CHAPTER 3

THE BEGINNINGS OF ORGANISATION: 1859 - 1876

Melbourne money and entrepreneurial skill gave the Manly ferry its independent start. Men such as S.B. Skinner, T.J. Parker and Thomas Heselton contributed both their talents and capital to giving the service commercial viability, while gold-mine millionaire J.B. Watson put up the finance to enable it to expand with large purpose-built vessels (Chapter 4).

On 7 July 1854, during the heady years of the gold rush, Captain William Howard Smith, pioneer Australian shipping entrepreneur, and his engineer Samuel Bourne Skinner brought SS Express into Port Phillip Bay, Victoria, after a long voyage from England. The arrival of this little iron steamer was significant, not only for Australian maritime history, but, indirectly, for the Manly trade. Howard Smith (with Skinner as joint owner) invested in Express for the growing Melbourne-Geelong trade. As a sheltered waters trade, the Geelong run had a little in common with the Manly trade, though not initially. As Melbourne and Geelong grew in rivalry with each other the early trade was heavily commercial, but later, as Melbourne moved relentlessly ahead, Geelong and other southern parts of the bay became the watering places of an excursion trade, just as Manly and Watson's Bay did for Sydney. In its heyday, with enormous and opulent steamers speeding excursionists to their various pleasures, the bay trade made the Manly ferry look a rather poor relation by comparison (though it never had the commuter element and associated sustained patronage). However, the motor car and war brought the trade to an end in the 1930s.

With a pleasing sense of history, the Port Jackson and Manly Steamship Co. sent MV North Head to Melbourne between 1965 and 1967 in an unsuccessful attempt to revive the bay trade.

2. See Chapter 6.
Express became the common origin of two shipping empires: Howard Smith and Company, and Huddart Parker and Company. After several years in the bay trade, Howard Smith expanded into the inter-colonial trade with the steamer You Yangs and others, selling his shares in Express to his Geelong agent, Thomas James Parker, in 1862. Parker, together with Skinner and other Melbourne men (including two of Howard Smith's captains, Thomas Webb and Thomas Heselton) engaged in various shipping investments and speculations over the next two decades, and finally Parker, with Peter Huddart, Webb and others, formed Huddart Parker and Co. in 1876. It was first Skinner, then Parker and Heselton, who contributed their capital and managerial skills to the Manly trade. Also to Manly from the bay trade came Victoria, Phantom, Breadalbane and the tug Mystery. 3

1. Establishment of the Manly Ferry Line 1859-1960

The first attempt to give the Manly service permanency came in 1859, though not quite on the scale apparently envisaged by Henry Gilbert Smith. Presumably a little too stretched in resources to finance and run a ferry service himself, Smith tried to form a company. In late February and March of 1859, he advertised in the Sydney Morning Herald that a meeting was to be held in the Sydney Exchange on the afternoon of Tuesday 1 March. Invited to attend were "those desirous of promoting the formation" of a "Brighton, Manly Beach Steam Company" - capital £15,000 in 1,500 shares of £10 each, under the Limited Liability Act. 4 To support this proposal, Smith noted that the numbers visiting "Brighton, Manly Beach" over the past three years justified running


4. For example, advertisement in SMH, 1 March 1859.
... a first-class powerful commodious and elegant steam boat, built expressly for passengers, with awning deck, enclosed by Venetian blinds, seats, chairs, and lounges for 200 passengers, leaving the upper deck for promenading, etc. A boat of this description (independent of Manly) is now greatly wanted on the waters of Port Jackson; in fact, Sydney with its 80,000 inhabitants, requires its Gondola ... having now its Brighton.5

In addition, Smith suggested, a second smaller vessel was required as a relief boat. To ensure the security and profitability of the investment, Smith was prepared to make available at modest cost to the company sizable areas of land and favourable leases on the Manly wharf, and, if necessary, the Steyne Hotel. It was planned to run the steamers five or six times a day. Smith noted that the steamer currently under charter (probably Victoria) had earned £1,623 (profit) in the first 100 days (excluding Christmas, Boxing, and New Year's Days), averaging £16/9/6 per day. Accounting for those three holidays, the average would be £25 per day. With "a superior Pleasure Boat," noted Smith, "the residents of Sydney may really know what it is to enjoy, with ease and luxury, an excursion on their harbour."6

The attendance at the meeting is not recorded, but it seems the caution of investors exceeded Smith's enthusiasm, for no more is heard of the Brighton, Manly Beach Steam Company.7 Nevertheless, talk of a company

5. ibid.
6. ibid.
7. Numerous writers have assumed from this advertisement that the company existed (e.g. G. Andrews The Ferries of Sydney (Sydney 1975), p. 36; L.A. Clark North of the Harbour p. 38). However, it goes without saying that a public meeting is not proof of the formation of a company. Several elements of evidence (or lack thereof) support the contention that the company did not exist. Firstly, no Manly ferries were registered in the name of a company until 1877 when the Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. Ltd. was incorporated. Registration was in the names of the individual owners. Secondly, there is no reference to the company in contemporary sources - the records of the Registrar General (Companies Office and Deeds Registration Branch), newspapers, agreements, or other documents. The Herald appeared to carry no report on the 1859 meeting. In the early 1860s the owners of the boats casually called themselves the "Manly Beach Co." - a device of convenience - in newspaper advertisements, but this soon became "Manly Beach steamers."
must have been mooted for some time for in March Edye Manning inserted a somewhat indignant advertisement in the Herald denying that he would have to withdraw his boats if a company was formed. 8

Despite his failure to obtain public support, Smith lost little time in acquiring a steamer. PS Phantom - the "first Manly ferry" in the sense of being acquired specifically for the trade - defied rather than fitted the ideas conjured by the term "Gondola." Admittedly rather powerful but somewhat less than first class or commodious, Phantom puffed her way between Sydney and Manly for nearly twenty years. Phantom's first owner, S. S. Skinner, had her built from imported shaped iron by J. F. Dow and Co. of Williamstown. 9 She was 63.89 tons gross, 119.4 feet in length, and her machinery was also built by Dow. She did not appear to possess a passenger cabin (though she could have had small cabins below deck, fore and aft) but carried canvas awnings over her single deck to mitigate the worst effects of the weather. Her hull was double-ended and she could be navigated in either direction. The most outstanding fact of her first twenty years of life was her unsuitability for the trades in which she was engaged.

Skinner placed her in the Geelong trade (with Sunday excursion work) where her double-ended configuration would have been of little value and her narrow beam of 13.1 feet and shallow draught of 3'5" would have soon demonstrated her unseaworthiness. In these factors could lie the reason why, after less than four months of work, he put her up for sale. 10 By May,

8. Advertisement in SMH, 12 March 1859.
9. Details from SRBS, 29/1859. For comprehensive details of all ferryboats owned by Manly service operators see Appendix 1A.
10. For example, advertisement in SMH, 12 February 1859. A myth appears to have developed among recent writers that this advertisement for the sale of Phantom stated that she had five rudders - an unlikely proposition (e.g. Andrews The Ferries of Sydney (1975), p. 36). The numerous printings of the advertisement I have observed in the Herald throughout February-March 1859 refer to "two rudders" only.
Henri Gilbert Smith had bought a majority share (40/64) from Skinner and Phantom was preparing for her voyage to Sydney. Smith's experience with ships and observation of the performance of Manning's boats in the Manly trade must have given him an eye for shortcomings such as those demonstrated by the Phantom. However, it is likely he was obliged to compromise, perhaps for financial reasons and certainly because buying a steamship in Australia in the 1850s (particularly an iron vessel) was not something which involved a wide range of choice.

Phantom's references from Manly travellers over the years say much for Captain Molland and his crew who brought her in ballast from Hobson's Bay to Sydney between 14 and 28 May 1859 (sheltering four days from heavy weather in Sealer's Cove, Wilson's Promontory). The allegedly economical and powerful performance of her engine, which could occasionally push her between Sydney and Manly in thirty minutes, would impress today's travellers, but a contemporary remembered her as "the craziest tub I ever saw." The beam-end seas encountered by the Manly service when crossing the Heads were the greatest strain on the nerves of Phantom's passengers. Crew-members carried weights from one side of the boat to the other to maintain her stability, and one veteran likened the crossing to the Bay of Biscay. Phantom crossed the Heads using what is now the rough weather

11. The British Merchant Shipping Acts provide that a vessel's ownership can be divided into 64 equal shares. A.E. Branch (The Elements of Shipping 3rd ed. (London 1975), p. 179) states that the "spread of ownership of a vessel was widely practised before the growth of the limited liability company" so that investors could spread their risks. The system is still in operation today, though not so widely used.

12. SMH, 30 May 1859. Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 6 June 1859.

13. SMH, 15 June 1867.


15. Ibid.

16. "The 'seventies. Sydney 50 years ago. (By Old Sydney sider.)" D. Tel, 3 January 1925.
route - steering out to sea into the waves, coming about halfway, and completing the crossing on the other diagonal with the sea behind. Wrote an "Old Sydneysider":

The moment of 'wearing' ship [coming about] was rather alarming, except to regular trippers, who had become accustomed to her capers. Now and again she shipped a sea, often leading to musical shrieks from the perturbed womenfolk, and perchance cause a fair companion to seek greater security by pressing closer to her gallant protector. 17

One day when she was caught in a gale while crossing the Heads, a large wave crashed aboard and put out the boiler fires. A jury mast was rigged and she sailed to the shelter of North Harbour. 18 Judge A.P. Backhouse recalled that she was "... by no means a phantom in reality, being generally heard before she was seen by reason of her having no condenser, and getting rid of her exhaust steam with a raucous puff as does a locomotive." 19 Schoolboys called her "puffing billy" and she sometimes puffed out several rings of smoke. 20 Phantom's proper employment should have been river work - for this she was most suited. Possibly the only time she may have done this kind of work was when she was owned by C.E. Jeanneret (operator of the Parramatta River ferries) in 1879.

Although Smith's plan for a luxurious excursion vessel and relief-boat had not materialised, at least Manly had its own ferry and, as a result, some guarantee of a good service. Phantom would remain largely confined to ferry operations, for Sydney's improvised excursion vessels such as PS Victoria could still provide superior facilities for their type of work.

17. ibid.
The months of May and June 1859 saw the transformation of the Manly ferry into a more permanent institution. As described in the previous chapter, Manning's contract for the service expired and the licensee of the Pier Hotel, J.T. Grocott, took a temporary hand in sustaining the service. Actually Grocott managed something of a coup when he organised the holding of the Queen's Birthday Regatta at Manly on 24 May 1859. A major event of the year in Sydney, the regatta was normally held on the inner-harbour, but on this occasion some dozen steamers (a record to date), leaving Phoenix Wharf at half-hourly intervals, brought thousands to Manly. Excitements of the day included a spectacular collision between Victoria and Kiama off Darling Harbour at about 7 pm while both were shuttling the crowds back from Manly. Victoria suffered a smashed paddlebox and deckhouse, while Kiama lost her figurehead and jibboom. Edye Manning rushed on board Victoria at Phoenix Wharf to inspect the damage to his precious money-earner. Nobody was injured and no doubt the crowds enjoyed the spectacle. Later in the same week Black Swan unshielded her funnel when she collided with a brigantine on a trip from Manly. Manning, who had a history of somewhat fractious relations with his Sydney ferry patrons, revealed something of his style on Easter Monday, 25 April 1859, when several thousands travelled to Manly. He charged 1/6 instead of the advertised 1s fare, resulting in a general melee on Phoenix Wharf.

On Tuesday 21 June 1859, Phantom entered service, leaving Woolloomooloo (at the foot of Dowling Street) for Manly at 10.20 am. The timetable optimistically advertised a thirty minute trip (in rough weather the trip could take an hour or more), with the boat leaving Woolloomooloo at 10.20 am, 2.20 pm, and 4.20 pm, and Manly at 11.30 am, 3.30 pm, and 5 pm, Mondays to Saturdays. Sunday times were 10.30 am and 2.30 pm ex

22. Shipping Gazette and Sydney General Trade List, 30 May 1859. 23. ibid.
25. SMH, 26 April 1859.
Woolloomooloo, and 12 noon and 4.30 pm ex Manly. Fares were 1s adults and 6d children, single (1/6 and 9d on Sundays). Omnibuses and carriages conveyed passengers between the ferry and Haymarket and Wynyard Square in the city - some compensation for the slightly remote wharf location. 26 Earlier advertisements had also promised weekday services at 8 and 8.40 am from Woolloomooloo and Wyly respectively, but these trips were not initially made for some unknown reason. 17 With the advent of Phantom, Grocott's charter service from Pho... used.

By the end of 1859, the service had expanded into the improved type of timetable which characterised the 1858-59 charter service - with business services arriving in the city before 9 am and leaving in the late afternoon. 28 In late 1859, with the summer season approaching, Phantom was joined by Victoria in a combined service with non-business trips travelling to and from Phoenix Wharf (calling at Woolloomooloo on the outward trip). 29 It is interesting that Victoria appeared on the scene again so soon after the service had supposedly gained some independence. However, this was not really the adverse reflection it appears to be. Phantom handled the normal daily services alone (especially during the winter months) for more than three years. During the summer months, and particularly on holidays, she was not equal to the traffic and was therefore assisted by other vessels. During the summer season of 1859-60 Victoria and Phantom conducted a varied service with both vessels taking turns on Watson's Bay and Manly services, and sometimes combining both in cruises. Phantom conducted cruises through the coves along to Watson's Bay, or of Middle Harbour, Spring Cove, and

27. For example, advertisement in SMH, 13 June 1859.
28. For example, advertisements in SMH, 20 September 1859, and later.
29. For example, advertisement in SMH, 22 October 1859.
North Harbour on alternating weekdays during her 10.30 am trip from Woolloomooloo. This arrangement between the new boat and her predecessor continued until the end of May 1860, and it must have been fairly amicable for Henry Gilbert Smith to allow his new ferry to serve Watson's Bay as well as Manly. However, when Victoria returned from her refit and lengthening for the summer of 1860-61, she was no longer partner but a rival.

Phantom's winter timetable for 1860 illustrates the basic Manly schedule which remained little changed until the 1870s. Sydney Cove was now a regular departure point for the first time - usually at the Queen's Wharf near the present overseas terminal, or near Fort Macquarie at Bennelong Point. (The site of the present ferry jetties was then still a semi-circular quay for overseas shipping.) From Monday to Saturday, Phantom left Sydney Cove at 10.15 am and 2.15 pm calling at Woolloomooloo, and left Woolloomooloo at 5 pm calling at the Cove. From Manly she left at 8.15 am, 11.30 am, and 4.15 pm. (At this stage she called at Watson's Bay on business trips but this did not last for long.) On Sundays she left Sydney (Woolloomooloo/Sydney Cove) at 2.15 pm and 5 pm and Manly at 11.30 am and 4.15 pm.

According to some accounts, it was during this period that the late theatre boat was introduced. (Such a service was tried again in the mid-1870s but was not profitable.) If sufficient numbers warranted the service notice was given to the ferry operator, who ran Phantom to Sydney at about 7 pm. The vessel then waited until about 11 pm to make the return journey. From this evolved the "Hot Potato Club" which operated, quite unofficially, in the early 1860s. Those who arrived at the wharf for the return trip well before eleven adopted the practice of roasting potatoes in Phantom's boiler.

