourist complex at Boydtown. The Tower became and had remained a popular tourist destination. The top of the Tower is inaccessible to tourists. A 1906 plan to take advantage of
the view from the Tower by providing access by stairs to the top came to nothing. In the 1970s, the National Parks and Wildlife Service provided parking facilities, walking tracks and viewing platforms at the Tower site.

Boyd's Tower remains a visible link with Twofold Bay's whaling industry and with the legendary Benjamin Boyd. As testimony to its symbolic potency, the Tower has been adopted by the woodchip industry at Eden to highlight its civic consciousness. Set in the Ben Boyd National Park, the Tower is an imposing structure visible from vantage points around the Bay and for some distance out to sea. Forest impinges much more closely on the Tower in 1986 than it did in the period up to the 1930s when it had been used by the Davidsons. The damage to top of the Tower, and decay of the internal structures, enhances the appearance of the Tower as a 'romantic ruin' associated with the meteoric rise and fall of Benjamin Boyd.

5.2.6 Endnotes
page 55
For the 'legendary' treatment of Boyd see F.J. Bloomfield and 'A.G.A.' 'The Romantic Career of Benjamin Boyd', Sydney Mail, 24 April 1907; 'Ben Boyd: A Picturesque Pioneer' Sunday Sun, 5 May 1907; see also H.P. Wellings, Ben Boyd in Australia, Bega 1936; 'Heyden' (H.P. Wellings) 'An Adventure in Banking' Bank Notes 1935-6.


pages 56 -57
For Boyd's Twofold Bay landholdings see Lands Department of New South Wales, Plan 3-1206.

For the building of the tower see an account by Wellings based on Brierly's Diaries, 'Two Memorials: A Lighthouse and a Tombstone' Eden Magnet, 30 January 1932.


For biographical details of Hellmrich see Mrs G. McCrae 'John Hellmrich' unpublished notes on family history (Nelson Bay); Bounty Index, ship 'Lady Kennaway', arrived Sydney 12 August 1838, Archives Authority of NSW, reel 33.

For the use of the Tower as a lookout see M. Pearson 'Shore-Based Whaling at Twofold Bay: One Hundred Years of Enterprise' JRAHS, Vol. 71, part 1, 1985, pp. 3-27, p. 11, 17; see also transcripts of interviews with Mrs Alice Otton (p. 1) and Mrs Elsie Severs (pp. 18, 26, 45, 51), Davidson Whaling Station Oral History Project, 1986; see also uncatalogued photographs of whaling sites taken by C.F. Wellings, circa 1900-1914, original glass-plate negatives in the possession of Mrs Mary Mitchell (nee Wellings), Eden.

For inscriptions at the Tower see Pearson A Brief History...op. cit., p. 5; see Tom Mead Killers of Eden, Angus & Robertson 1961, for a fictional account of these incidents.

For negotiations about the sale of the Tower see Department of Public Works file, 2/893 & 4, NSWAO.

For the damage to the tower by lightning see untitled article in Town and Country Journal, 29 August 1906.

For survey of the site see Lands Department of NSW plan 2245 GBN.

For the promotion of Eden and its history to tourists see H.P. Wellings Eden and Twofold Bay, Bega 1965; Wellings, Ben Boyd...op.cit.; Wellings Shore Whaling at Twofold Bay, Eden 1964; Wellings Papers, 4 boxes, NL; also D. MacLean 'A Merchant Adventurer in Australia', Walkabout, 1 June 1935, pp. 43-5; for Boydtown as a tourist complex see Bickford Report...op.cit., pp. 11-12.

For a discussion of the internal structures of the Tower see Sydney Mail, 24 April 1907, pp. 6-7.

For the adoption of the Tower as a symbol by the woodchip industry see This Other Eden, Harris-Daishowa Woodchip Mill, Eden.

For changes in vegetation at the site compare the engraving in Wells Gazetteer, 1848, with the 1872 sketch in the Illustrated Sydney News and the Wellings photographs circa 1900s.
5.3 PHYSICAL ANALYSIS BOYD'S TOWER

5.3.1 Boyd's Tower; Scattered Stone Blocks; and Whalers Hut Site

Boyd's Tower

The Tower is built of stone, square in plan with an entrance to the south and window opening at each of five levels within the building. These levels consisted of timber 'staging' (floors) within the tower reached by ladders. This timber staging has basically deteriorated and collapsed. The inside face of the tower is smooth and vertical, and the external face reduces in dimension to the top of the tower. Externally, the ashlar faced stone blocks are undecorated apart from hood moulds and sills to the openings and a string course at the top of the tower surmounted by a battlemented top. This top has been damaged presumably by lightning/storm activity prior to 1860.

The sandstone used in the tower is Pyrmont sandstone (from Sydney), and the walls have been built in two skins of axed dressed square coursed ashlers, bonded at the quoins, door and window openings. The fabric of the tower is in good condition despite its exposed position apart from the damage at the SW corner. There are a large number of open joints in the parapet and string cornice but on the whole, pointing to beds and joints appears to be approximately 80% sound on all elevations (based on at ground inspection with binoculars). There are several 'weathered' stones in the tower and these occur at ground level on the east elevation and one third of the way up the NW corner. This weathering may be connected to a combination of rising damp, salting, and wind erosion process on the most exposed elevations. This wind erosion may be exacerbated by the surrounding vegetation, creating a 'funnel' at the tower face.

All the ashlar stones have a central hole in their face, and a similar hole on the inner (concealed) face of the stone-work. These holes were used for locating the quarry chain dogs into position, thus enabling the masons to lift the stones from a gantry mounted on the tower stonework and thus work overhand to the stone coursing. The great advantage of this process was that no external scaffold was thus required. (Refer also Section 5.4, Archaeological Analysis).

Scattered Stone Blocks

Around the tower, on the south, west, and north sides are scattered stone blocks, roughly 1.25m long, .70m wide and .33m thick. They are generally grouped in
Boyd's Tower c1920 from the north. Source: Rene Davidson, Edm

Boyd's Tower from a similar position, 1980. Note the increase in vegetation.
pairs, and on the north side, a group of three stones have been gathered to form a fireplace for the whaler's hut attached to the lower base.