30. For example, advertisements in SMH, 22 October 1859, 10 December 1859.
31. See for example advertisements in SMH, 30 March 1860, 1 May 1860.
32. For example, advertisement in SMH, 2 June 1860.
furnaces. With engineer Robert Grant as superintendent, a club was formed. "Members" who arrived first procured potatoes, whisky/coffee (according to which account one believes), etc., and prepared supper for the later arrivals, and a jolly time was had on the voyage home with story-telling and songs. The institution did not appear to survive past the entry of the Breadalbane into service; perhaps it represented the passengers' subconscious desire to dull their nerves against the Phantom's antics across the Heads.

In spite of his failure to attract support for a public company, Henry Gilbert Smith went ahead with plans to put the service on an independent footing. On 19 July 1859, Spencer Hart Wilson, master mariner of Sydney, bought eight of Skinner's shares (mortgaging them to Skinner to the extent of £200 at 4% percent interest from 19 July 1859 to 17 April 1860). Little is known about either Skinner or Captain Wilson, but when they took over Smith's share of Phantom's ownership in 1860 Wilson's role was obviously that of manager of the service (described as "managing owner" or "agent" in advertisements) - a role which he had probably assumed. Phantom's entry into service in 1859. Skinner remained in Melbourne throughout his years as joint owner of the Manly service, for this was only one of his several investments. After moving out of partnership with Howard Smith, he joined T.J. Parker in investments such as Express and the excursion steamer Luna. When Skinner died intestate at Hawthorn, Melbourne, on 21 March 1867 - apparently at a young age - Parker took over his interests, including his share of the Manly service.

34. Mary Salmon "The suburbs of Sydney. VIII: beautiful Manly" in Evening News (supplement), 25 June 1904.
35. SRBS, 29/1859.
36. That is, agent to Skinner and himself as the pier lessees.
38. Death notice in SMH, 23 March 1867. SRBS, 29/1859.
unknown, but it is likely he was a retired sea captain, known to Henry
Gilbert Smith because he lived at "Arequipa Cottage, Brightside," on the
east side of Manly Cove. 39 He also held a lease on land at Fairy Bower,
a popular picnic spot south of Manly Beach. 40 From premises at 67 George
Street North Wilson conducted the Manly business until the "long and severe
illness" which led to his death on 24 August 1867. 41

On 1 August 1860, Smith made an agreement with Skinner and Wilson
under which he would sell his forty shares in the Phantom to the others for
$2,240, payable within two years without interest. In return he would
reduce this sale price by paying Skinner and Wilson a subsidy of £70 per
month between 1 August 1860 and 31 July 1861, and £40 per month between
1 August 1861 and 1 August 1862. After 1862, the operators would pay a
rental of £50 per annum on the Manly wharf. Skinner and Wilson were
required to run at least three trips a day (one in the morning, one in the
evening, and two trips on Sundays) between the months of October and May.
During the four winter months at least two trips per day were to be
maintained. 42 As lessees of the wharf, Skinner and Wilson were to have a
virtual monopoly on its use. Presumably they were free to use Phantom as
they liked when she was not running to Manly. The actual transfer of the
shares did not take place until 27 August, Wilson acquiring 23 (bringing
his total to 31) and Skinner acquiring seventeen (total 33) of Smith's
forty shares. Skinner mortgaged 25/64 (worth £952) to Smith and Wilson

39. Otherwise known as Montpelier or East Brighton – see previous chapter.
Death notice in SMH, 26 August 1867.
40. Letter from Thomas Thomas to James Norton dated 8 January [1868], Sydney,
in Norton Smith Papers, A5319, Box 2, Item 79.
41. Death notice in SMH, 26 August 1867.
42. A "trip" in this context meant a return journey. Normally, references
to a "trip" in this work mean a single journey. Agreement: H.G. Smith
and S.B. Skinner and S.H. Wilson. 1 August 1860. Norton Smith Papers,
A5319, Box 2, Item 78.
mortgaged all of his 31/64 (£1,288) to Smith. These mortgages were discharged on 11 October 1862, after the interest-free agreement came to an end, and new mortgages to Smith, at 7 percent interest, were executed on that date to cover the unpaid balance of £920. These involved ten of Skinner's shares (£271/7/6, discharged upon sale by his executor, Parker, to Thomas Heselton on 15 January 1868), and eighteen of Wilson's (£648/12/6, discharged upon sale by his executors to Heselton on 9 March 1870). So, by the end of 1860, the ferry had its own established operators.

2. Development of Manly 1860-1876

While the Manly ferry settled down to its first years of organised existence in the 1860s, the development of Manly proceeded slowly but surely. Henry Gilbert Smith pressed on with his land sales, primarily in the Brighton Estate, while the excursionists continued to come in their thousands. For years to come, indeed until the twentieth century, Manly would be more significant as a resort than as a residential area. While any holiday weekend would see several thousand excursionists descend on Manly, the residential population crept up fairly slowly. By 1871, the population had reached 500 (in about 150 houses), and in 1881 it was 1,327. In the 1880s, as we shall see, land sales picked up rapidly and by 1889 the population had passed 3,000 - a figure which nevertheless could be comfortably accommodated in one trip in the ferry company's three main passenger steamers at that time, thus indicating how much the ferry service geared its capacity to excursionists in the nineteenth century.

A more general observation is that the social structure of Manly's population was dominated from the beginnings of Smith's development by the

43. SRBS, 29/1859.
44. P.W. Gledhill Manly and Pittwater (Sydney 1946), p. 82. See Appendix 6B, T2, for comparative population figures.
higher socio-economic groups. Remoteness from the city and cost of travel would have been factors which the middle class could tolerate more than the working class. Michael Cannon has pointed out that the transport changes of the nineteenth century helped strengthen the class structures: ".... workers were forced to live near their jobs, but the transport revolution enabled the middle class to move further away." Even the cheapest weekly expenditure on the ferry, 5s (on a monthly ticket in the late 1860s), would have been prohibitive to a working-class artisan, tradesman or clerk earning £2-£3 per week and supporting a family. In addition, the limited ferry timetable was geared to the working hours of the professional middle class, rather than those of the working class. Manly's working class would have largely comprised those whose services supported Manly - in stalls, amusements, hotels, etc. Although the cost and facility of travel between Manly and Sydney improved over time, relative to other areas of Sydney (the adult fare being only 4d single at the turn of the century), high land values then tended to exclude lower economic groups. Manly residents had also consistently elected conservatives to parliament, a factor attributable to the higher-than-average "white-collar", managerial and professional component of the population.

45. M.M. Cannon Life in the Cities (Australia in the Victorian Age:3) (Melbourne 1975), p. 74. Cannon defines the industrial urban middle class as that group which drew "its material riches from private ownership of land, mechanised factories, and dividends on invested capital." (Ibid., p. 178.) For an examination of the class structure of suburban Sydney as it had evolved by the twentieth century, see Chapter 9 of P. Spearritt Sydney Since the Twenties (Sydney 1978).


47. This matter is examined in disappointingly unilluminating detail in J. Power (ed.) Politics in a Suburban Community (Sydney 1968); particularly Chapter 2 (by K.I. Turner), p. 35, and Chapter 7 (by J. Goodnew and others), p. 129. See also comments in Gledhill op. cit., pp. 80-81; A. Birch and D.S. Macmillan The Sydney Scene 1788-1960 (Melbourne 1962), p. 165.
the time indicate that excursions also were very much a middle-class activity. The poorer working class had to be content with somewhere closer to home, at least until the 1890s when, as we shall see, the fare-cutting war attracted a "less desirable" class of people to Manly.  

By the late 1860s, Manly had developed into a respectable small village. However, facilities were basic and there was no town water or sewerage. Water was taken from tanks or pumped from wells. (Photographs of the 1870s show a wind-pump at the wharf, presumably designed to supply water for the steamers.) Sanitation consisted of deep pits in the sand (under which lay the water supply). The ocean beach was mostly in its natural state, with sand-dunes and tea-tree scrub. Neither the scruples nor the laws of the Victorian age allowed for bathing after 7 am. A few shops had appeared on the Corso, as well as the hotels, and a number of houses were scattered over the land between the Corso and Curl Curl Lagoon.  

Much of this development came from a series of sales on the Brighton Estate in 1859-60. (Smith also advertised allotments on the Fairlight Estate for auction, but it is not clear whether these were taken up as the estate is generally known to have been subdivided in 1902.) Although numerous allotments were bought by speculators, it was the incentive to residency  

48. See Chapter 4.  
51. Advertisement in SMH, 2 January 1859, for auction on 10 January 1859.  
52. Cledhill op. cit., pp. 21, 159.
was offered in the form of a refund of half the purchase price if buildings to a certain value were erected on a site within one year, or one-quarter of the price if built within two years.\(^{53}\) Smith’s publicity extolled

... the ever-changing scenery in nature’s sublimest panoramas, bold overhanging rocks, terraces, and lawns, lovely in their wildness; the Cove, and on one side by the still lake-like smoothness; the other lashed by the curling waves of the boundless ocean...\(^{54}\)

Although there is no doubt that Manly was a beautiful spot, the consequences of large numbers of people building their homes "close to nature" were the same then as they are now. The natives came down and Manly started to develop that tidyliness which characterised it for some years. As early as 1869, the Herald noted: "much of the grateful shade which formerly so happily characterised this locality is gone — sacrificed, probably, to the innovations of doubtful improvement."\(^{55}\) The beauty of modern high-density Manly is to be found mainly in the views of the sea and foreshores or in the ancient forest which has miraculously survived at Collins' Flat (Spring Cove). Smith’s development certainly had elements of philanthropy, but basically it shows that he was as shrewd a real-estate developer as his modern counterparts. A glance at the Brighton Estate plan (or parts of modern Manly) reveals that virtually the only "ever-changing scenery" to be viewed by the holder of one of the dozens of small allotments (unless he was on a hill or beachfront) was his neighbours’ washing. However, it is fair to observe that there is now much of architectural interest in Manly, reflecting more than a century of development as a seaside resort and suburb.

Not only residents, but excursionists too did not seem to worry much about the ill-effects of urban development, for Manly was somewhere different to go. In the 1860s, even middle-class Sydneysiders could not go

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53. Norton Smith Papers, A5319, Box 2, Item 100.
54. ibid.
55. SMH, 28 December 1869.
far for a day's outing - to Manly, Watson's Bay, Middle Harbour, Coogee, Botany Bay, or up the river. To go further afield meant an overnight stop, and many venues involved a rather arduous journey by road. On public holidays the harbour and the racetrack were the favoured alternatives. Under the circumstances, the half-hour voyage to Manly and the attractions at journey's end were something no other resort could rival. The news reports on the various holiday venues in the 1860s indicated clearly that Manly took to a great body of excursionists. On Easter Monday, 1860, several thousands went to Manly where "the bush was swarming with pic-nic parties." In 1864 the Herald wrote that Manly was ... really the only place of great public resort during holiday times for the citizens of Sydney. Its propinquity to the city, the short water assage, and the refreshing and exhilarating trip per steamer, will always render it the most favoured of the many places of holiday amusement.

Public holidays were very colourful occasions in Manly during these years. The constantly-running steamers would come into Manly wharf at regular intervals and disgorge their finely-attired occupants. "Baskets of huge form, fishing tackle, and babies, form the chief impediments of the camp followers ...," noted the well-travelled Nehemiah Bartley. Barrel-organs and military or German bands were invariably at Manly, and usually a band would be performing on at least one of the steamers during the trips. Horses, donkeys, quoits, swings, the camera obscura, and the Fairy Bower maze all provided entertainment according to taste. There would be dances, parties, and of course picnics everywhere. Alcohol was always available, even on the Christian Sabbath, as the humourless Thomas Thomas noted with

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57. SMH, 10 April 1860.
58. SMH, 2 January 1864.
Some entertainments were in more questionable taste, such as "the Pig, the Pound, and the Greasy Pole." This involved a greased pole extended horizontally from the end of the wharf. On the end of this would be hung a box containing a pig. Contestants had to crawl along the pole and release the pig. The first few contestants would fall into the water where they would wait to seize the pig when someone finally released it. The person who opened the box won the pound and the person who grabbed the pig won the unfortunate animal. Similar entertainments on land included a goose chase, catching a greasy-tailed pig, and climbing a greased pole to win a watch. Perhaps a less memorable holiday was Boxing Day, 1862, when the rains came unexpectedly, forcing the crowds to hurry homewards: "the melancholy exhibition of saturated finery and be-draggled flounces was something awful to look upon," commented the *Herald*. Occasionally there were notable guests on the boats, though the circumstances varied. On 30 December 1864, Governor Sir John Young, Lady Young, and suite travelled from Queen's Wharf to Port Macquarie on Breadalbane's 11 am trip to Manly. On 12 March 1868, Queen Victoria's son, the Duke of Edinburgh, was carried from Clontarf to Sydney on Morpeth after his wounding in an assassination attempt. The felon O'Farrell made the same voyage in less dignified fashion on Paterson.

By 1875, the "Brighton of New South Wales" was still said to hold its own "against every other resort ...." Watering places did have their low points, of course, and on Boxing Day, 1860, when rivalry between Watson's Bay and Manly was intense, the former resort attracted more people.

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61. Aurousseau op. cit., p. 9. Also *SMH*, 19 April 1870, 28 December 1875.
63. Advertisement in *SMH*, 30 December 1864.
64. *SMH*, 13 March 1868.
Generally, throughout the 1860s and 1870s, Manly held its position, but in the long term, as the population grew and communications improved, other resorts would ultimately rival (though not necessarily surpass) its popularity. 67

Henry Gilbert Smith gradually retired from the Manly scene. In the 1860s he pressed on with the sale of his Brighton Estate allotments and by the 1870s most of the land had been bought and the community contained its own impetus to growth. In 1868 he rebuilt his original wharf into a new one of 200 feet - well able to handle the steamers of the following years. 68 In October 1873 he finally ended the leasing system by selling the rights, title, and interest in the wharf to the ferry operators, Heselton and Parker, for £300. 69 In about 1880 Smith returned to England and died at Brighton, Sussex, on 1 April 1886, at the age of 84. He left an estate of some £66,000. In his last will of 1881 he gave his remaining land to the then new Manly municipality as parks and reserves - notably the extensive foreshore reserves and the large Ivanhoe Park. 70 He had also given land for churches and other public institutions. In twenty years, Henry Gilbert Smith had built a suburb.

3. Consolidation of the Ferry Line 1860-1867

Fed by the crowds of excursionists, and tied until 1873 by a series of agreements to provide a reliable service to the residents of Manly, the ferry service continued to grow. As indicated earlier, Phantom maintained the service, usually unaided, for over three years. In the summer season of 1859/60, as we have seen, Phantom and Victoria conducted a combined and

67. See also, SMH, 28 December 1869, 19 April 1870.
68. SMH, 22 January 1877.
69. Norton Smith Papers, A5319, Box 2, Item 77.
varied service which included Watson's Bay. As usual, the coastal traders and other excursion vessels would join in on holidays and the early 1860s saw some of the largest and most splendid coastal ships of the time on the Manly run (though none rivalled the Manly ferries of the 1920s and 1930s in size). After Breadalbane entered service in 1862 the number of "outside" vessels on holidays diminished and after 1869, when the Manly fleet grew further, no more of these vessels appeared in the Manly trade.