Whaler's Hut Site
The former (Davidson) whaler's lookout was a crude bush builder's structure of timber, with a stone fireplace at its north end. Note that area 1920s and 1930s photographs show the tower standing isolated at Red Point (without the surrounding ti-tree growth as at present).

It should also be noted that Mrs Elsie Severs recalls that:

"...A daytime watch only was kept - cut lunches were taken in the boats. The boats were anchored below South Head and a track led up to the tower from "Honeysuckle Bay". Sometimes a boat was anchored at "Edrom". The floors and steps in the tower were rotted out - "there were just a few wooden bits hanging down". The watch used a hut "made from stringybark" set against the base of the tower for shelter. They passed the time fishing or "playing draughts on a rock they'd gouged out of a board" while waiting for 'the killers to bring a whale in'..."

5.3.2 Aboriginal Midden
Refer Section 5.4 Archaeological Analysis.

5.3.3 Geological Formation to Cove
Refer Section 5.4 Archaeological Analysis.

5.3.4 Tracks to the Tower
A modern path from the west sympathetically sited through the ti-tree scrub provides access to the Tower from the parking area. To the north a path to the Tower from Edrom (previously "Merton", Brierly's cottage, and East Boyd jetty) remains extant. This path is a rough track, and its route should be further investigated and interpreted.

5.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS
5.4.1 Boyd's Tower Site Generally
The site was inspected several times during Stage 1. Detailed archaeological survey was carried out on 31 July and 1 August 1986.

The tower was built in late 1846 and 1847, and was intended for use as a lighthouse, a landmark, and as a symbol of Boyd's power. It served as a lighthouse only three times, and for the rest of its life its main function has been as a lookout tower for whalers (refer History Section 5.2).
The archaeological remains recorded consist of:

- The tower and the materials used to build it - stone blocks, piles of rubble and mortar, waste fragments of stone.
- Evidence of the lookout shelters used by the whalers, as shown in early photographs and engravings.
- Sherds of pottery and glass discarded either by the tower builders, or by the later whalers on lookout.
- An Aboriginal midden formed prior to but also possibly during the occupation of the area by the builders and whalers.

A comparison of early and current photographs shows that during its use by the whalers the area was well cleared of vegetation. Since then melaleuca, bushes and grass have grown back causing visibility of small artifacts to be low. Those which were recorded were exposed by the rough track running north between the tower and Red Point, or were observed on the large midden on the Point.

5.4.2 Boyd's Tower Archaeological Elements

Memorial Window

The ground floor window on the north face of the tower has been decorated to commemorate the death of Peter Lia. A cross has been carved on either side of the window on the second stone above the sill. The words "In memory of Peter Lia who was killed by a whale, September 22nd, 1881, aged 24 (?)" can be seen chiselled into the horizontal face of the sill. Chinese characters have been carved on the vertical face. No record has been found of their translation.

Timber remains of the internal staircase and floors

The timber framing is of the same design as that in the tower of the Boydtown church. This is not surprising, as both structures were built in 1847, probably by the same workmen. Nevertheless, by pointing out this feature, it allows us through the physical remains to tie in Boyd's Tower with the Boydtown settlement generally.

Stone blocks

On the north, west and south sides of the tower are 18 rectangular blocks of stone. These are an average of 1m 25cm long, 70cm wide, and 33 cm thick. (i.e., in the measurement of the time, about 4 foot long by 2 feet 3 inches wide). On the west and south sides these blocks are mostly in groups of two. These blocks are the surplus blanks of stone left over from the building of the tower. They were transported to the site from East Boyd Bay by bullock wagon, two stones to a wagon, and lie where they were tipped out, sliding to the ground from the back of the wagon. The stones on the north side were moved from
The 'chessboard' stone.
The measure placed across the stone is 50 cm (~1 m) long.

General view of pairs of unused stones at the base of the Tower.
their original location by the whalers, who propped them up in front of their lean-to shelter to form a fireplace. That stone lying flat nearby has been carved as a draught/games board.

Draught/games board
This stone has been carved to form a board about 45cm square, of 64 squares. In 1987/8 three draught pieces were found at the site during a works programme.

Waste fragments
Scattered around the site on all sides are hundreds of small chunks of sandstone, about 20cm in diameter, and smaller. These are the waste fragments from the blanks.

Piles of rubble and mortar
To the west and south of the tower are two mounds which appear to be waste piles of rubble and mortar remaining after the construction of the tower was completed. The fact that these materials, with the stone blocks and waste fragments were not cleared away, indicates that the tower was not finished.

Evidence of lookout shelters
Two lookout shelters can be seen in engravings and photographs, and evidence of both of these was found.
The main lookout was that at the eastern end of the north side of the tower, using the tower as its back wall. The hole in the stone made for the ridgepole to be attached to the wall can be seen. The only other evidence of this shelter is the fireplace of three stones, two upright and one flat, the remains of the fireplace and windbreak which stood at the north end of the shelter, as shown in the early photographs. The other shelter was a more flimsy structure shown clearly in the engraving of 1872, and behind the whaler in the photograph of c1920. The remains of this structure were found to the west of the track at Site 4. Small squared sandstone blocks and a fragment of whalebone about 10cm in diameter were found embedded in, and beside the track.

Sherds of pottery and glass
At four sites sherds of pottery and glass were observed. These were described, and their location recorded, but they were not collected. To prevent their detection by fossickers the sherds were covered with soil and leaves. The transfer patterns and colours on all sherds, and colour of the glass are consistent with the dates of the tower's building and the later occupation of the
site by the whalers. The pattern and colours are those common in the middle and second half of the 19th century, and the artifacts were probably discarded at the site during that time. The artifacts at Sites 1 and 2 were probably associated with the occupation of the tower shelter, while those at 3 and 4 were associated with the shelter further down the track. Those artifacts on the midden may have been left by Aborigines occupying the site during the contact period, but because of their small size could have been washed down, or transported by wind, at a later date. Sites 1 - 4 are on the track.

Site 2. Brown and white transfer printed earthenware.
Site 3. Oyster shell and dark green bottle glass.
Site 4. A fragment of whalebone c.10cm in diameter embedded in the track.
Site 5. Aboriginal midden at the cliff edge, of shell, with quartz and chert artifacts. A fragment of blue and white transfer printed pottery and a piece of green glass were observed on it.
Demonstrative ability
Boyd's Tower was built in 1846-7 by Benjamin Boyd, whose name is carved into the top of the tower on the three seaward-facing sides. Built of Hawkesbury sandstone imported from Pyrmont, and designed as a lighthouse and a landmark symbol of Boyd's aspirations, it stands 19.5m high on Red Point at the southern headland of Twofold Bay overlooking the sea. The interior timbers have largely rotted away, but those which remain show the same design and construction features as the timbers in the tower of the Boydtown church, built at the same time. The common timber construction physically links the tower with the Boydtown church and settlement, as does the Pyrmont sandstone used decoratively in the woolstore, church and Seahorse Inn. Eighteen sandstone blocks surplus to its construction lie at the base of the tower. Two mounds of mortar and rubble are further evidence of the process of building. From the time of its completion the tower was used as a lookout and signal station by whalers. Carvings on the north window, three stone blocks used as a fireplace, marks on the north wall, scattered 19th century pottery and glass, and a stone block carved for boardgames all signify the life of the lookout crews stationed at the tower. Abandoned since 1930, the vegetation has grown back, partly obscuring the structure. The 19th century tracks from Boyd's Tower northwards to the Merton Cottage, East Boyd whaling station site are still extant, through partly obscured by modern regrowth.

The aboriginal middens at Red Point demonstrate the pre-European use of the site by Aborigines, and perhaps also indicate post-contact use by Aboriginal whalers of the site.

Associational Value
Except for the growth of vegetation the site has changed very little since its construction. The tower has distinct associations with shore based whaling at Twofold Bay (via the Boyd/Brierly connection and the Davidson use of the tower, with Benjamin Boyd's capitalistic empire, and with the lighthouses history of the South Eastern coastline of Australia. The tower also has direct associations with the stonemasons and stone quarries of Sydney (Pyrmont sandstone is used in the tower), and probably associations with the maritime traditions of the tower builders, as the actual construction techniques suggest (see above, physical description Section 5.3).

Formal or aesthetic quality
Boyd's Tower is a romantic ruin virtually unsurpassed in Australia. Of Hawkesbury sandstone, with its broken crenelation defacing Boyd's name on one side, it stands alone at the entrance to the Bay against the sky and the unkempt melaleuca trees. Its scale and picturesque Tudor Gothick style evoke the grandeur of Boyd's vision and the romantic beauty of the ruin which remains.
Archaeological potential

The life of the whalers on lookout may be illuminated by the excavation of the two shelter sites. The excavation of the Aboriginal midden may produce evidence of culture contact between the Aborigines and the whalers.

5.6 STATEMENT OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Boyd's Tower is one of Australia's greatest romantic ruins. The Tower has direct associations with Benjamin Boyd, and with one hundred years of whaling at Twofold Bay. The Tower is superbly constructed of Sydney sandstone and timber, and has remained remarkably intact in form and fabric. The Tower as a symbol played a very important part within Twofold Bay whaling mythology, as evidenced in the many contemporary works illustrating the Tower. The Tower continues as a symbol of the Eden area.

5.7 POLICY CONSTRAINTS/REQUIREMENTS AND POLICY STATEMENTS

5.7.1 Legislation and Guidelines

Policy is to be consistent with:

- NPW Act 1974
- Draft NPWS Policy on the Protection and Management of Site, 1979
- Ben Boyd National Park Plan of Management, 1985
- Burra Charter, 1985

The above legislation and guidelines will be pursued in the management and conservation of each site.

5.7.2 Visitor Access and Use

Policy should ensure that visitor access and use of the site should be controlled to ensure the protection of the site's values and the continuing conservation of the site structures. Policy should ensure that visitors to the site generally are not placed at physical risk.

- Visitor access to the top of the Tower will be prohibited.
- Vehicular access from the existing car park to the Tower area will be prohibited.

5.7.3 Existing Structures

Conservation policy for Boyd's Tower should reflect the cultural significance of the building (as set out above. This policy should be directed to preservation, rather than reconstruction, restoration or adaptation.

- The stonework of the Tower is to be preserved in its present form with minimal intervention, including the damaged top section of the Tower. This policy will require attention to stone
jointing, with minimal attention to stone surface.
The existing timber is to be stabilised and missing
timber elements will be replaced (in part), where
that replacement is necessary to reduce weathering.
The games board stone, Tower inscription and
scattered blocks should remain in situ and be
preserved.

5.7.4 New Structures
No new permanent structures will be erected unless required
for conservation, interpretation, or for visitor facilities,
provided they are essential to the conservation and
preservation of the site. The cultural significance of the
Tower site is such that no new structures may be erected
within its immediate vicinity.

. A "pump out" barrier-free pit toilet will be
  provided at the existing car park.
. Seats will be provided at two locations en route to
  the Tower, particularly as an aid to disabled
  persons.
. Interpretation signs will be placed at four
  discrete locations within the Tower site. There
  will be no signs in close proximity to the Tower.

5.7.5 Interpretation
Policy should ensure that the Tower and its surrounds are
interpreted to the visitor as the culturally significant site
that it is.

. Interpretation of the site will cover all periods
  of the site's history, with particular emphasis on
  the Boyd period of the 1840s, the whaling period
  from 1890 - 1920, and the unusual geological
  formations nearby.

5.7.6 Forestry Commission
Policy for this site should take into account the close
proximity of the East Boyd State Forest to Edrom Lodge, and
to the Harris 'Daishowa Chip Mill. Policy should allow for
the cooperative upgrading of the Tower to Edrom Lodge walking
track, by the Service and the Forestry Commission.

. The NPWS and the Commission will upgrade the
  walking trail from Edrom Lodge to the Tower.
6.0  HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

6.1  SUMMARY DESCRIPTION OF RUINS

The Bittangabee Ruins precinct is considered to include the following:
- the Bittangabee Ruins site;
- the old E W track and depressions adjacent track;
- the slave grave site.