As business expanded, the fares also gradually came down. From Sunday 23 September 1860, the Sunday fare fell from 1/6 to 1s single (6d children), to bring it in line with weekday fares. Monthly tickets were £1/10/- in 1863. In 1867 return fares on summer weekends were reduced to 1/6 (1s children as before); monthly tickets came down to £1 for gentlemen, 10s for ladies. In the 1870s, return fares were down to 1/6 (1s children) weekdays, and 1s (6d children) on Sundays. The single adult fare remained at 1s throughout this time, but as most people made a return journey on the same day the reductions were widely beneficial.

Late in 1860, the competition with Watson's Bay became particularly intense. From October until the end of the year, Black Swan and Washington (a tug with a capacity for about 300 passengers, frequently used on excursion work) assisted Phantom on weekends. With a monopoly on the use of the wharf, Captain Wilson could determine which (and how many) vessels could assist Phantom. (On Easter Monday, 1860, excursionists on the

71. See list in Appendix 3.
72. Advertisement in SMH, 21 September 1860.
73. For example, advertisement in SMH, 11 March 1863.
74. For example, advertisements in SMH, 12 October 1867, 15 October 1868.
75. For example, advertisements in SMH, 3 May 1873, 21 March 1874, 18 November 1876, 21 November 1876.
76. For example, advertisements in SMH, 12 October 1860, 24 November 1860, and after.
steamer Williams had to land and re-embark at Manly by the ship's boats as the steamer was refused permission to use the wharf, probably because the owners, the Hunter River New Steam Navigation Company, would not pay a fee to the wharf lessees. 77) However, the organisers of the Watson's Bay trade devised a clever means of upstaging the Manly boats. (Perhaps Edye Manning now had an axe to grind - certainly North Coast ships featured more prominently than Manning's in Manly excursion work in the 1860s.) Steamers running to Watson's Bay would now often run on to Little Manly where Henry Gilbert Smith had no control. It seems from advertisements that there was a wharf at Little Manly from the 1860s, and Manly and Fairy Bower were only a short walk away. The newly lengthened Victoria, now boasting a capacity of 500 passengers (a boast slightly tempered when the Steam Navigation Board gave her a certificate for only 328 78), commenced a service to Little Manly via Watson's Bay on 22 December 1860 79 and maintained a daily service until March 1861, when Black Swan took over. Misleading advertising was in full swing and Captain Wilson took exception to an advertisement headed "Steamer Victoria to Manly Beach." All advertisements for steamers to Manly Beach would be certified by him, he stated. 80

In the long term, the Watson's Bay "revolt" failed and Little Manly eventually saw only the occasional excursion. In the summer of 1861/62, Victoria was back on the Manly service assisting Phantom, with Washington and others. Late in 1862 Victoria, which had pioneered the excursion boom in Sydney Harbour as well as opening up the Manly and Watson's Bay services, left Australia. On 11 February 1863 she arrived at Nagasaki, Japan, where she was sold in March, becoming the Nagasaki Maru No. 1. In 1864 she sank

77. SMH, 10 April 1860.
78. Advertisements in SMH, 1 January 1861, 24 May 1862.
79. Advertisement in SMH, 22 December 1860.
off Wahijojima, Japan.

In 1862 Skinner and Wilson expanded their activities with the purchase of the iron paddle-steamer Breadalbane. Although referred to as a tug - a word which now describes a very specialised type of vessel - Breadalbane was in fact a typical multi-purpose harbour vessel of the period, with passenger, cargo, and towing facilities. She was larger than Phantom, being 146.4 feet in length, 17.1 feet in beam, and 8 feet in depth of hold, with a capacity of 161.23 gross tons. (She was lengthened in 1856 from 140 feet.) Built in Scotland in 1853, she was sent to Melbourne for sale in 1854 and went onto the Geelong service with Howard Smith’s Express, replacing, among others, Victoria. Bought by Sydney merchant and ship-owner Robert Towns she went to work, early in 1856, on Towns’ Queensland trades, in particular the river service between Brisbane and Ipswich.

In the 1860s Towns initiated the formation of the Queensland Steam Navigation Company which took over the Ipswich and other services. By 1862 the new company was acquiring its own vessels and Breadalbane was displaced and left for Sydney during that year. (By coincidence, one of Breadalbane’s replacements on the Ipswich service, P.S. Emu (II) - built for Q.S.N. in 1865 - also became a Manly ferry.) On 3 November 1862 Skinner and Wilson purchased Breadalbane from Towns and she underwent “extensive alterations” to adapt her to the trade. Skinner took 38/64 (£891) and Wilson took

82. SRBS, 18/1857.
84. Parsons op. cit., p. 73. See also Bartley op. cit., pp. 131, 147-148, 155.
86. SRBS, 18/1857. SMH, 1 December 1862.
26/64 (6609), both mortgaging their shares to Towns from the date of sale until 5 August 1863. On 29 November 1862, Breadalbane ran her official trials, and on Sunday 30 November she commenced running to Manly, leaving the new Sydney wharf - on the east side of Sydney Cove near Fort Macquarie - at 10.15 am.

Breadalbane became a great asset to the Manly service, particularly during holiday times, and helped reduce the service's dependence on outside vessels. It would probably be a reasonable guess that she also became the rough weather boat, providing a "safe" service in situations where Phantom caused uneasiness. Breadalbane was described as "a roomy and fast boat ... admirably adapted for passenger traffic," and was given a certificate for 200 passengers, slightly more than Phantom. She had at least one passenger cabin, possibly below the main deck, although a modern John Allcot painting shows her with a saloon incorporated in a break on her poop. (Unfortunately there are no known photographs of Breadalbane to confirm this, but it could have been a later alteration which may account for a more recent claim that her passenger capacity was about 530.) Otherwise her main deck was open except for the bridge and awnings. However, passengers and cargo were not Breadalbane's only business, for Skinner and Wilson were safeguarding their interests by entering another line of business - towing.

The tug industry in Australia has a richly interesting history which has yet to be fully written, and the early operators of the Manly ferry made a significant contribution to that history. Towing was almost a mandatory activity for small steamships from the time they first appeared on the Australian scene. However, different ports had different requirements.

87. SMH, loc. cit.
88. Advertisement in SMH, 23 December 1862.
89. "Ferry excursions to Manly" D. Tel, 23 August 1906.
Melbourne and Port Adelaide, with their difficult rivers and entrances, saw an early development of a considerable towing and tendering industry. In Sydney and Hobart, with deepwater ports and berths, this development was rather slower. By the 1860s, a small and rather casual towing business had developed in Sydney, with such vessels as Herald and Washington, and some tugs belonging to shipping companies, such as the Australasian Steam Navigation Company's Bungaree. These vessels made up a large part of their revenue in excursion or ferry work. Breadalbane, then, became a part of this scene. However, the business soon strated to grow. Ronald Parsons notes that from the time Heselton and Parker took over the Manly service (in 1867/68), "tug owning became a business of some magnitude in Sydney." As will be seen, Captain Heselton expanded the towing side of the business and soon became a major tug operator. By the 1870s, tug fleets, rather than individual tugs, dominated the scene.

Obviously the booming economic conditions of the 1860s and 1870s lay behind this growth, but a more specific, though indirect catalyst was the growth of the Newcastle coal industry. Like the ports of Melbourne and Adelaide, Port Hunter was a difficult one for sailing ships and it is not surprising that (as noted in the previous chapter) the colliery operators J. and A. Brown made early ventures into towing - with Huntress in 1853 and Doorebang in 1861 - as a natural supporting activity to their business. In 1867 the Newcastle Co-operative Steam Tug Company was formed and within a decade had become serious rivals to the Manly operators' tug business. The Browns acquired the Co-operative's business in 1878 and competition became fierce. The fact that there was competition between Sydney and Newcastle operators appears curious until it is realised that, as Parsons

90. Parsons Paddle Steamers, pp. 50-51.
91. ibid., p. 53.
points out, tugs were very much interchangeable between the two ports. Often sailing ships would be towed between Sydney and Newcastle and for this and other reasons, one port's tugs would be found in the other earning additional profits. 92 Thus Sydney tugs benefitted from the growing coal trade as well as from the natural increase in other trade. Against this background grew the Manly service's supporting activity. Of the ten vessels acquired for the Manly fleet between 1859 and 1860, only four were passenger boats. 93 The remainder (including Breadalbane) were tugs with varying degrees of passenger accommodation and comfort - the kind of multi-purpose vessel referred to earlier. The significant fact about the towing was that it helped make the Manly service economically secure, even if passengers might have had to suffer the occasional inconvenience of being carted off to sea - sometimes five miles out - to tow a ship in. 94 The tugs also resolved the problem of owning sufficient vessels to handle the huge holiday crowds without having those vessels lie idle most of the time.

The remaining years of the Skinner/Wilson ownership, 1862-1867, saw a slow but steady growth. Breadalbane earned useful profits towing during quiet periods and took turns with Phantom on the Manly service, except during busy weekends and holidays when both would operate together. From 26 November 1862 the Sydney Cove terminal was near Fort Macquarie, rather than the more convenient Queen's Wharf. 95 (Woolloomooloo was still a "port of call" throughout these years.) This was not a popular move as, being at the end of the shipping wharves, travellers had to battle through piles

92. ibid.
93. Of these, Phantom and Royal Alfred also undertook small amounts of towing work later in their lives when they had been superseded by newer passenger vessels. See PJSB Co. Ledger 1876-1891, and FJS Co. Ledger 1881-1892.
95. SMH advertisements through November 1962.
of timber and cargo to reach the wharf. In addition, Queen’s Wharf was convenient to the new Pitt Street horse tramway, which ran from 1861 until a premature demise in 1866. However, the change was temporary, for the boats were using Queen’s Wharf again in late 1863. A reason for this change could lie in one early traveller’s recollection that the Bennelong Point wharf was the coaling and service depot for the Manly boats. The Manly boats continued to use the Queen’s Wharf (probably Australia’s oldest, there having been a wharf here since the first settlement) until 1892 when they joined the other ferries in moving to the present wharf locations at Circular Quay.

Late in 1863, during the summer season, a combined service which included Watson’s Bay was again operated — by Black Swan from 12 October until December. In November 1864, Phantom operated a Sunday service to Manly from Darling Street, Balmain, via Sydney Cove and Woolloomooloo.

From 1863, the previously erratic excursion traffic was organised properly by Frederick Korff, a Sydney ship chandler. The Herald commented:

A very great improvement has been ... effected in the management of the traffic between Sydney and Manly Beach on great occasions such as that of a great public holiday. Instead of rival boats, plying indiscriminately and creating no end of confusion by issuing return tickets and refusing to take the tickets of opposing companies, the whole of the boats [have] been farmed by Mr. Korff .... Certain that they will not be left behind, and that every arrangement has been made for securing their safe passages, visitors suit their own convenience as to the time of return without resorting to that unnecessary crowding and pushing to get into the boats that was previously the great evil attendant upon these holiday trips, and promised to be the cause of some future serious and extensive accident.

96. SMH, 29 September 1863.
98. Aurousseau op. cit., p. 5. On the other hand, a number of old photographs show that Phantom was moored regularly in Campbell’s Cove at the Rocks.
99. SMH, 2 January 1864.
With the advent of these restraints on "free enterprise," the reports of people falling from gangplanks during wild rushes on and off boats diminished in frequency.

On 21 March 1867 Skinner died, followed five months later by Captain Wilson on 24 August. The Manly ferry's first period of independent ownership had come to an end. As Skinner was majority owner of both boats and Wilson seemed to have no suitable "heir," the other men from Melbourne soon took an interest. Skinner appears to have been one of those solitary figures who came to the colonies to make his fortune and as he died without leaving a will, his business interests soon passed to his main associate, T.J. Parker. Parker was born in England in 1822 and came to Geelong in 1853 (originally as representative of the London firm, J. and D. Parker and Co.), setting up business as an importer and merchant. As mentioned earlier, he became agent for Howard Smith's Express and eventually acquired Smith's share in the vessel. (According to the Huddart Parker history, Skinner remained in charge of Express' engine-room virtually until his death.) Throughout the 1860s and 1870s Parker speculated in various shipping interests, including the Manly service, and finally participated in the firm of Huddart Parker and Co., formed on 1 August 1876. He died in Melbourne on 7 January 1900. In late 1867, after Wilson's death, Parker came to Sydney to attend to the affairs of the Manly service, being granted Letters of Administration over Skinner's estate by the NSW Supreme Court on 1 November 1867. Wilson's estate passed to his executors, Stephen Butts and Marion Elizabeth Hollings.

100. Huddart Parker Limited 1876-1926, p. 4.
102. SRBS, 29/1859.
103. By his Will of 7 April 1866. Probate granted in the NSW Supreme Court on 17 September 1867. (SRBS, 29/1859.)
From about October 1867 until January 1868, Parker set himself up as "Manager, pro tem." and made some minor improvements to the service, such as the fare reductions referred to earlier (monthly ticket down to £1, weekend return trip at 1/6) and cheap early morning (7 am Monday) and late afternoon return trips to Manly. (Sydneysiders were urged to take "a sniff of the briny before dinner" to improve their appetites.)

During April and May of 1867, Phantom had undergone a major refit: 35 feet of her 'midships were renewed (new frames and plates), new watertight compartments were fitted, and engines and boilers were overhauled. For Breadalbane Parker proposed a new and larger boiler to improve her speed. Henry Gilbert Smith was naturally interested in the future of the service (and legally involved through the lease of the wharf and the still outstanding mortgage of £920 on Phantom) and through his associate James Norton, and Thomas Thomas (probably a solicitor), conducted negotiations with Parker. On 7 January 1868 Thomas reported to Norton that he had worked out an agreement with Parker which in fact varied little from the arrangements carried out during the Skinner/Wilson period. The timetable was improved to four trips daily during the six "summer" months and three during the other months, with two trips on Sundays. (Skinner and Wilson had in fact been maintaining three weekday trips for some years, as we have seen. Parker's timetable introduced an additional evening trip from the city in summer.) Rental on the wharf was still £50 per annum. The cheaper monthly ticket was incorporated into the agreement and the maximum single and return fares were set at 1s and 2s respectively. Thomas expressed concern that there

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104. For example, advertisement in SMH, 12 October 1867.
105. For example, advertisement in SMH, 27 November 1867.
106. SMH, 15 June 1867.
107. Letter from Thomas Thomas to James Norton dated 8 January (1868), Sydney, in Norton Smith Papers, A5319, Box 2, Item 79.
"ought to be some provision for holidays with regard to the number of boats engaged" and that "the time that each trip occupies" was excessive, but, as we shall see, these problems were resolved — the first quite soon and the second over a long period of time. In January Parker returned to Melbourne and, like Skinner in previous years, remained an investing partner only over the next several years. The direct care of the service passed into the hands of his associate, Captain Heselton, in January 1868.