6.2  BITTANGABEE RUINS: SITE HISTORY

6.2.1 The Setting and Oral Traditions

Bittangabee Ruins are the remains of a group of stone walls and foundations at Bittangabee Bay in the southern section of Ben Boyd National Park. The Ruins are set in forest above the Bay, with Bittangabee Creek close by. This location would once have commanded a clear view of the Bay, though forest now impedes the outlook from the site. Even fifty years ago, according to a account in the Eden Magnet, expanses of sea were visible from a point just above the site. The site itself has been inaccessible for much of this century. The Magnet published an account in 1931 of the accidental discovery of the ruins by a walking party. Approaching Bittangabee from the Wonboyn side (west), the party followed the lead spur which runs directly towards the opening of the cliffs forming the entrance to the Bay. A local resident acting as guide described the site in the following terms:

... an outcrop of rocks in the form of a rectangle several feet in height extending 50 yards along each angle surrounded foundations of partly built walls four to five feet high of a projected building...The workmanship, as evidenced by the true lines and the wonderful state of preservation indicated first-class tradesmen. The material used was surface rock of which a stock was gathered in the vicinity and was at hand surrounding the site. Shell lime and loam mortar was the medium by which the stone was cemented. Striking evidence of the lapse of time was illustrated by trees grown within the area laid out for various rooms...some of the timber growths having reached a diameter of forty-eight inches. Upon inquiry of some of the oldest district residents I was told that the Imlays had started to build a residence at Bittangabee and the project had been abandoned...

In the 1930s, almost three generations had passed since the period up to the 1850s when the Imlays occupied land in the Twofold Bay area. However, their activities were within living memory of the oldest inhabitants. In the 1970s, the
Spanish Ruin' theory which claimed that the Bittangabee Ruins were the remains of a sixteenth century Portuguese fort provoked comment about the site. A descendant of an early local family, P. Whelan, wrote to the Eden Magnet:

...Mr Collet (of Eden) remembers my uncles discussing the contractor who did the foundations for the Imlay Bros when he came to Kiah as a young man...

Oral traditions linking the site and the ruined structure to the Imlay brothers are supported by documentary sources and the style and layout of the Bittangabee Ruins themselves.

6.2.2 Imlay Brothers at Twofold Bay
In about 1832, Peter Imlay became the first European settler to occupy land on a permanent basis in the Twofold Bay area. In the 1830s, this meant roughly the seaboard area from modern-day Broulee to the present Victorian border and west to the ranges marking the edge of the Monaro. Peter Imlay was joined by his brothers, Dr Alexander Imlay in 1833 and Dr George Imlay in 1835. The Imlays were typical of the many British immigrants with moderate financial resources attracted to the colonies by the opportunities for profitable investment. Twofold Bay afforded the potential for raising stock on unoccupied Crown Land in the vicinity of a commodious harbour suitable for steam navigation. Shore-based whaling out of Twofold Bay provided additional opportunities for capitalists. The Imlays rapidly occupied land in prime locations and established a diversified family enterprise based on the export of whaling and pastoral products. From their runs at Twofold Bay, they were the largest suppliers of livestock and salt meat to Van Diemen's Land, and exported these products as well to New Zealand and Port Phillip. They were also among the foremost colonial producers of whale products, with shore-stations at Twofold Bay, Gabo Island and Wilson's Promontory in Victoria and at least four sites in Van Diemen's Land.

6.2.3 Pastoral Occupation: 'Mowera' and 'Batangaby' Runs
'Mowera' (Mowarry Point) and 'Batangaby' or 'Batangabe' (Bittangabee Bay) were adjoining ocean-front runs to the south of Twofold Bay, taken up by the Imlays in the 1830s or early 1840s. In 1835, Governor Bourke found herds and flocks belonging to the Imlays grazing as far south as Cape Howe when he inspected the Twofold Bay area prior to recommending the extension of the limits of pastoral occupation. All three Imlay brothers held pastoral licences in the district in the 1840s. The runs became part of the Imlays' extensive pastoral holdings based around the original 'Biggah' run in the Twofold Bay area. Thomas Townsend's survey of Monaro and Gippsland in 1845 identified Alexander as the legal occupant at 'Batangaby' and George at 'Mowera'.

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6.2.4 G.A. Robinson at Bittangabee Bay, 1844
The only contemporary description of the site is provided by 'Protector' George Augustus Robinson, who visited Bittangabee Bay in July 1844 during extensive travels to investigate the conditions of Aborigines employed by Europeans in the whaling and pastoral industries. Robinson noted that the Imlays had a station at a "pretty place" known as 'Pettungerbe' (Bittangabee) where building had commenced on a stone house set among bark huts, fruit trees and gardens. 'Old Harry' apparently supervised the station for the Imlays.

6.2.5 Bittangabee Ruins: An Imlay Whaling Station?
Pearson has associated Robinson's description of the site in 1844 with the operation of a whaling station at Bittangabee Bay at that time. In the mid-1840s, when competition for whales at Twofold Bay reached its height with the entry of Benjamin Boyd into the industry, Imlay boat-crews were stationed at Mowarry Point and Bittangabee Bay. The new boat stations were respectively six and sixteen kilometers south of Twofold Bay. Early in the whaling season, crews at these stations had the advantage of sighting and pursuing northward migrating whales before they were visible to rival operations from Twofold Bay lookout points. If the chase were successful, the whale carcass was towed to try-works in Twofold Bay itself. The Imlays appear to have used a try-works associated with a Pacific Islander, 'Otaheiti Bill', probably located at Kiah Inlet and later part of Davidson's station.

The establishment of the new boat stations on pastoral leasehold occurred at a time when the Imlay brothers were losing control of their original stations on unsecured Crown Land at Snug Cove and East Boyd. The Imlays' Sydney shipping agents, the Walker Brothers, took over the Snug Cove station in the mid-1840s, forcing the Imlays to move their livestock export trade from the Snug Cove wharf to Cattle Bay. The Imlay site at East Boyd was part of an extensive area of land purchased by Ben Boyd towards the end of 1843. In 1844, Boyd attempted to force his major rivals out of whaling altogether by sending one of his whaling fleet, the 'Edward', to 'bay-whale' at Bittangabee Bay in competition with the Imlay boat crews. This strategy may have been successful, as the Imlays only used these new stations for one, or perhaps two, seasons.

Pearson interprets the partly built stone house sighted by Robinson in 1844 as evidence that the Imlays intended to develop the Bittangabee Bay site into a fully autonomous whaling station. Based on the pattern of the Imlay whaling station at Snug Cove, the house may have been intended as a convenient base for the supervision of the new whaling station. The complex of buildings described by Robinson was similar in layout to the original Snug Cove station, where workers' huts were associated with the Imlays' weatherboard residence a short distance from the jetty and try-works.
Brierly's Cottage, 'Merton', East Boyd
(B and W photograph c1911)
Source: Small Pictures File
Mitchell Library

Brierly's Cottage
East Boyd
(B & W photo 1910)
From: Weekly Times. June 4
1910:26
The possible addition of a try-works at the Bittangabee Bay site would have increased the need for direct supervision, as the quality of the oil varied with the efficiency of the trying-out process.

6.2.6 Pastoral Out-Station at Bittangabee Bay
It is likely that a residence at Bittangabee Bay would have been associated with pastoral activity at an Imlay out-station. The Imlays had already established various residences on pastoral holdings in the Twofold Bay area. 'Tarraganda' house at Bega was constructed in 1842 on the original 'Biggah' station as a gentry-style residence. Cottages now demolished at Pambula and Candelo were associated with 1840s Imlay stations in these areas. Pastoral activity at `Batangabe' run would have provided an additional source of revenue to whaling. The Imlays controlled agricultural and grazing land of various types and qualities and maintained a number of separate stations to carry out breeding programmes. In 1844, Commissioner Lambie numbered the Imlays among the largest landholders in the Monaro, with 425 square miles of Crown Land under pastoral leasehold. At the same time, he estimated Imlay stock at 663 horses, 9,130 cattle and 18,056 sheep. When Boyd took over the pastoral leasehold of 'Mowera' and `Batangabe' during the late 1840s, the combined area estimated at 200,000 acres made this the largest of the original Imlay stations. Boyd stocked the area with sheep and cattle and his men occupied huts and stockyards dating from the Imlay occupation.

6.2.7 'Colonial Gothick' Residence
The residence designed and partially constructed at Bittangabee Bay, in the mid-1840s is within the architectural tradition of overseer's residences represented by Brierly's 'Merton' cottage at East Boyd and 'Moutry's Cottage' on the southern side of Twofold Bay. The generous scale, ornateness and elaborate setting of these cottages distinguished them from the slab houses that provided accommodation for Boyd's workers in the same period. Brierly's social standing was reflected in his association with Boyd and appointment as local magistrate. In naming his residence after 'Merton Hall' in Scotland, he conjured up the lifestyle of the gentry in his native land. 'Merton', 'Moutry's cottage' and the unfinished house at Bittangabee Bay are variations on a cultural theme. The surviving foundations and partially completed walls of the Bittangabee Ruins indicate that the structure was to be a substantial residence conceived in the 'Colonial Gothick' tradition that was fashionable among the self-styled colonial gentry in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The setting, too, conforms to taste within the 'picturesque' tradition, and may have reminded the Imlays of the dramatic natural scenery and water views of their native Scottish Highlands. The floor plan, which is partly evident at the Bittangabee Ruins in 1986, indicates that the house
was designed to overlook the Bay, with its back to the forest. Access was by water, with safe anchorage in the Bay itself for small vessels, or by a bush track following the coastline from Eden and Boydtown.

6.2.8 Imlay Residence
The construction and furnishing of a residence on the scale of the Bittangabee Ruins during the depression years of the early 1840s would have been a considerable financial undertaking. This factor alone suggests that the residence was intended for occupation by one of the Imlays themselves. George Imlay was established at 'Tarraganda' house, where he died in 1846. Peter Imlay acquired markets and landholdings in New Zealand during the early 1840s and later settled at Wanganui with his family. The most likely occupant of a family residence at Bittangabee Bay would have been Alexander Imlay. Indeed, the pastoral leasehold was taken out in his name in 1845. Alexander Imlay had apparently decided sometime before 1845 to leave his established home at Newtown in Van Diemen's Land to return to Twofold Bay with his wife and child. Declining returns due to the depletion of whale numbers probably explains the decision to abandon the Imlay whaling interests in Van Diemen's Land. A building programme may have commenced at Bittangabee Bay in 1844 in preparation for Alexander's imminent return.

In 1846, Commissioner Lambie noted that the Imlays had an overseer at Bittangabee Bay, but made no mention of a residence, so perhaps the project had already been abandoned. The failure to carry it through can be explained in terms of family affairs after 1844. Various sources suggest that the Imlays were hard hit by the depression of 1843-44, which particularly affected export industries. The winding up of whaling and pastoral operations in Van Diemen's Land in the mid-1840s may have been an attempt to rationalise family holdings. In the meantime, tragedy of a more personal kind overtook the family. In December 1846, George committed suicide at Bega. Alexander himself died in March 1847, without having left Van Diemen's Land. Peter remained at Bega until 1853, when he moved permanently to New Zealand.

6.2.9 Boyd at Bittangabee Bay
After the death in close succession of George and Alexander Imlay, a struggle ensued for the control of 'Mowera' and 'Batangabe' runs. According to Brierly, the whaling stations at Mowera Point and Bittangabee Bay were the focus of a contest between Boyd and a rival whaling operation controlled by Rixon. Annotations to Townsend's 1845 survey show proposed subdivisions representing lots, applied for sometime in the late 1840s, by Rixon and his partner at Bittangabee Bay. At Mowera Point, former Imlay employees, 'Paddy' (Patrick) Whelan and Andrew Neale, disputed Boyds' take-over and Neale and Prendergast later freeholded small farms in the area. In the short-term, however, Boyd negotiated successfully with Peter Imlay to acquire the leasehold of both runs. In 1848, Boyd's new 'Wonboyn' run, carved out of
George Imlay's former 'Batangabe' run, carried 800 cattle and 32,400 sheep. Boyd used neither Bittangabee Bay or Mowera Point as whaling sites, Brierly removing what remained of the Imlay's whaling gear from Bittangabee Bay in 1848. On the collapse of his commercial empire in 1849, Boyd, or more likely his creditors, gave up his interest in the run and the area immediately adjacent to Bittangabee Bay became a Crown Reserve in 1851.