4. The Manly Ferry under Thomas Heselton 1868-1875

Referred to in later years as the "grandfather" of the Port Jackson Company, Captain Thomas Heselton was the dominating personality in the nineteenth-century history of the Manly trade. For the best part of thirty years he played a prominent role in guiding the fortunes of the service. Heselton was born in Whitby, Yorkshire, in 1830 and was apprenticed to sea at the age of thirteen. His first voyages were made in the American and East Indian trades and he soon rose to the ranks of second and chief officer. At the age of 26 he made his first voyage to Australia, arriving in Melbourne in 1856. He soon became known to Howard Smith and was an officer on and later master of Express (probably following Thomas Webb in about 1862). While in this capacity he developed an association with Skinner and Parker. During the years 1865-1866, Howard Smith gave him the command of his Melbourne–Sydney steamer SS You Yangs. Heselton made a visit to England in 1867, then returned to enter the Manly trade as a speculation. (His business was conducted from offices at 85 George Street

108. ibid.

109. SMH, 24 September 1883.

110. Biographical details here are from an obituary in D. Tel, 20 October 1902. Also E. Digby (ed.) Australian Men of Mark v 2. (Sydney 1889), pp. 269-270. Also details from the monument on Heselton’s family grave in Waverley Cemetery, Sydney.
and later at 94 George Street, Sydney.) No doubt Heselton's interest in
the Manly trade developed from his contact with Skinner, and the decision
to invest may have been urged upon him by Parker. Heselton certainly
entered a wide-open field, with a marvellous opportunity to develop a major
tug industry virtually without initial competition, in addition to an
expanding passenger ferry trade. So, at the age of 37 this enterprising
Yorkshireman left the sea and became a shipowner.

Over the years 1868-1874 Heselton introduced another passenger vessel
and four more tugs to the Manly fleet. In 1874, for reasons which are not
apparent, he made another visit to England, selling the Manly business and
boats to John Randal Carey in January 1875. Late in 1876 Carey and others
formed the Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. Ltd. and at about this time Heselton
returned to Sydney, becoming a shareholder and director of the new firm in
1877. Because of his experience he also played a managerial role until
about 1881. In this year the business passed to the new Port Jackson
Steamship Co. Ltd. and Heselton continued as a director, serving as
Chairman from 1884 to 1894. He finally retired from the board in 1896.

Like Captain Wilson, Heselton took steps to secure his interest in the
Manly trade and in the early 1870s he purchased the Pier Hotel from Henry
Gilbert Smith. The hotel remained in his ownership until his death, after
which it passed into the hands of his trustees. 111 He also acquired other
lands in Manly. From 1877 until his death he lived in Balmain. Among his

111. The hotel was probably sold sometime after the First World War —
possibly in the 1920s when it was demolished and replaced by the Hotel
Manly. See Norton Smith Papers, A5319, Box 2, Items 83-91. Also,
Perpetual Trustee Co. Ltd. In the High Court of Australia, New South
Wales Registry no. 6422 of 1916, on appeal from the Supreme Court of
New South Wales ... in the matter of the trusts of the will of Thomas
Heselton .... transcript record of proceedings 1917. (Mitchell Library.)
other business interests in later years were the Balmain ferries and he was a joint owner of several boats as well as a major shareholder and director of the Balmain Steam Ferry Co. Ltd., formed in 1882. He was also a director of the Manly Gas Company from its formation in 1883 until his death, and helped found the Balmain Bowling Club. In his last years he was injured in a fall at Jenolan Caves and never fully recovered. When he died at his home in Ewenton Street, Balmain on the afternoon of Saturday 18 October 1902, he was 71 years old and was survived by a son, a daughter, a stepson, and several grandchildren (his wife had died in 1893).

On 15 January 1868, Heselton bought from Parker Skinner's former shares in the Phantom (33/64) and Breadalbane (38/64). Skinner's outstanding share of the mortgage on Phantom to Henry Gilbert Smith (£271/7/6) was discharged by this sale. Captain Wilson's executors, Butts and Hollings, held the remaining shares in both vessels until 9 March 1870, when all shares passed to Heselton (the remaining part of the mortgage to Smith - £648/12/6 - being discharged by this sale). In the early 1870s, as

112. State Archives of N.S.W. Registrar General - Companies Office: shelf no. 3/5652, file 89 (Balmain Steam Ferry Co. Ltd.).

113. An interesting sidelight to Heselton's life in Australia is the existence of one, perhaps two brothers who were also master mariners. One was William Heselton who, as we shall see in Chapter 4, made a brief excursion into tug-buying in 1876-1877. The shipping registers note that William was master of the Port Jackson Company's PS Commodore during the years 1880-1897. Another possible "brother" is Robert who is shown as master of the Phantom in the late 1870s.

114. SRBS, 18/1857, 29/1859.

115. Ibid. On 7 September 1868, Butts and Hollings also mortgaged shares to Parker (£368 on Phantom, £802/10/4 on Breadalbane) at 8% interest. After acquiring Butts' and Hollings' shares on 9 March 1870 Heselton carried their mortgage on Phantom until 30 May 1870 when he sold the same bundle of shares (31/64) to Parker. The mortgage on Breadalbane was discharged when Parker took over their shares (26/64) on 9 March 1870. He then sold the shares to Heselton on the same date.
Heselton expanded the towing side of the business, Parker increased his investments again. Initially, Heselton, like Skinner and Wilson, had to operate within the terms of an agreement with Smith. A series of two-year agreements were therefore made in 1868, 1870, and 1872, the terms of which were very much those worked out between Parker and Thomas in 1868. However, the 1870 agreement stipulated a maximum 1/6 return fare (formerly 2s) and made provision for four daily trips (except Sunday) in all months of the year. In 1873, as mentioned previously, came the greatest expression of confidence in the future of the service when Smith sold the rights, title, and interest in the Manly wharf to Heselton and Parker for £300. From this time the service had a fully independent existence.

On 12 March 1869, Heselton bought another tug for the service, PS Cobre. At 98.8 feet in length and 91.14 tons gross, and having been built twenty years earlier in 1849, Cobre was a small and somewhat venerable boat. However, she helped expand the towing business and, most importantly for the Manly service, completed a fleet which was now self-sufficient for all occasions - albeit with a little crowding on holidays until another boat arrived in 1870. She entered service in April 1869 and assisted Breadalbane and Phantom on both regular running and holidays. From this time, other excursion vessels ceased to appear on the Manly service, the last being PS Hunter which ran with Breadalbane and Phantom on Anniversary.

117. Agreement dated 21 October 1873. See fn 69.
118. SRBS, 12/1869 (later NRBS, 7/1874). Although this vessel's registered name was Cobre she was commonly and consistently referred to as Cobra in the Manly service. See also SMH, 20 April 1869.
119. SMH, 19 April 1870.
Day (26 January), 1869. It was evident that Heselton did not intend to let others reap the benefits of the lucrative holiday runs. In 1870, the Herald commented favourably on Heselton's towing business:

The absolute necessity of a powerful steam-tug being available in this port has been ... exemplified by the services rendered on various occasions by the Breadalbane (s.). Her timely assistance has been the means of saving both life and property, and no small credit is due to the owner, Captain Heselton for having kept his vessel in such a state of efficiency as to have been available both day and night. 120

But "to ensure the more complete towing resources of the port," added the Herald, "he has lately purchased a still more powerful tug." This was PS Goolwa, a hefty vessel of 90 horsepower (the most powerful in the fleet), 110 feet and 191.07 gross tons. 121 Her beam of 21.1 feet was the broadest yet seen in the Manly fleet and she was doubtless an excellent sea-boat. With engines geared separately to each paddle wheel she was highly manoeuvrable and could be turned in her own length. In addition she had space for 150 tons of cargo and "ample deck accommodation for upwards of 600 passengers" (whether there is any discrepancy between this claim and her actual certificate is unknown, but she was certainly by far the largest passenger carrier in the service). 122 Goolwa entered service on Saturday 10 September 1870.

The addition of these new vessels did not bring immediate great improvements to the timetable, other than ensuring efficient movement of vast holiday crowds, sometimes numbering over 5,000 in a day. However, advertisements of the early 1870s indicate that Goolwa, with her better level of accommodation, became the prima donna of the Manly service, and Phantom was pushed into the background for a time. Also, increasingly during

120. SMH, 8 September 1870.
121. SBBS, 29/1870 (later NRBS, 9/1874).
122. SMH, loc. cit.
the 1870s (and throughout the 1880s and 1890s) the tugs would earn extra
revenue with excursions, cruises, and picnic charters to Middle Harbour,
Clontarf, and other places.

Heselton evidently did not possess inexhaustible funds for, as he
increased the fleet, he gradually brought in other investors, Parker in
particular. On 30 May 1870 he sold 31 shares in Phantom and 26 shares in
Breadalbane back to Parker, followed by another five shares in Breadalbane
on 17 May 1871.123 Parker held these shares until both he and Heselton
sold out to Carey in 1875. In addition to Parker, Heselton brought one of
his masters, Henry Pettit, into joint ownership. Captain Pettit appeared
to have been the senior tug-master at that time and had commanded
Breadalbane since 1862 or 1863. Sands’ New South Wales Directory of 1868
indicates that he lived on the office premises at 85 George Street. On
28 January 1870 he acquired 1/64 (formerly Heselton’s shares) in Breadalbane,
selling them back to Heselton on 29 June 1871. On this date he acquired
3/64 in Goolwa from Heselton, selling out with Heselton on 14 January 1874.124
(Pettit took command of Goolwa from about 1870 to 1874, followed by Mystery
in 1874. He retired from the Port Jackson Company in 1877 to become
Assistant Harbour Master of Sydney.125) When Heselton bought Cobre, he
sold 16/64 to William Gray, an engineer of Sydney, on 20 March 1869, and
15/64 to Parker on 30 May 1870. Gray sold his shares to Parker on 6 June

123. SRBS, 16/1857, 29/1859.
124. SRBS, 29/1870.
125. I am obliged to Captain Pettit’s great grandson, L.W. Hunt, for certain
details concerning his forebear. Pettit was born c1829 and died in
1909. Details of masters in these and later years are sketchy and rely
on the rather vague references in the registers, plus occasional news-
paper references. Captain James Hutton of the Corso, Manly, was
Phantom’s master for much of the 1860s. The main passenger master in
the late 1860s and early 1870s appears to have been Captain Brett of
the Phantom, a “fine old salt” who would tolerate schoolboys on his
bridge until they played up, when “he would get annoyed and send them
down.” (Aurouseau op. cit., p. 5) It is remotely possible that
Captain Wilson was Phantom’s first master, as well as manager of the
service, but secondary sources are vague on the subject and there is no
primary evidence. When Royal Alfred entered service in 1873 as the main
Goolwa had been built in England in 1864 for an Adelaide tug-operator who seems to have subsequently cancelled the order. She was brought to Adelaide in 1867 and sold to Jacob William Smith; at some stage Heselton came in as joint owner. Upon bringing her to Sydney, Heselton bought her outright on 1 August 1870, and later sold 28/64 to Parker on 3 July 1871 (in addition to Pettit's share). Thus, ownership of all four vessels was shared in the early 1870s, with Heselton generally retaining the majority shareholding.

In 1873 the emphasis changed back to the passenger service, possibly because of growing patronage, and the tug service was temporarily cut back. On 21 October 1873, Heselton purchased the Auckland passenger boat, PS Royal Alfred - a vessel distinctive in a number of ways and something of a "landmark" in the history of the Manly service. Like Phantom, Royal Alfred was a passenger vessel (with some cargo facilities) and was never used for towing until late in her Manly service. She was the first single-ended, purely passenger vessel acquired for the service, and the only such vessel until the first hydrofoil in 1965. All other passenger vessels from Phantom and Emu (II) have been double-ended. She was also constructed of passenger vessel, she was put under the command of Captain Andrew Moreton who stayed with her until he was given the fine new Fairlight in 1878 (an obvious indication of seniority); he remained on Fairlight for much of the 1880s. Heselton's "brother" Robert, mentioned earlier, took over Phantom in the late 1870s.

126. SRBS, 12/1869.
127. Parsons Paddle Steamers, p. 102.
128. SRBS, 29/1870. If Heselton actually became joint owner of Goolwa in 1867, as suggested by Parsons, then this would have been his first shipping investment. Perhaps his visit to England at this time had something to do with bringing out Goolwa. Certainly Heselton was already part-owner of Goolwa in 1869 when, as the Sydney Register notes, he had mortgaged her to the extent of £8,677 plus interest to Francis G. Smith of the Bank of South Australia from 1 July 1869 to 12 July 1870. A second mortgage to F.G. Smith for £2,500 was executed on 1 August 1870 and discharged on 15 June 1871.
129. SRBS, 77/1873. SMH, 16 October 1873.
wood and was the first such vessel acquired for the service. (Iron or steel have featured in most vessels in the Manly service, but the type of material used in construction has been in part related to the development of local shipbuilding.) **Royal Alfred** was built in Auckland in 1868 and was used there as a ferry and in the Thames trades. She left Auckland under Captain Farquhar on 23 October 1873 and arrived in Sydney on 3 November. She was 140.62 tons gross, 132.3 x 19.4 x 8.3 feet, and could carry 750 passengers at 11 knots. Unlike **Phantom**, she could promise no startling bursts of speed, but she could offer a more consistent service in all weathers and probably completed a typical crossing in three-quarters of an hour. Her greatest advance over previous vessels was an improved standard of passenger accommodation. Previously Manly travellers had to face the voyage on the open deck with only awnings to keep out the weather, and perhaps a claustrophobic cabin below deck. **Royal Alfred**, on the other hand, had a deck saloon incorporated in a break on her poop and was therefore the first of a long line of saloon steamers. The "most elaborate" saloon fittings were made of polished Huon pine, and each alternate panel between windows bore a mirror, the other panels carrying "well executed paintings of local scenery." **Royal Alfred** entered service in December 1873.

With **Royal Alfred**'s entry into service, a considerable improvement was made to the timetable. In the summer of 1872/73, a six-trips daily timetable (except Sundays) had been temporarily introduced, probably to meet increasing patronage, and this was adopt permanently at the end of

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131. *SMH*, *loc. cit.* An example of this traditional practice of painting murals in the saloon may still be seen in the ladies' saloon of **South Steyne**.

132. For example, advertisements in *SMH*, 17 February 1873.
1873. A typical weekday timetable now saw boats leaving Queen's Wharf at 7.15, 10.15, and 11.30 am, 2.15, 4.30, and 6 pm (the 10.15 and 2.15 would call at Woolloomooloo, and at one stage a late boat left Woolloomooloo at 11.45 pm), and leaving Manly at 8.15, and 9 am, 12 noon, 3.30, 5, and 5.15 pm. Sunday services would leave Queen's Wharf at 10.15 am and 2.30 pm (calling at Woolloomooloo) and Manly at 12 noon and 5 pm. 133 This timetable was retained with little change throughout most of the 1870s. It was certainly a significant advance and for the first time required more than one boat to operate the service. Major holidays were, of course, another matter, generally having a half-hourly service. 134 Every boat would be running: "Steamer after steamer, 'one down, t'other come on,' come looming round the Middle Head, disgorge contents, and are off again for more in a merry 'follow-my-leader' style ...."135

Probably due to the purchase of Royal Alfred (of which he was the sole owner), Heselton had to make ends meet elsewhere. On 2 September 1873, he sold his share in Cobre to the Newcastle tug operator, John Dalton (Parker sold out to Dalton on 31 October). 136 Soon afterwards, on 14 January 1874, Heselton and Pettit sold their shares in Goolwa to another Newcastle operator, Henry Finch (Parker sold out on 1st April). 137 Aside from Heselton's financial problems, it is impossible to guess why he parted with a vessel as valuable as the Goolwa, rather than perhaps Breadalbane. Whatever the short-term gain, the sale was a mistake in the long-run. The Newcastle operators were growing in strength and the Newcastle Co-operative Steam Tug Company, as mentioned earlier, soon sent Goolwa (which they had acquired) to Sydney in opposition to the Manly tug fleet. Cobre and Goolwa

133. For example, advertisements in SMH, 1 October and 3 October 1874.
134. For example, advertisement in SMH, 31 December 1875.
136. SRBS, 12/1869.
137. SRBS, 29/1870.
were eventually graced with long lives, the former being broken up in about 1917, while Goolwa also served into the present century, her remains being still extant by the bank of the Hunter River at Hexham, a short distance downstream from the remains of Kuring Gai (see chapter 5).

For the first few months of 1874, Heselton's fleet was down to two passenger boats and one tug (Breadalbane). However, he soon acted to rectify the situation by acquiring two more tugs. One of these was PS Mystery, an elegant little wooden vessel with a clipper bow, bowsprit, and figurehead. Mystery was built in England in 1852 and was already fifteen years old before she came to Australia. She was acquired in 1867 by Melbourne shipowner James Deane, who used her as a tug and excursion vessel in Port Phillip. Her duties included the Geelong trade and she is famous as one of the pioneers of the bay excursion trade. She was 99 feet long, 104.78 tons gross, and could plod along at about 9 knots. Her main duty was towing and she eventually saw little service in the Manly passenger trade, though she was frequently used in weekends as a picnic and excursion boat. She was taken over by the Port Jackson Company and remained with the fleet until her sale on 27 February 1893. She ended her days ignominiously as a night-soil punt, an activity hardly compatible with her delightful appearance.

Heselton's second tug (he was sole owner of both) was a history-maker for the Manly service. This was the SS Manly, the first vessel built especially for the service, the first to carry a local name, and, most significantly, the first screw-propelled vessel in the service (and probably the first screw vessel ever to run to Manly - even the excursion boats of

138. SRBS, 22/1874.
139. See Flitchett op. cit., pp. 3-4, 24-25.
the 1850s and 1860s were all paddle steamers). **Manly** was built of wood in the Pyrmont yard of Bower and Drake and entered service late in 1874.\(^{140}\) She was 101.4 feet long and 88.73 tons gross. Like **Mystery**, she was used mainly as a tug but had an advertised capacity of 300 passengers and was frequently used in weekends and as an excursion boat.\(^{141}\) In the history of the **Manly** service there have been three boats called **Manly**, all of which brought major innovation. **Manly** was hardly in the vanguard of screw-propulsion (tugs and ferries tended to abandon paddles rather later than larger ships) and was therefore employing a fairly well-proven technique. However, despite a lack of direct evidence, it seems that the directors of the Port Jackson Company (into whose hands she had passed within a couple of years) were far from enchanted with **Manly**'s performance, and she was soon put up for sale and finally sold on 6 April 1880. (She spent many more years with the Australasian and Australasian United Steam Navigation Companies, being converted to a lighter in her last years, and finally being broken down and used for artillery practice in April 1906.\(^{142}\) Out of many possible explanations, it seems likely that poor engine or propulsion performance resulted in **Manly** falling below expectation.

Although the Manly passenger service improved considerably by the mid-1870s, it is probably safe to surmise that in losing **Goolwa** and gaining the comparatively lightweight **Mystery** and **Manly**, Heselton's tug business lost a significant advantage. In the late 1870s and the 1880s, the Port Jackson Company acquired several powerful new tugs, but already in the 1870s new and very strong rivals were emerging - namely the Fenwicks in Sydney and J. and A. Brown in Newcastle. After 20 years of fierce competition, Port Jackson

140. SRBS, 65/1874 (later 100/1882).
141. For example, advertisement in SMH, 12 December 1874.
was forced out of the business. It remains for an historian writing about
the tug industry to determine the extent to which Heselton's compromises of
the 1870s damaged the Manly company's prospects in this area - if any
evidence can be found. Meanwhile, however, the tug business and the Manly
trade complemented each other in revenue-earning - though, unfortunately,
no finance records survive to show specifically the relative profitability
of the two areas of business before the 1880s. 143 By the time the Port
Jackson Company sold the tugs, they were no longer essential to the survival
of either the company or the Manly service.

On 18 January 1875, Heselton sold the Manly service to J.R. Carey.
This included the wholly-owned Royal Alfred, Mystery and Manly, and 33/64
(slightly over half-share) each in Breadalbane and Phantom. On 19 January
Parker sold Carey his shares in the latter two boats. 144 Carey also bought
the rights, title, and interest in the Manly wharf. As indicated earlier,
it is not entirely clear why Heselton went to England and sold his business
at this time. Certainly, as one of his obituaries suggests, 145 he was in a
position of semi-retirement from this time, and able to dabble in investments
and directorships at leisure. In 1878, the five boats he sold were valued at
over £25,000, and even after deducting Parker's share (and considering there
were no mortgages) it is evident that he was left a very wealthy man.
Nevertheless, Heselton was to make further contributions to the Manly service.

5. J.R. Carey and the Threshold of Change 1875-1876

When John Randal Carey described Heselton as "grandfather" of the
Port Jackson Company, he went on to describe himself as its "father". 146

143. In the Port Jackson Company archives, only a Ledger (1868-1875) and a
Journal (1873-1876) survive from this period. However, the Journal is
from the firm Carey, Gilles and Co. (see below) and the Ledger appears
to be more that of a merchant (Carey?) than a ferry and tug business.
These are now held in the former Business Archives Council collection,
in Fisher Library, University of Sydney.
144. SRBB, 18/1857, 29/1859, 77/1873, 22/1874, 65/1874.
145. D. Tel., 20 October 1902.
146. SMH, 24 September 1883.
This concisely, if figuratively, describes the role played by this practical, self-made businessman. Carey's ownership marked the transition of the Manly service from a small, speculative concern with positive but limited growth to a dynamic company investing in a fleet of specially-designed boats.

Carey's life was rather typical of the colonial empire-builders of the Victorian age. He was born in the city of Cork, Ireland, probably in 1834 (some biographies say 1836). \(^{147}\) He came from a family of landed proprietors and his father was an army officer. He was educated at Hamblin's College, Cork, and entered a mercantile career. In 1853 he came to Melbourne to join the search for gold and worked on fields at Ballarat, Bendigo, and other places. However, he met with "indifferent success" and settled in Castlemaine, becoming a member of the firm, Richards and Carey, stock and station agents and auctioneers. In 1862 he went to New Zealand and joined Alfred William Gilles i... of business. Carey and Gilles also became shipping merchants, probably from this time that Carey's interest in shipping and transport developed. Carey withdrew from the Castlemaine firm (of which he had been a member) in 1866, and in 1873 he and Gilles came to Sydney and established an auctioneering business at 336 George Street (Carey, Gilles and Company). At the beginning of 1875, Carey took over the Manly service. As we shall see, he soon floated this into a limited liability company, the Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. Ltd., in 1876 and became a director of that company and its successors from 1876 to 1893 and from 1895 to 1904. He was Chairman of the Board in 1876-1877, 1881-1882, and 1901-1902, and first Managing Director in 1876-1881. Gilles also joined Carey in this and other ventures, such as the Balmain Steam Ferry Company. Late in 1875, Carey and Gilles put their auctioneering business.

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147. Biographical details are from: an obituary in D. Tel., 11 June 1923; The Cyclopaedia of NSW (Sydney 1907), pp. 456-457; Australian Men of Mark, v 2, pp. 180-183.
into liquidation. 148

In 1879 came Carey's most famous achievement when he founded the Sydney Daily Telegraph, becoming its Chairman and guiding hand for many years afterwards. Transport was one of Carey's strong interests, and, as well as the Manly ferry, he was involved in the Sydney Tramway and Omnibus Company, the Balmain Steam Ferry Company, and the railway contractors, Mann, Carey and Co., the firm which constructed the Nyngan-Bourke line in 1881. 149 Carey was also a trustee of the Savings Bank of NSW and President of the Royal North Shore Hospital for many years. Another interest was the military and he held the rank of Major in the Commonwealth reserve of officers. Throughout his years in Sydney he lived in Fitzroy Street, Milson's Point, and died there on the afternoon of Saturday 9 June 1923 at the age of ninety. He was married in 1873 and had two sons and two daughters.

In acquiring the Manly service, Carey mortgaged the whole fleet to the Mercantile Bank, Sydney, on 19 January 1875 to secure an overdraft. This mortgage was discharged on 31 October 1876 when the partners who formed the Port Jackson Company took over the boats. 150 Carey made little alteration to Heselton's timetables and running of the service, but change was in the air. In 1876, Manly was on the verge of obtaining its own municipal government and civic consciousness was running strong. 151 As usual, there is not record as to what exactly happened, but a later account indicates that a meeting of Manly people in 1876 called on Carey to improve the service. 152 To take the next step in the growth of the service required

148. Carey, Gilles and Company: Journal 1873-1876. (Port Jackson archives, Fisher Library, University of Sydney.)

149. The New South Wales Tramcar Handbook, Pt 2 (pp. 48-49, 59), mentions a firm, Stansfield and Carey, which built steam and cable tram stock for the Sydney tramways in 1886. It is probable that Carey was involved in this firm also.

150. SRBS, 18/1857, 29/1859, 77/1873, 22/1874, 65/1874.

151. The first petition for a municipality came from a meeting on 5 January 1876. (C. Swancott Manly 1788 to 1968 (Sydney 1968), p. 39.) A year later the municipality came into being.

152. SMH, 24 September 1883.
a considerable injection of capital, and, as the next chapter will describe, a company was formed for this purpose. Before long, this rather haphazardly organised steamer service to Sydney's favourite resort would become Australia's most famous ferry service.

In 1876, in the middle of what Manning Clark has called "the Age of the Bourgeoisie," Manly stood on its own little threshold. Both a social transformation and a transport revolution had brought it to its present situation. A growing urban middle class, neither tied by poverty to endless work nor, on the other hand, endowed with the estates of the upper class, sought out and adopted areas like Manly for living and for recreation. Once a land speculator had shown the way to a suitable place and had caught the public imagination, the migration was inevitable. Henry Gilbert Smith sold off his Brighton Estate, then departed; the momentum of growth flowed on from here and brought developers and land-seekers to East Brighton, North Manly, the slopes of Balgowlah and Seaforth, and eventually to places further and further up the coast. By 1876 a small and typically independent middle-class community had evolved and, like their counterparts in Randwick, Woollahra, Hunter's Hill, and other new suburbs, they made their demand for municipal status - the mantle of respectability for a middle class suburban community.

As a resort in particular, Manly had some distinct advantages. Seeking out a watering place, particularly by the sea, was one of those English instincts carried to the colonies. The advent of steam power and the consequent transport revolution played a large part in fulfilling this urge. As steamships appeared and proliferated in Australia before the railways, they inevitably played a significant role in this respect in the coastal cities. In Sydney, Manly offered what no other resort (including Watson's Bay) could: access to an ocean beach without crossing rough land.

er open sea. Sydney's other major beaches, Bondi and Coogee, had to await
the steam tramways which came in the 1880s before they could offer comparable
facilities. Clearly, Manly had an early advantage and became Sydney's
established seaside resort before other areas could develop properly.
This good fortune was, of course, firmly guided by Henry Gilbert Smith. One
thing certain is that, had the steamer service collapsed in these early years,
Manly would not have developed for many years. Only since the 1920s/30s,
when the bridges were built and motor vehicles became common, has the land
route become a viable alternative. Considering this, it is easy to visualise
Smith's dogged determination to keep the service going throughout the 1860s.
Unlike Mosman, where the subsidised ferry service is said to have stopped as
soon as the estate was sold, 154 Manly was eventually a profitable venture -
in the sense, it can be surmised, that the highly profitable excursions (and
towage) subsidised the commuter service. When Smith sold the wharf - and
therefore ceased to impose conditions on its use - in 1873, it is likely
that general community influence prevailed upon the ferry operator to
maintain the unprofitable elements of the service. In addition, Heselton
must have realised that unfavourable long-term consequences would result
from a cut-back in regular services.

From 1855 to 1876, Manly had moved from a heavily-nurtured and barely
developed speculation to a vigorous, self-motivated community, though still
reliant on the ferry service. Besides the influence of Henry Gilbert Smith,
it was the confidence and initiative of one man in particular which ensured
that the service not only survived, but grew during these years. This was
Thomas Heselton. By 1876, only the occasional violent sea which stopped the
service for several hours could have brought doubt to the Manly resident.
Far from showing concern for the survival of the service, this hardy group
of suburban seafarers was clamouring for improvements - in comfort, in

154. "From Rose Hill Packet to hydrofoil - Conclusion" Port of Sydney
v 10, no 2 (1977) p. 70.
frequency, and in time taken for the trip. As Manly was about to launch
into municipal status, so was the ferry service on the threshold of the
expansion which would create one of the fine local fleets "that commanded
the admiration of visiting shipping magnates."** William Lewis of
Liverpool."** In the optimistic atmosphere of the long boom, nothing could
go wrong - yet.

CHAPTER 4

GROWTH AND COMPETITION: 1876-1900

Sydney’s ferries were still at the height of their technological advantage in the 1870s and 1880s when the first limited liability (public) ferry companies were formed. The extent of Sydney Harbour, its coves and bays, still provided an excellent "permanent way" for steamers to cultivate suburban growth in the many attractive harbourside locations mentioned in Chapter 1. The new tramway system (1879) expanded rapidly, catering to landward suburban growth, and its patronage soon vastly exceeded that of the ferry system (see Table T4, Appendix 6). Like the ferries, the tramways served new middle-class suburbs but they also acted as feeders to ferry wharves and as inner-urban and central business district shuttle services, becoming a giant in a way the ferries never could. However, between them, the tramways and the ferries provided the transport technology needed to expand Sydney from a "walking city" to a compact suburban city. In the twentieth century (after c1920) the railways and later the motor car took over the role of stretching suburban Sydney further and further until the original harbour "highway" was of little relevance to suburban communication. Construction of bridges virtually closed the harbour option, with the notable exception of the Manly ferry. (See map M1, Appendix 6, and Table T1 showing the development of suburban Sydney reflected in its population, 1860-1901.) At the same time, as noted previously, transport in the nineteenth century reinforced the class structure. This phenomenon was strengthened by the level of ferry fares and the nature of timetables, as already discussed.