6.2.10 Post - 1851 Activity at Bittangabee Bay

Bittangabee Bay was the main supply landing place during the construction of the Green Cape Lighthouse completed in 1883. Subsequently, the bay was also used as an all-weather supply depot for the lighthouse staff. A wharf and storehouse, still standing in 1986, were built in the area around this time. During the construction of the lighthouse, building materials were transported on a wooden railway over the six kilometers which separated the bay from the lighthouse. On completion of the lighthouse, the tramway fell into disuse and regular supplies were carted over a bush track. Another track connected the Cape to Wonboyn. Bittangabee Bay was used as a supply port until at least 1927. Other activities carried on in the area included bark-stripping, sleeper cutting and stone quarrying for the original Gabo Lighthouse.

6.2.11 'Spanish Ruin'?

In The Secret Discovery of Australia, published in 1977, K.G. McIntyre claimed that the Bittangabee Ruins were the remains of a sixteenth century Portuguese fort. Despite wider ranging and substantial criticisms of McIntyre's book, his work has received widespread mythologies about the site. McIntyre's influence on the interpretation of the site can be partly explained by the persistence since the late nineteenth century of the idea of a Portuguese discovery of Australia in the period before Cook's voyage up the east coast of the continent. Lawrence Hargrave for instance, argued the case for a sixteenth century Spanish discovery of the east coast in published work in 1909. Such mythologies have had wide appeal among Australians who find the recent convict past unheroic and seek a greater antiquity for their civilisation. McIntyre's assertion that the Bittangabee Ruins were constructed as a Portuguese fort is critically analysed in Pearson's Information Leaflets written for the Service.

6.2.12 Bittangabee Ruins: Historic Site

The Bittangabee Ruins represent early nineteenth century patterns of settlement associated with the Twofold Bay whaling and pastoral industries. The speculative nature of such enterprises is highlighted by the short span of activity at the site concentrated in the 1840s and the subsequent failure of permanent settlement in the area. The absence of close family and community ties with the site is encapsulated in the uncompleted stage of the ruined house, indicating that it was never occupied. The failure of the Imlays to
establish themselves permanently in the Eden area contributed to the lack of local traditions associated with the Ruins. This explains the widespread acceptance of 'invented' traditions such as the 'Spanish Ruin' theory.

6.2.13 ENDNOTES


The quotations are from the Eden Magnet, 29 August 1931 & 16 August 1979.


For the survey of 'Mowera' and 'Batangabe' runs see Surveyor T. Townsend, Map of Southern New South Wales, 1845, NSWAO maps 3889-3892.

For pastoral licenses see Sydney Morning Herald, 1 November 1842.

For Robinson's visit see G.A. Robinson's Journal, 1 July to 28 September 1844, ML Ms A7040, July 17 & 18, frame 245.

For the layout of the Snug Cove whaling station see 'Plan of the Town of Eden at Twofold Bay, County Auckland', Thos. Townsend, Assistant Surveyor, 1843, MSWAO map 2665.

For description of 'Merton' and 'Moutry's Cottage' see Wellings, Ben Boyd...op. cit. pp. 20-23.

The 'Colonial Gothick' style is analysed by J. Kerr in Gothick Taste in Australia, Sydney 1971.


For the boundaries of 'Mowera' and 'Batangabe' see Application for leases in the Maneroo District, No 148, Ben Boyd, New South Wales Government Gazette, Supplement, 6 April 1850.

For a description of Boyd's takeover based on Brierly's diary see Pearson A Brief History of Settlement...op. cit., pp. 6-7.

For details of the post-1851 period see Pearson A Brief History of Settlement...op. cit., p. 13-15.

6.3 PHYSICAL ANALYSIS, BITTANGABEE RUINS

6.3.1 The Bittangabee Ruins
A NPWS survey of Bittangabee Ruins in 1978 reported as follows:

"...The 'Bittangabee Ruins' are stone foundations measuring 68 feet x 33 feet, consisting of a roughly north-south oriented rectangle divided into 5 compartments, with a single compartment wing off each end towards the east. Measurement of the building is complicated by subsidence and wall collapse, but most wall measurements are in complete feet..."

...The walls stand in places to a height of 52 inches, and are 18 to 20 inches thick. The base of the walls are wider by 1 1/2 to 2 inches than the upper courses. The roughly shaped stones are laid in parallel course, with rubble infill between inner and outer stone faces. Some facing stones show deep pick marks where they have been roughly shaped. The internal walls which divide up the remains into compartments appear to have no internal openings, suggesting that they are foundations rather than actual wall partitions..."

"...The entire structure is surrounded by stone rubble of the same size as that forming the walls. In places this rubble extends 10 metres from the walls, and on three metres. On the fourth side (the north wall) the rubble is immediately against the wall and only extends two metres from it. Quite a bit of rubble also lies inside the walls. A possible explanation of this is that the northern wall had been completed, and subsequently collapsed, the rubble falling at its base, while the other walls had not been completed, and the gap left between rubble and wall used for the builders to work in. Rubble inside the walls could be the result of minor collapse of the unfinished walls. The building has the appearance of having never been completed, indeed the western wall appears never to have grown above its footings..."

"...A mound of shell lime mortar located to the west of the ruins, and another mound has been reported but has not yet been located. Most of the mortar in the walls is in quite good condition, having weathered comparatively little. Two stone quarries (refer survey, Figure B1) are located within 50 metres of the ruin, and further quarrying activity is evident on the banks of the creek to the south and south-east. Lime appears to have been obtained from an Aboriginal shell midden in the point at the creeks mouth. This midden is a large shallow
-85-
deposit, and on the south side there is an area of burnt clay which bears a close resemblance to early colonial earth-lime kilns located elsewhere in NSW. It is probable that this is the site of production for the lime mortar used in the building's construction..."