With the "frenetic energy" of the long economic boom which occurred


2. M.M. Cannon Life in the Cities (Melbourne 1975), p. 74. (See Chapter 3 above.)
Between 1870 and 1890, the Sydney ferry operators set to building up their fleets to cater for, and encourage, increasing demand. The first to “go public” was the operator needing the most expensive type of vessel - the Manly ferry. The Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. Ltd. was incorporated on 23 January 1877, followed closely by the other two big operations, the North Shore Steam Ferry Co. Ltd. (1878) and the Balmain Steam Ferry Co. Ltd. (1882). Some operators remained private for a time, expanding with their own resources, notably the Joubert family which ran the Lane Cove River services and Charles Edward Jeanneret who ran the Parramatta River Services. However, the rush was on. In succession came the Neutral Bay Steam Ferry Co. Ltd. (1885), the Watson’s Bay and South Shore Steam Ferry Co. Ltd. (1887), the Balmain New Ferry Co. Ltd. (1892), the Parramatta River Steamers and Tramway Co. Ltd. (1893), the Manly Co-operative Steam Ferry Co. Ltd. (1893), the Annandale Co-operative Ferry Co. Ltd. (1897), the Drummoyne, Leichhardt and West Balmain Steam Ferry Co. Ltd. (1904) and the Upper Lane Cove Ferry Co. Ltd. (1908). The evocative names of these companies reflected the tendency to try anywhere a boat’s nose could be poked into - perhaps the most optimistic being the Upper Lane Cove Co. whose service of tiny launches (involving “all change at Figtree” with connecting ferries to Sydney) expired by 1920.

Most of these ferry companies took over and expanded the fleets and services of individuals or partnerships although there were more complex changes. The Neutral Bay Co. was absorbed by the rapidly expanding North Shore Co. after only two years, and the Manly Co-operative Co. (which will be covered later in this chapter) was absorbed by the Port Jackson Co. The Balmain New Ferry Co., which came in as a competitor, defeated and took over the Balmain Steam Ferry Co. in 1900, then absorbing the Drummoyne,


4. Information compiled for Sydney Ferry Fleets (see NOTES ON THE SOURCES): Sydney Register of British Ships, NSW Registrar General-Companies Office files, Half-yearly reports of FJS Co., North Shore Steam Ferry Co. Ltd.
Leichhardt and West Balmain Co. and the Joubert operation in 1906. The Annandale Co. collapsed under the onslaught of inner-suburban tramways after only seven years, and most of the other south shore services, east and west, were seriously undermined by the tramways.

The biggest change was the decision by the North Shore Co. to reconstruct itself as Sydney Ferries Ltd. which commenced business on 1 January 1900. Servicing the gap across the harbour between Sydney and its north shore, Sydney Ferries developed into an enormous concern, not only growing on its original business but absorbing other ferry companies as their operations became less viable due to developing land transport (particularly extensions of the tramway network). In 1901 Sydney Ferries took over the Parramatta River Co., followed by the Balmain New Ferry Co. in 1917 and the Watson's Bay Co. in 1920. Many of these operations - notably the Balmain ferry - retained some technological advantage in spite of the tramways (and still do today) because of Sydney Harbour's "peninsula" factor. This is to say, travel to the city is more direct by ferry due to the need for land transport on these peninsulas to "backtrack" inland. This was not a strong factor in the case of Manly but was important at Hunter's Hill and the Balmain and Cremorne areas.

By the 1920s, Sydney Ferries Ltd. and the Port Jackson and Manly Steamship Co. Ltd. together dominated Sydney's water transport and were by far the largest passenger shipping operation in Australia. Indeed Sydney Ferries claimed to run the largest such operation in the world - indubitably true until later surpassed, briefly, by the San Francisco ferries and more recently by the Hong Kong ferries. The passenger capacity of the Manly fleet alone was, by 1928, greater than that of all Australia's coastal passenger liners put together.5 In the late 1920s, before the

opening of the Harbour Bridge (1932) undermined the foundations of Sydney Ferries' (but not Port Jackson's) business, the two operators employed over 60 vessels and 1,200 staff and carried over 50 million passengers per year. Although statistical comparison reveals their urban transport task to be overshadowed (from the 1880s) by the tramways and other successive systems, it is important to note the enormousness of their task as a maritime enterprise. From probably as early as the 1860s to the present time, Sydney's ferries have been the largest maritime passenger carriers in Australia. As noted in Chapter I, they were the only example in Australia of maritime enterprise performing such a large role in the physical growth of a city.

The Port Jackson Company, the beginnings of which are examined in this chapter, was the most resilient and innovative of the operators in cultivating the growth of its "catchment" in various ways for nearly a century.

1. Formation of a Public Ferry Company 1876-1881

The swaggering yet cautious spirit of enterprise which marked the formation and early years of the Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. set the tone of the Manly ferry service for the best part of the next century. The company and its successors were small and compact operations, even by Australian standards, yet the bold commitments they made to a service which was often a doubtful proposition by any measure were remarkable and certainly contributed greatly to the fame of the service. Throughout its period of operation, the company's vigour as approach was demonstrated by the purchase of the expensive and unique Fairlight and Brighton at a time when Manly's population was barely 1,000, the long history of dynamic advertising and publicity, the series of innovative double-screw steamers,

the construction of Manly pool and other facilities, and the introduction of hydrofoils to Australia. For a time, early this century, the largest vessels constructed in Australian shipyards were Manly steamers. From these factors comes much of the aura which the service assumed.

As indicated in the previous chapter, 1876-1877 were significant years for Manly. It is probably a reasonable surmise that, in addition to a steady and established trade, the ferry operators were given confidence by the municipal movement. As it turned out, Manly Municipal Council was rarely the company's greatest ally, but at least municipal status gave some guarantee of permanence and cohesion to the community and locality which sustained the ferry. Other than this, there is nothing tangible in records and newspapers to indicate that the virtually simultaneous incorporations of the company and the municipality in January 1877 were anything more than a coincidence.

Late in 1876, J.R. Carey, with John Woods, John Boyd Watson, and Jenkin Collier, formed the Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. Ltd. The commencement of trading of the new company was a formality and had no physical effect on the ferry and tug operations. The vessels, Phantom, Breadalbane, Royal Alfred, Mystery and Manly, were registered in the names of the new partners on Tuesday 31 October 1876, and the company's account books were opened at 1 November. However, the company's legal existence dates from 23 January 1877 when it was incorporated and registered with the Registrar General in Sydney. The total lack of physical disruption or alterations

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7. SRBS, 18/1857, 29/1859, 77/1873, 22/1874, 65/1874. Registrations of the vessels were subsequently transferred to the PJSB Co. in 1877.
8. See PJSB Co. Ledger 1876-1881 (particularly the coal account).
9. NSW Registrar General-Companies Office. PJSB Co. file (3/5690, file 751).
to the service despite ownership changes and corporate reconstructions was a notable feature of the service from 1859. Each group of owners took over its predecessor's fleet and rarely made any immediate alteration to the service. The various reconstructions and renamings of the Port Jackson company were little more than technicalities and even the major break in this sequence, the government takeover of 1974, saw the service and most of the fleet pass to the new operators. No other Sydney ferry service could claim such continuity.

The managing force in the new company was still Joh. Randal Carey who became full-time Managing Director until 1881. After the company expanded its shareholding in 1881 Carey moved into the background, probably being more concerned with his newspaper and other interests. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Captain Thomas Heselton also joined the company not long after its inception and shared some of Carey's managerial responsibilities - particularly while Carey was in Britain supervising construction of Commodore and Fairlight. Heselton assumed more importance in the 1880s when he became Chairman of the Port Jackson Steamship Co. Ltd.

The other leading figure for much of the company's nineteenth-century history was John Woods who served as Chairman of the Port Jackson Steam Boat Company, and later as a director of the Steamship Company. By the 1870s Woods had become a well-established local carrier and contractor and played a part in many transport enterprises in Sydney. He was born in Castleblayney, County Monaghan, Ireland in 1829 and spent his early years on his father's farm. In 1853 he emigrated to Sydney with his wife and set up business as a carrier and contractor, his first contract being the delivery of rails to the new Sydney-Parramatta railway. For some years, Woods was an alderman on Sydney Council and was Mayor of Sydney during 1865. Between 1861 and 1866 he ran Sydney's first tramway, a horse-drawn

system running along Pitt Street. For much of the remaining decades of
the century, he was involved, with Carey and others, in the large Sydney
Tramway and Omnibus Co. Ltd. - then the operator of much of Sydney's horse-
drawn omnibus system and strong contender for the right to establish
permanent tramways (a right it lost to the government in 1879 when the
metropolitan tramways were established). Like other directors of the
Port Jackson company, Woods had invested in land at Manly and took up
residence there in the 1870s. In 1880 he purchased and moved into Henry
Gilbert Smith's Fairlight House. From 1876 until his death in 1904 Woods
was a director of the Port Jackson companies (excepting a break between
1884 and 1886) and was Chairman during the years 1877-1881, 1883-1884 and
1894-1900. Like Heselton and other Port Jackson directors he was involved
in the formation of the Balmain Steam Ferry Company in 1882.

Carey and Woods played the largest part in the day-to-day
administration of the Steam Boat Co. as the other directors, Watson and
Collier, were largely absent in their home state, Victoria. Over, the
money was put up by Watson, to whom the fleet was mortgaged upon formation
of the partnership in 1876. John Boyd Watson, Scottish-born, was the
success story of the Victorian gold-fields. By the 1870s, after having
worked in California, then Bendigo, he was one of the richest men in
Victoria and, aside from owning a number of gold mines, he invested widely,
particularly in real estate in Sydney and Melbourne. When he died in 1889

12. N. Chinn and K. McCarthy New South Wales Tramcar Handbook Pt 2 (Sydney
13. The Cyclopedia of NSW, p. 259. See also published reports of the Sydney
Tramway and Omnibus Co. Ltd. (Fisher Library, University of Sydney),
and B. Lennon and G. Wotherspoon "Sydney's trams, 1861-1914: the rise
of an urban mass transport system" in G. Wotherspoon (ed.) Sydney's
his Victorian estate alone was valued at over £1 million.\(^{15}\) On 1 January 1877 Carey, Woods, Watson and Collier (a "gentleman" - or person of independent means) signed an agreement with James Watson, a butcher, Henry Robert Woods, a stationer, and A.W. Gilles, Carey’s former auctioneering partner (see Chapter 3) to form a "company of seven" with limited liability.\(^{16}\) Capital was £50,000 in £1 shares and the original partners were the major shareholders. No member of the company was free to sell his shares outside or to transfer them without the consent of a general meeting. In 1881 shareholding was opened to the general public, ending this Deed of Association "of a very irksome nature",\(^{17}\) and resulting also in discharge of the mortgages to J.B. Watson. The Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. operated from an office at 3 Pitt Street, Sydney, its vessels using the Queen's Wharf, Circular Quay, in addition to Manly Wharf, with some services calling at Woolloomooloo. The ferry timetable was basically the six-trip service introduced in 1873 (Chapter 3). The company informed the \textit{Herald} that it was intended to considerably expand the service.\(^{18}\) This it set about doing with incredible vigour.

In December 1876 it had already been decided by the directors that a new tug and "a new and more commodious and faster passenger boat for the Manly trade" were urgently required.\(^{19}\) Negotiations were entered into with Thomas Heselton and his brother William for purchase of PS \textit{Francis Hixson}, a new iron tug just imported by the latter from Britain. However, this purchase did not proceed, nor did an attempt to acquire the new PS \textit{Albatross}, an iron tug being auctioned in Melbourne.\(^{20}\) The powerful tug \textit{Goolwa},

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\(^{16}\) NSW Registrar General-Companies Office. PJS & Co. file (3/5690, file 751).

\(^{17}\) PJS Co. Prospectus 1881.

\(^{18}\) \textit{SMH}, 22 November 1876.

\(^{19}\) PJSB Co. Memorandums and Minutes of Directors, 14 December 1876, 16 December 1876.

\(^{20}\) \textit{ibid.}, 23 January 1877, 30 January 1877, 14 February 1877. PJSB Co. Letter from J.R. Carey to Captain H. Pettit, 15 February 1877.
formerly in the Manly trade and now owned by the Newcastle Co-operative Steam Tug Co., had been sent to Sydney to compete with Port Jackson for towing work, causing considerable consternation in the latter company. However, she was also chartered by Port Jackson for passenger work, towage and charter from late 1877 (Boxing Day) until February 1878. This kept her partly occupied until Commodore arrived. On the passenger side, larger tonnage was required and, by coincidence, Breadalbance’s successor in the Brisbane-Ipswich trade, the Australasian Steam Navigation Company’s PC Emu, arrived in Sydney, having been displaced by a new railway in 1876. In January 1877 she was purchased by the Port Jackson Co. for £4,500 (plus £30 for boiler repairs) "in preference to giving any opposition the opportunity." Built of iron at Glasgow in 1865, exported in sections and reassembled in Brisbane, Emu was a double-ended saloon steamer of 170.8 x 22.1 x 5.8 feet and carrying about 500 passengers. The largest vessel yet acquired for the Manly service, she became the prototype for all subsequent passenger vessels. She was modified to plans by naval architect Norman Selfe, including new saloons, and was in service by March 1877. However, she had two problems which were to plague her throughout

21. PJSB Co. Ledger 1876-1881.


23. PJSB Co. Memorandums and Minutes of Directors, 23 January 1877. In 1878 the other boats in the fleet were valued at: Royal Alfred £7,500, Mystery £7,000, Breadalbance £6,000, Manly £3,700, Phantom £1,000. (ibid., 14 January 1878.)

24. PJSB Co. Ledger 1876-1881. SMH, 3 March 1877.
her Manly service. She was slow (little over 10 knots) and, like Phantom, was designed for river service with a very shallow draught. A trip to Manly in her in anything but fine weather was an "experience" and, as will be seen, she was one of the bones of contention in the controversy of the 1890s (by which time she was nearly 30 years old — another problem).

However, much of this was in the future. Having placed her in service, the directors resolved to send Carey to Britain to have designed and built a new passenger steamer and a passenger-carrying tug boat. Whilst he was away, the Sydney directors (who by now included Thomas Heselton who had replaced James Watson as a shareholder) tussled with J.B. Watson over finance, not wanting to mortgage the new boats. However, there appears to have been little choice and a loan of £20,000 at eight per cent was taken from Watson by the end of 1877. When Carey departed in mid 1877, Heselton became acting manager and John J. Chounding (whose name appears in company records up to 1907) was appointed Secretary.

The new company also attended to its Manly interests. Most of the landholdings of John Woods, Thomas Heselton and A.W. Gilles at Manly were passed to the company at cost price. These were to add to the company's growing wealth and were generally retained until after 1946 when they were sold consequent upon the company's economic difficulties (see Chapter 6). One of the largest holdings was at Stuart Street (Brightside) where the company had built a cargo wharf (see photographs P6 and P7, Appendix 7). Land was also acquired at Lavender Bay (North Sydney) for a depot in 1878. Manly wharf was another matter. It will be recalled that the wharf was sold to Heselton and Parker by Henry Gilbert Smith in 1873 (Chapter 3). It had then passed through the successive service ownerships to the Port

25. PJSCB Co. Memorandums and Minutes of Directors, 13 March 1877, 27-29 March 1877, 24 October 1877, 20 November 1877, 12 December 1877.
26. ibid., 29 April 1878.
Jackson Co. when, in December 1876, the NSW Government, exerting its authority over public ferry wharves, implemented a five-year lease on the land on which the wharf stood. In October 1877, shipowner James Halstead wrote to Manly Municipal Council requesting permission to run a steamer service to Manly (presumably confirming the company's fears of competition). He had to be informed that (thanks to the machinations of Henry Gilbert Smith) the wharf was "private". This prompted Council to approach the government on the basis of section 117 of the Municipalities Act. 1867 (giving councils care of wharves), and insist on transfer of the lease to the Council. Accordingly, the lease was transferred at the end of 1881 and the wharf was sub-let to the company, this second lease embodying a legal agreement over the type of ferry service to be provided to the wharf, and other matters. Thus was initiated 50 years of rancour between the council and the company, at one stage resulting (as will be described) in the company losing use of the wharf to a competitor.

In 1881, the first sub-lease agreement on the wharf extracted additional steamer trips (including a late evening trip). In subsequent years even fares and company "subsidies" for municipal improvement were governed under the wharf lease, the company agreeing under protest in perennial fear of losing the service to a competitor, or even, later, government control (see Chapter 5).

27. SMH, 22 January 1877.
In retrospect, Manly Council's attitude was churlish in the extreme, though, presumably, was derived both from community interest in the ferry...

Manly's life-line and a fear (unfounded as it turned out) that a private monopoly on the service could undertake unlimited exploitation. There is no record that the council ever appreciated that, far from being a protected monopoly, the company was subject to market forces, fashion and weather, any of which could change unpredictably, and, as time progressed, alternative means of transport. Manly developed in the nineteenth century entirely by means of the ferry keeping it a viable and attractive residential area and excursion venue. The company had a vested interest in building up the service, often keeping it at a level well in advance of the residential population (and therefore risking a loss of support by excursionists) - examples of its means of doing this are given throughout this work. In the twentieth century, the company had to keep abreast of rival transport technologies - and again, tourist venues - both with its vessel development and an attractive timetable. It is fair to argue that the council's niggling contributed to keeping the service at a level of excellence (and certainly had a moderating influence on fares), but the fact is that the company had its own strong incentives for improvement.

Were the council's requirements over 50 years removed from consideration, the truth would be that very little difference to the standard of service would have existed. The Port Jackson Co. would simply have been richer and Manly Council poorer. Over time, many municipal services (baths, boat jetties, bands, park improvement) have been provided by both the company and the council, according to where the "wealth" lay at any given time.

A prime example of the company's "magnanimity" came in the second year of Council's existence. PS Fairlight, the first double-ended saloon steamer designed for the service, was delivered - in 1878 at a cost (including delivery) of £16,000. Superficially like Emu, Fairlight was in
fact a good sea-boat and, being capable of 13 knots, she improved the service not so much by increasing the timetable, but by offering a faster trip (probably 35 minutes). Measuring 171.4 x 22.2 x 10.15 feet, she could carry about 950 passengers, in addition to mail and cargo. A charge of 6d was made for use of her luxurious saloons, but this was waived for people resident in Manly for over six months. She entered service on 30 November 1878. The tug Commodore, also ordered by Carey, entered service in August 1878. Measuring 120.9 x 20.7 x 10.35 feet, she cost £8,690 and was mainly employed on towage. From the summer of 1878/79, the regular passenger steamers (all comfortable saloon boats) were Fairlight, Emu and Royal Alfred, supported by Breadalbane when necessary. The specification for Fairlight indicates that the company was interested in obtaining a faster trip. Although the Herald credited her as a 14 knot boat upon delivery, in fact the builder, Thomas Wingate, almost cancelled the contract when the boat would not reach 12 knots on trials. It is assumed successful modifications were made to meet the terms of the contract. With the advent of these new vessels, Phantom and Manly were put up for sale, the former leaving the service in 1878, the latter in 1880.

Within two years of its formation, the Port Jackson Steam Boat Co. had given Manly an upgraded (and in one case faster) fleet of passenger steamers, all equipped with comfortable saloons. For the first time, none of the regular passenger boats were used for towing, though tugs would be brought in for moving large crowds. The towing fleet comprised the fine new Commodore, supported by the venerable but evidently reliable Breadalbane.

31. SRBS 52/1. & PJSB Co. Ledger 1876-1881. SMH, 4 November 1878, 30 November 1878.
32. PJSB Co. Memorandums and Minutes of Directors, 16 May 1878. Most shipbuilding contracts incorporate penalties per unit of speed under specification and bonuses per unit over.
33. ibid., 14 October 1878. SRBS 29/1859, 65/1874.
and Mystery, and, for a time, Manly. Towage and charter were earning the company £500–800 a month while Manly passenger/cargo work brought in £600–£700 a month in winter and £1,000 – £1,400 a month in summer. By 1881 an annual dividend of nearly £7,000 was being paid.  

In 1881 the Port Jackson Steamship Co. Ltd. was formed to take over the assets and business of the Steam Boat Co. (which remained in existence as a shell company until 1887). The new company, which commenced business on 1 July 1881, had a capital of £100,000 in £5 shares (mostly to be paid up initially only to £3). Residents of Manly and other investors were invited to become shareholders and additional debentures were offered to assist in raising £60,000 to purchase the vessels and property of the old company.  

Aside from the six boats, the company's property included the Lavender Bay depot, over 10 acres of freehold waterfront between Brightside and Little Manly, including a wharf, and leaseholds on Manly wharf and two jetties at Circular Quay. The new directorate of the company marked the completion of the transition from "Melbourne money" to local finance. Of the old guard, Carey, Woods, Gilles and Heselton were major shareholders, together with other Sydney men such as the Hon. Patrick Higgins (gentleman, of Edgecliff) and Hugh George, Manager of the Sydney Morning Herald. J.B. Watson and Jenkin Collier took out insubstantial shareholdings for a short time. James Richmond, who came from Scotland in 1880 to become the old company's Superintendent Engineer, was appointed Manager, at the age of 32. W.M. Shenstone was Secretary.  

34. PJSB Co. Ledger 1876-1881. 
35. PJS Co. Prospectus. 
37. PJS Co. Ledger 1881-1892. One can only speculate on what happened to poor Chounding, the previous Secretary, who in 1881 was listed with Mr. Haggerty as one of the company's two clerks, and yet stayed on until at least 1907. In the 1890s, Chounding appears as Traffic Manager, a position never mentioned again until George Marshall's incumbency (1250-1974). A letter of 1892 describes Chounding as Manager. One can only assume that the company's office ran on communist lines, or that Chounding was "Man Friday".
Within five years (1877-1881), the Port Jackson Co. had successfully established itself as one of Sydney's publicly-subscribed private enterprise urban transport operators. It was to become the largest such operation, bar Sydney Ferries Ltd., and, more incredibly, survived until 1974. The foundation upon which it built its success was the suburb of Manly.

2. Manly Matures 1876-1900

One year after submission of a petition from 63 residents requesting constitution of a municipality, the local government area of Manly was incorporated on 6 January 1877, the first Mayor being Thomas Rowe, an architect. 38 From this point in time, two internal forces operated to lay the foundations, between 1877 and 1900, for the rapid and intense development of Manly in the twentieth century. Firstly, the existence of local government ensured that the foundations of essential services were laid in preparation for large-scale building construction and large populations. Secondly, land development, still a prolific activity of the long boom, ensured provision of plentiful allotments.

Coincidentally, in 1877, as noted earlier, the 130 "Bassett-Barley", acres (East Brighton/Brightside) became available for sale, resulting in subdivision and gradual development of the hitherto unused area immediately east of Manly wharf. This vast area, as big again as Smith's original Brighton development, consolidated and allowed completion of development of the Manly Beach "flat", together with part of the Eastern Hill. After this, estates contiguous to the Brighton estate were released for subdivision including Chapman's estate (see map M4, Appendix 6) and other parts of Fairlight, Balgowlah and North Manly. 39 By the turn of the century, most land within a large walking catchment of Manly wharf (2 km radius) had been released for development and, if not actually built on, was ready to receive

the acres of early twentieth-century housing and 1920s/30s apartment buildings (often redevelopments on sites of Victorian housing) which are so characteristic of Manly today. Photographs show that by the turn of the century much of the Manly Beach "flat" had been built out, together with adjacent hillsides. Isolated houses appeared in more remote areas.

No small part in this housing development would have been played by the Port Jackson Company's policy of issuing a free pass for travel by the ferry for five years to any person building a house at Manly worth at least £1,000. Ninety of these passes were issued between 1 January 1884 and 20 January 1890.\(^40\) Even if only fifty of these householders were regular commuters, this gesture would have cost the company 175,000 passenger journeys over ten years, at a time when annual patronage was about 600,000 (Appendix 6, T3). Yet in 1870, Manly Council arguing over a timetable matter, was to accuse the company of inflicting "inconvenience on residents and visitors, depreciating the value of property, and limiting the traffic, which might ... be largely increased to the benefit of the Company itself".\(^41\) In spite of the "inconvenience" of free ferry passes, the number of dwellings in Manly increased from 150 in 1871 to 1,853 in 1911 (Appendix 6, T2).

Many other changes occurred in the 1880s and 1890s. The first bank branches appeared in the mid 1880s and a hospital was established by 1896.\(^42\) In 1892 and 1898 respectively, the Public Works Department constructed Manly Reservoir to the north of the village, ensuring a proper water supply and installed a sewerage system.\(^43\) The Manly Gas Company,


\(^{41}\) Manly Municipal Council. Minutes of Meeting, 25 August 1890.

\(^{42}\) Swancott op. cit., pp. 113, 117. Gledhill op. cit., p. 72.

of which John Woods and Thomas Heselton were directors, was formed in
1883 and had provided Manly with gas by 1885. A telegraphic link had been
established by 1880, and electric lighting came in 1906. A fire brigade
had also been formed in the 1880s. Those most important instruments/
moulders of local opinion, newspapers, had started to appear from 1876
with the current newspaper, the **Manly Daily**, being started in 1906.

The sense of community strengthened in the 1880s with the commencement of
such institutions as the Masonic Lodge (1880), the annual wildflower show
(1881) and the Manly Band (1886). This early evolution of voluntary
organisations strengthened pride in the uniqueness of the suburb. A
major commitment to the area came with construction of Australia's first
Roman Catholic seminary, St. Patrick's College, together with an Episcopal
residence on Eastern Hill between 1885 and 1889. The enormous sandstone
college has been a landmark ever since and was the source of an incredible
procession in 1928, opening an International Eucharist Congress. The
Manly ferry fleet, including the white-painted **Burra Bra**, ferried
thousands of followers to Sydney.

The tradition of seaside entertainment continued, becoming more
sophisticated with time. Picnic grounds and tea-rooms were still popular
and the carousel of Sovereign Smith (the man with the megaphone voice) was
erected by the Corso in the 1890s. In the early twentieth century came

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45. ibid., pp. 22, 63.
47. K.I. Turner "A profile of Manly" in *J. Power (ed.) Politics in a
Suburban Community* (Sydney 1968), p. 34.
*Catholic Press*, 13 September 1928. J. McGlynn "Manly procession is
49. J. Fischbein and others *Beside the Sea* (Sydney 1981), p. 10. C.E. 
MacDonald and C.W.T. Henderson *The Manly - Warringah Story* (Sydney
the giant water chute and the annual Venetian Carnivals. A proposal for an ocean pier, in the manner of Brighton, failed but, from 1930 the Port Jackson Co. leased its redundant cargo wharf for use as the amusement pier which still exists today (incorporating the original cargo shed). However, the most important recreational change came in 1902 when a local newspaper editor, W.H. Gocher, defied the law against daytime swimming (outside a bathing machine) and initiated the twentieth-century passion for surfing and sun-bathing. Gocher was followed immediately by the first surf-lifesavers, Manly's Sly brothers. There is no doubt that the development of surfing added a major new dimension to Manly's attractions as a resort, but at the same time gave it a range of competitors such as Bondi, Coogee (and later many other beaches to the north and south) which might not have had as much in "town" attractions nor the spectacular means of getting there, but had fine beaches. Notwithstanding twentieth-century developments, however, by the end of the nineteenth century Manly could still be described as "the most popular of our sea-side resorts," and became no more immune to ingenious description, viz.: "To Manly the invalid comes to recover the strength which inland heat has lessened; and here the fashionable world disports itself when tired of the city and indoor rounds of pleasure."

By 1900 Man'y was an independent, vigorous community, never losing its popularity as a resort but becoming ever more consolidated as a residential suburb. It was still isolated, however, and relied on the continuing growth of the ferry.

50. Fischbein loc. cit.
J. Fleet Development and Growth of the Line 1881-1893

The Port Jackson Steamship Co. earned its business comfortably until 1887. Patronage remained steady at around 600,000, reflecting a constant level of support from excursionists and residents. Profits varied between an extremely comfortable £6,000 and £10,000 a year and ten percent dividends were paid. 55 Thomas Heselton, a subscriber to the newly-formed Balmain Steam Ferry Co. Ltd., evidently came up with a proposition to it taken over by Port Jackson (for the price of its shares at par, or £31,000). However, the previous owners of the Balmain service, the Perdriau family, wanted it kept in Balmain hands and would not hand over any of the accounts or statistics and Port Jackson was obliged to decline the offer. 56 The resourceful Heselton then appeared (as owner) with the tug SS Glenelg which had previously been serving in Adelaide. 57 Fitted both as a tug and with a generous passenger cabin she appeared an attractive proposition and was bought by the company, entering service in 1882 and replacing Breadalbane which was sold.

In 1882, the company set about expanding the fleet by ordering two more steamers. One was a tug designed by Norman Selfe and built for the company in New Zealand. This was SS Port Jackson which entered service in 1883. 58 The other vessel was an enormous, extravagantly luxurious steel passenger vessel, originally to be named Port Jackson but actually named Brighton. 59 A double-ended paddle-steamer measuring 220.2 x 23.0 x 10.7

55. PJS Co. Half-yearly reports 31 December 1881-31 December 1886.
feet, with a speed of over 15 knots and a capacity for 1,117 passengers, Brighton was an incredible investment in the service at that time and demonstrated convincingly the company's commitment to the service. Manager James Richmond was sent to Scotland to supervise her design and construction and she was fitted with every conceivable comfort and trimming. (See full description at Appendix 1A, under Brighton.) By the time she entered service on 23 September 1863 she had cost nearly £25,000 and, with Fairlight, she gave Manly the best-equipped ferry service in Australia. To accommodate her, the Manly wharf was lengthened 150 feet, the cost of which Manly Council fought to extract from the company. Within four years, when economic circumstances changed, the company regretted they had been so extravagant with Brighton but she survived to serve over 30 years.

At the same time as the new vessels were ordered, the company decided to establish its own workshops to reduce the costs of repairs and service which were generally carried out at Mort's Dock or the ASN Co. works. Accordingly a site was purchased at Kurraba Point, Neutral Bay, and on this site a large depot and engineering works were established, commencing in 1883. The Lavender Bay site was sold in 1892 together with Royal Alfred (which had started to undertake towing work in 1882) as part-payment to James Halstead for the tug SS Irresistible which was acquired in that year. With Brighton also came a new time-table offering about 12 daily trips (seven on Sunday) at 60-90 minute intervals. This was the first of the "modern" timetables offering a comprehensive regular coverage from early morning (about 7 am) to late evening (about


61. PJS Co. Half-yearly reports, 30 June 1883, 31 December 1883. PJS Co. Ledger 1881-1892. The fleet of the Neutral Bay Steam Ferry Co. was also serviced at Kurraba Point works, 1885-1886.