During this project, inspections have been undertaken by this consultant team. These inspections consisted of two separate visits by the team (Architect/Archaeologist and Historian), and one special visit by a stone conservator, Mr Brian Bowen. Little has changed at the Ruin site (from the 1978 description) apart from the following:

- excavation by unauthorised persons at the northern wall of the ruin (this excavation has been temporarily filled);
- additional fall/dislocation of stones from the top of the exposed stone walls;
- regrowth of vegetation within the site area (subsequent to its clearing by the NPWS in 1976).

The changes to the Bittangabee Bay site of the Ruins since 1846 have been more marked. It is probable that the site once had an unrestricted view of the Bay, interrupted by a few mature eucalypts. Vegetation and regrowth between the Ruin site and the Bay now precludes any view to the Bay, such view now being obtainable from a point some 100 metres below the ruin site.

Analysis of the physical form of the ruin site, and knowledge of building carried out contemporaneously (i.e. Seahorse Inn, 'Merton' Cottage, Boyd's Tower etc) suggests that although these buildings were erected for Benjamin Boyd, the Imlays would have been familiar with them and most probably used similar architectural styles, i.e., Colonial Gothic/Tudor style. Analysis of the plan form of the Imlay house suggests that the proposed built form of the house was with a central verandah (flanked by the two extant wings), with gable ends to wings, much in the manner of, say, Loudon's pattern book designs for cottages (Refer Kerr and Broadbent, Gothic Taste, p. 22), or of Brierly's cottage 'Merton', (Refer Figure no. G14, p. 20).

6.3.2 The Original East West Track and Depressions adjacent the Track

The 1978 NPWS survey of the Ruins reported that:

"...Two stone quarries are located within 50 metres of the ruin, and further quarrying activity is evident on the banks of the Bittangabee Creek to the south and south-east. Line for the stone walls appears to have been obtained from an Aboriginal
shell midden on the point at the creeks mouth. This midden is a large shallow deposit, and on the southern side of it we found an area of burnt clay which bears a close resemblance to early colonial earth lime kilns located elsewhere in NSW. It is likely that this is the site of production for the lime mortar used in the building's construction. A series of trackways run from the creek to the Ruin via the quarries, and from the midden to the ruin, then up the gentle ridge behind the ruin, evidently to connect with the main ridge which runs back toward the Kiah River. The age of these tracks is, however, unknown, and there is no direct evidence of contemporaneity with the building of the ruins. A pit of unknown origin or use is located about 100 metres north of the ruins. The pit is elongated, 3-4 metres long, with an opening in one side. It is too small for a saw pit, and too large for a limekiln, but is obviously an intentional structure. These pits are indicated on the survey of the Bittangabee Ruin site. The pits have now been covered in vegetation and are difficult to find, as is the original track...

6.3.3 The 'Slave Grave' site
Some distance to the northwest of the Ruins was a stone structure, now demolished. The 1978 report stated:

"...The structure known locally as one of Ben Boyd's 'slave's graves' is located about 300 metres north of the ruin. It is a solid stone structure, constructed of mortared stone rubble, standing about 1 metre high x metre wide x 1 1/2 metres long. It has an indentation at each corner as if to house upright posts. It is unlikely to be a grave, but could be a base for some form of machinery, or a work platform, with the poles at each corner to support a roof. Its use or association with the ruins is unknown..."

Unfortunately, the structure was demolished early 1986, presumably by vandals intent on pursuing 'the grave' legend. The site is now a heap of rocks and a shallow depression.
Looking South to Eastern wing, 20 December 1986. Note that the stones have changed little in position.

The view to Bittangabee Bay looking due East from the Ruins. The view from the House would have commanded the entrance to the Bay, as it is sited directly between both headlands.
6.4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

Historical research and compilation of oral history accounts have shown that the Bittangabee ruins are the uncompleted footings of a pastoral out-station residence begun by the Imlay Brothers in about 1844.

Despite the Portuguese ruins theory, it seems quite clear that the construction dates to the 1840s.

Excavation
There is therefore no need to excavate the site to find evidence of the builders. Excavation may be desirable for other reasons, for example, in preparing the area for interpretation and public movement around the site by building walkways or stiles, which would necessitate disturbing the ground.

Clearing
From an analysis of photographs taken in the 1970s it can be seen that:
- regrowth of the weed pittosstrum has taken place, and this, along with other plants, is growing around and forcing itself between the stones
- the surrounding bush is thicker in 1986 than it was in 1976
- it is likely that this research team will recommend as part of its Conservation Policy that more of the large trees growing near and in the ruins are removed and that
- an area as wide as the ruins be cleared of most large trees and other vegetation down to the Bay, replicating the view as seen by the Imlays in the 1840s
- it is also necessary to clear the growth between the footings and the rows of builders' stone, so that the method of construction, and the evidence that the building was not completed can be demonstrated to the public.

If such clearing around the ruins takes place, then archaeological supervision would be advisable to eliminate any untoward damage to the remains.

Before clearing of vegetation takes place, a herbicide such as Roundup could be used in the Spring, to make the subsequent clearing three months later less damaging to the remains.

Rebuilding of walls
It is my view that the walls should be stabilized as they are, but not be rebuilt with the fallen stones. It would be useful to clear away the fallen walls so that they can be distinguished for the visitor from the rows of unused building stone.
The stone quarries were surveyed by the team surveyor. The shell midden lime source was located but not photographed.

The "slave's grave" has been completely destroyed. On visiting the site on 6 May, 1976, with Superintendent Kay Margus it was seen to have been destroyed and dug out by fossickers.

The sites of the huts, fruit trees, and gardens noted by G A Robinson in 1844 were situated to the north of the ruins, between the ruins and Bittangabee Creek, the major fresh water source in the area.

An examination of the vegetation in that area shows that extensive clearing has taken place in the past, as there are no old trees still standing, as there are in other parts of the ruins surroundings. (These sites, not directly connected with the ruins, are not mentioned in the Report by Pearson.)
6.5 ASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Demonstrative Ability
The Ruins demonstrate the 1840s Imlay occupation of this area, and their determination to build permanently at Bittangabee.

The form of the Ruins place the proposed Imlay Bittangabee residence in the picturesque Gothick tradition - overlooking Bittangabee Bay.

The Ruins and associated pits demonstrate the building technology of the mid 19th century in primitive and isolated conditions. The mortar used is a typical mud/shell lime composition of that period, as are the random rubble stone walls.

Associational Value
The ruins are associated with the Imlay brothers, and with their original pastoral occupancy of this area.

The Ruins have associations with the (Brierly) architectural style of the Boyd's Tower, Boydtown, Merton cottage and Moutry Cottage buildings.

The Ruins have associations, by virtue of the coastal track from Red Point to Green Point, with the whaling stations and lookouts at Mowaree, Red Point, and Twofold Bay.

Archaeological Potential

The archaeological potential of the site is considered to be high because evidence of building may be found, particularly within the 'trenches' dug for the stone walling.

Archaeological investigation may also provide evidence of the proposed structure for the building i.e., location of timber floors, verandahs etc.

Formal/Aesthetic Quality

The site presents poorly because vegetation within and around the site has obscured the site, and disrupted the historical link between the Ruin site and Bittangabee Bay.

The site also presents poorly because visitation has caused erosion to the stone walls and caused the outline of the building to be difficult to appreciate.

6.6 STATEMENT OF CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

Bittangabee Ruins are significant because they represent a rare survival from the mid 19th century of pastoral settlement in this area, and of building technology of that period. The Ruins are also significant because of their associations with the Imlay brothers and with the Boyd empire.
6.7 POLICY CONSTRAINTS/REQUIREMENTS AND POLICY STATEMENTS

6.7.1 Legislation and Guidelines
Policy is to be consistent with:

- NPW Act 1974
- Draft NPWS Policy on the Protection and Management of Sites, 1979
- Ben Boyd National Park Plan of Management, 1985
- Burra Charter, 1985

The above legislation and guidelines will be pursued in the management and conservation of each site.

6.7.2 Visitor Access and Use
Policy should ensure that visitor access and use of the site should be controlled to ensure the protection of the site's values and the continuing conservation of the Ruins.

- The existing walking track will be no longer used and a new track will be constructed north of the creek crossing to the Ruin site from the south east.
- This track will give access to a viewing platform constructed west of the Ruins. The track will continue north to meet the newly constructed coastal track.
- Direct access to the actual Ruins by visitors will be strongly discouraged.

6.7.3 The Ruins
Policy should be directed to halting the considerable deterioration of the Ruins walls which has been caused by visitor access, unauthorised digging and vegetation growth.

- The existing walls are to be stabilised in their present form, and no reconstruction is to be undertaken.
- Regrowth within and around the Ruins which is causing damage will be removed with minimal disturbance.
- Stone walls to the west and the intermediate E W walls will be cleared of surface soil and vegetation.
- Illegally excavated areas will be filled and where possible the refilled area will be identified.
- Further archaeological excavation of the site is not considered necessary for the purpose of this plan.
6.7.4 New Structures

No new permanent structures will be erected unless required for conservation, interpretation, and for visitor facilities, provided they are essential to the conservation and presentation of the site.

- Interpretative and directional signs will be installed along the approach path and at the Ruin site.
- A viewing platform which will provide an overall understanding of the Ruins site, and deter access to the walls, will be built to the west of the site, clearly separated from the structure and its rubble surrounds.

6.7.5 Interpretation

Policy should ensure that the Ruins site is interpreted to the visitor as a culturally significant site of the mid 19th century. Policy should dispel the popularly held myth that the site had other origins.

- Interpretation of the site will cover the origin and siting of the Imlay Brothers residence, the likely form of the Imlay's proposed building, and the presentation of the existing Ruins.
7.1 GENERAL

7.1.1 OFFICIAL REPORTS
National Parks & Wildlife Service Plan of Management for Ben Boyd National Park, July 1985
Pearson M., A Brief History of Settlement: Ben Boyd National Park, NPWS 1979

7.1.2 PHOTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS
Photographs by C.E. Wellings, Eden, circa 1900-1914, original glass-plate negatives in the possession of Mrs Mary Mitchell (nee Wellings) of Eden, 1986.
Rene Davidson collection, Eden
Bega Family Museum, Bega
Michael Pearson collection, copied from sources in the National Library, Mitchell Library, contemporary newspapers and published works, Canberra
Alice Otton collection, Eden

7.1.3 ORAL HISTORY PROJECT
Interviews with Elsie Severs and Alice Otton, compiled by Colleen Dibley.

7.2 DAVIDSON WHALING STATION

7.2.1 PRIMARY SOURCES
Lands Department of New South Wales

`Plan of thirty acres of land at East Boyd, Twofold Bay applied for by Barclay & Falkner', plan 10-1206
`Towamba Goldfield Extension', plan 1-1206
Portion plans 41, 61 & 62, County of Auckland, Parish of Kiah and papers LB 30.1820
Portion plans 3 & 4, County Auckland, Parish of Kiah

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Bounty Immigrants, Index, 1828-1842, 4/4887
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Pearson M., 'Shore-based Whaling at Twofold Bay: One Hundred Years of Enterprise' JRAHS, Vol 71, Pt 1, June 1985, pp 3-27


Unpublished

Davidson Don, 'The Davidsons of Kiah', Sydney 1986, available from the author or reference copy with Sandy Blair, Consultant Historian with the project.

7.3 BOYD'S TOWER

7.3.1 PRIMARY SOURCES

Lands Department of New South Wales

'Survey of Four Portions of Land Applied for by Ben Boyd' Plan 3-1206

Plan of portion 5, Parish Kiah, County Auckland, 2245 GBN

Mitchell Library

Brierly O. W., Diary & Notes, Dec 1842-Jan 1843, ML A535 & March 1843, ML A533; Twofold Bay & Sydney Diary & Notes 1843-5, ML A539

Wells W., Geographical Dictionary and Gazetteer of the Australian Colonies, 1848

National Library

Wellings H. P., Papers, 4 boxes, MS 3669

New South Wales Archives Office

Eden Lighthouse, Dept of Public Works file, 2/893 & 4

Newspapers

Eden Magnet, 30 Jan 1932

Illustrated Sydney News, 1872
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