62. SRNS, 66/1884. PJS Co. Ledger 1881-1892.
However, these improvements were not enough to satisfy Manly Council which fired off letters every time a boat such as Royal Alfred or Port Jackson appeared on the run. Council learnt something of the realities of running a transport system when one demand concerning the absence of Brighton from the service elicited the reply that she was undergoing her half-yearly overhaul.  

It must be said, however, that Brighton illuminated the deficiencies of her running partners - not so much Fairlight, but the unfortunate Emu which was to become a growing point of controversy. In spite of the more regular timetable, journey-times would now have varied from 30 minutes to an hour depending which boat was running. Emu was overhauled and renamed Brightside in 1887 in an effort to improve her image but nobody was fooled. Her reputation in a sea and her speed, it might be said, preceded her.

All business men whose avocations call them to the city by steamers leaving Manly at 8.10 and 8.45 in the morning must have noticed the kind consideration shown them by the 'powers that be' who, when the storms gather and the tempests rage, seem to specially reserve that noble and prehistoric craft - the Brightside - of glorious memory, for these trips, sending the Brighton away at 7.15 with scarce a soul on board. It is just possible that on such occasions many of the brave passengers vote the author of 'A Life on the Ocean Wave' a gibbering idiot, clinging to their breakfast meanwhile with all the frenzy of despair; others, more practical, double their life policies, while others, more cautious, leave Manly altogether .... The gallant barque referred to has been known at times to accomplish the trip within an hour - a feat not to be scoffed at even in these times of rapid locomotion.

Some relief was provided when, in response to representations by Manly residents, another new boat was acquired. PS Narrabeen, which entered


64. Manly Municipal Council. Minutes of Meetings, 19 June 1884, 17 June 1886, 1 July 1886.


66. D. Tel, 5 August 1892.
service in 1886, was a double-ended iron paddle-steamer somewhat in the style of *Fairlight* and was built locally at Mort’s Dock at a modest cost of £12,830.67 She was a reliable but unexceptional boat measuring 160.0 x 22.0 x 9.2 feet, with a speed of about 13 knots and capacity for about 850 passengers.

In 1887 the Port Jackson Co. made its first loss (£47 in a half-year) which it blamed on economic downturn and a long run of bad weather (19 wet weekends), in addition to the need to purchase *Narrabeen*.68 An unsuccessful attempt was made to sell *Glenelg* and some of the company's land at Manly was sold. (In 1885, £10,000 had been raised by the company from the Manly land-sales.) The company had been earning excellent revenue during the 1880s, with the passenger trade earning £700-£1,000 a month in winter and rising to £3,000 a month in summer by 1885, falling after this to £2,000-£2,500 a month. Towage was earning over £1,000 a month in the early 1880s but was down to £700-£800 a month in the late 1880s as the effects of competition from the tugs of Fenwick and Brown began to be felt (and, with a fleet of new passenger boats, the company had a surfeit of tugs). Freight and charter each earned about £100-£200 a month.69 From 1888 to 1893 profits returned to about £5,000-£7,000 a year, but dividends dropped to six percent. The company made one attempt at an obvious economy in 1887 and told Manly Council that it would sell *Fairlight* and *Brighton* and replace them with three or four smaller vessels better suited to the trade. Although this proposal had some merit, the council forbade it under the wharf agreement.70 Additional revenue was


69. PJS Co. Ledger 1881-1892.

raised, however, when the company opened a bookstall and camera obscura on Manly wharf in 1888.  

The company Secretary, Leslie Ogilby, did not help matters when he embezzled some of the company's funds. About £160 was traced of which £100 was refunded.  

Fine boats perhaps, but not all upright men.

In 1888/89 the company met its first competition. Utilising the chartered passenger vessel SS Admiral, this operator (James Murray) ran to Little Manly, undercutting Port Jackson's 1s fare (1/6 return, 1s return Sundays) with a 6d fare. The opposition did not outwardly appear to worry Port Jackson, being, for one thing, at a disadvantage running to Little Manly. However, the event revealed early signs of fossilisation in the Port Jackson directorship when Heselton remarked that the competition was "doing very little harm", taking "a class of people that would not pay the usual fare and, in fact it took away more from Watsons Bay and other places than the Manly traffic." In 1890 the operator became insolvent and the Port Jackson Co. purchased the site of the Little Manly wharf, presumably to ensure that the same thing would not happen again.  

The episode was in fact a prelude to events to come. The different "class of people" disliked by Heselton (and many of Manly's middle-class residents) were, in a few years time, to take the ferry service and Manly into the big league. Heselton's generation got the Manly ferry going but by the 1890s they were still catering to the same class of customer that Henry Gilbert Smith had catered to in the 1850s. Indeed, other than progressive reduction of return fares, the 1s single fare had generally been in force since 1859, a point which Manly Council increasingly resented, with some

justification. Lowered fares from the late 1890s served to alter the
class structure of Manly's excursionists, but land prices and distance
were to keep the residential class structure more constrained until after
1946.

In the 1890s the company ran into increasing difficulties culminating
in the competition and enormous losses, to be described below. First the
great Maritime Strike of 1890, whilst evidently not affecting operations,
was blamed for loss of business together with difficulties created by coal
shortages.\(^4\) Then came the general economic failure of 1891/92 and the
subsequent depression which initially affected patronage slightly but,
more significantly, slowed down Manly's building development. Once again,
more reliance was to be placed on excursionists. In addition, the company
was obliged to reduce its capital by half and write $23,537 off the value
of the boats, due to insufficient allowance having been made for
depreciation.\(^5\) Finally, the company attempted to sell Brightside but
could find no buyer, made a loss on the sale of Mystery in 1893 (though
selling Glenelg successfully in 1891) and reached the stage where many of
its vessels required major overhauls.\(^6\) In 1892/93 the last dividends of
five percent until 1898 were paid. The major positive note was that in
1892 the company moved its Sydney terminus to the prime site at the
head of Circular Quay (no. 3 jetty) which it has occupied ever since
(except during reconstruction work).\(^7\)

\(^4\) PJS Co. Half-yearly report, 31 December 1890. PJS Co. Minutes of
General Meeting, 16 January 1891. Manly Municipal Council. Minutes of
Meeting, 8 September 1890.

\(^5\) PJS Co. Half-yearly report, 30 June 1892. PJS Co. Minutes of General
Meetings, 24 July 1891, 25 July 1892, 28 August 1892, 5 June 1893.

\(^6\) Unidentified newscutting c. 4 November 1893 (PJ & MS Co. archives).

\(^7\) Registrar General-Companies Office. PJS Co. file (3/5690, file 752).
Many of the shareholders were becoming uneasy about the old guard of directors and critical questions became more common in general meetings. At the 1893 Annual General Meeting, a shareholder, R.E. Kemp, moved that Heselton and Carey be prevented from continuing in office when due for re-election. The motion was ruled out of order, but within a few years the founders had gone. Remarkably, none of the difficulties appeared to affect the service. In 1892 the *North Shore and Manly Times* wrote that the company "has always furnished the public with a fleeter and more splendid service between Sydney and Manly than could be found anywhere else in the colonies."\(^{78}\) In the following years the company was to need such testimonials as it seemed to have almost as many enemies as friends.

4. **Competition and Reorganisation 1893–1900**

The Port Jackson Company's conflict with Manly Council came to a head in 1893. The months immediately preceding had seen sharp exchanges over timetable matters and a demand by Council that *Brightside* be withdrawn from service. Some of the company's shareholders, recognising trouble, formed a committee to try to bring the directors and Manly Council into agreement but made no headway. Council advertised for an alternative operator to run to Manly (attracting an enquiry from the newly-formed Parramatta River Steamers and Tramway Co.) and even investigated requesting Parliament to legislate to enable the council to operate its own ferry business.\(^{79}\) As noted above, the company had advertised *Brightside* for sale by tender (closing 4 November 1893) but was unsuccessful. In March 1893 Council requested the company to reduce the weekday fare to 1s return but the company refused, pleading the

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\(^{78}\) *North Shore and Manly Times*, 15 October 1892.

depressed economic circumstances. With some cogency, the council argued that the Manly fares were somewhat higher than those prevailing for similar distances on the railways and on the Parramatta River ferry.

The most interesting feature of this debate was that, for the first time the voices of the people of Manly began to be heard in large numbers. From July 1892 to January 1894, the letters pages of the metropolitan press were filled with the words of debating Manlyites pressing the case for the two sides. Surprisingly—considering the single-minded attitude of Manly Council—the local community appears to have been evenly divided, with supporters of the company adopting the theme that Manly would not exist without the Port Jackson Co. The other side criticised the company's monopoly, its conservatism and inefficiency, one correspondent noting that the Balmain people had recently had to "touch up" the same directorate—a reference to the formation of the Balmain New Ferry Co. in opposition to the earlier-mentioned Balmain Steam Ferry Co.

Late in 1893, following a public meeting, a group of Manly residents subscribed to the formation of a new public company with a capital of £5,000: the Manly Co-operative Steam Ferry Co. Ltd. On 27 November 1893 a special meeting of Manly Council authorised the new company to run a ferry service from Manly wharf and in January 1894 transferred the lease of the wharf to the Co-operative, advising the Port Jackson Co. that no

81. Correspondence was far too prolific to cite all examples, but see for instance D. Tel, 29 July 1892 – 3 August 1892.
82. D. Tel, 25 March 1893.
83. Registrar General–Companies Office. M Co-op SF Co. file (3/5717, file 1381). D. Tel, 21 November 1893. The subscribers, all residents of Manly, were H.S. Badgery (auctioneer), E. Redge (grazier), J.A. Paterson (merchant), J. German (engineer), A.T. Robey (agent) and S.C. Sadler (insurance agent). The Manager/Secretary was W.G. German. The two Germans were probably brothers of the Mayor of Manly W.H. German.
further discussion would be entertained on the matter.\textsuperscript{84} The new company commenced its service on 1 December 1893, utilising the chartered single-ended screw-steamers Admiral and Marramarra (joined later by Cygnet and Conqueror). (See Appendix 1B.) These vessels were no match for the Port Jackson boats in comfort, being mostly open and about 80-120 feet long, without the wine-bars and padded lounges with which Port Jackson had spoiled its clients. However, the Co-operative cut the fare to 6d return. Port Jackson continued to operate to its Brightside wharf, hurriedly converting it to accommodate the passenger service. Taking the situation in its teeth, Port Jackson matched the Co-operative's fares. The competition was an interesting David and Goliath affair. Port Jackson was able to exist on the reserves of huge profits of previous years, at a loss to its shareholders who received no dividends. By the end of 1894 its profits had dwindled to nothing and then losses were made, culminating in a loss of £5,213 in the 1896 half-year to June.\textsuperscript{85} The Co-operative appeared to maintain its existence on revenue, making reasonable profits and having no capital tied up in boats. However, it did announce plans for construction of a 700 passenger boat called Emancipator, and commissioned naval architect Walter Reeks to prepare plans.\textsuperscript{86}

It is popular in subsequent writings to describe the competition as a lively affair with "free-running" (untimetabled) races and exchanges of missiles between boats, as well it may have been on holidays.\textsuperscript{87} However, the daily reality was a brutally drawn-out slog, with the Co-operative taking much of the commuter patronage and Port Jackson, with its new-found proximity to the idyllic Fairy Bower picnic grounds, being popular with

\textsuperscript{84} Manly Municipal Council. Minutes of Meetings, 27 November 1893, 2 January 1894. D. Tel, 3 January 1894.
\textsuperscript{85} PJS Co. Half-yearly report, 30 June 1896.
\textsuperscript{86} D. Tel, 29 January 1894. Evening News, 22 June 1895.
excursionists. Manly residents had the benefit of a dramatic increase in the timetable to about 24 trips daily and, miraculously, Brightside made no appearance during the entire term of the rivalry. At Christmas 1895, Port Jackson put on Brighton, Fairlight, Narrabeen and the three surviving tugs Commodore, Port Jackson and Irresistible, and even hired the Balmain ferry Balmain, but still did not run Brightside. 88 At this time, Port Jackson finally set out to destroy the opposition by lowering the fare to 3d return, which move was followed by the Co-operative. In advertising, Port Jackson referred contemptuously to its rivals as the "Mosquito Fleet", while the "People's Company" in return pointed out that it ran "ocean-going steamers, not Obsolete Tanks or White Elephants." 89 Manly Council had almost as much trouble with the economy-minded new company which, in its rush of operations, created "nuisances" at Manly Wharf. Both companies took great delight in reporting each other to Council for throwing boiler ash overboard from the steamers. 90

Lowering of fares to 6d return produced a decrease of patronage, but the 3d fare more than doubled the pre-competition patronage. In 1896 Port Jackson's Manager, William Smellie, announced that Manly patronage in the 1895/96 year had been 1,365,000; of these 820,000 travelled with Port Jackson and 545,000 with the Co-operative Co. 91 In Manly, some concern appeared to have been expressed at the new breed of "3d trippers", comprising as they did "not the most select of Sydney's youths and maidens." 92 This further opening-up of Manly to a wider range of society

88. PJS Co. Dodger, Christmas 1895.
89. SMH, 2 January 1896. D. Tel, 2 January 1896.
91. SMH, 5 September 1896.
92. "From Rose Hill Packet to hydrofoil - Part II" Port of Sydney v 9, no 6 (1968), p. 177. One contemporary noted the "introduction of hucksters, alien hawkers, barrel organs, fire-eaters, 'try your lungs' men, pick-pockets and petty thieves." D. Tel, 4 January 1894.
was the most profound long-term effect of the competition. Although, even at 3d, the trip was still out of the question for the unemployed and very poor, there is no doubt that a significant consequence of the low fares was an encouragement of cheap popular recreation at a time of profound economic hardship. As will be described, this phenomenon of increased patronage was to be experienced during two subsequent recessions and a war. Manly was an escape from the grind of city life. It may also be noted, however, that when the competition ended and the fare went up to 4d single (6d return) patronage continued its enormous increase and Manly entered its long twentieth-century boom. By 1904, patronage was 2,500,000.

The Co-operative Co. ran into increasing difficulties during the competition. Firstly, the government took the first step in the long process of undermining Manly Council's control of the wharf and moved to "auction" the lease. Manly residents, fearing that Port Jackson would regain the upper hand, requested that the government lease the wharf to both companies. Accordingly, the Minister for Lands met with both companies and the council and an agreement was made whereby the government would construct a second wharf alongside Manly wharf, with the old wharf being leased to Port Jackson and the new wharf to the Co-operative. In the meantime, both companies would use Manly and Brightside wharves, changing over on alternate months. When Port Jackson returned to Manly wharf, the Fairy Bower picnic grounds disappeared from its advertisements to be replaced by new picnic grounds at Fairlight.93 Port Jackson's lowering of the fare to 3d return (Christmas 1895) in conjunction with use of the main wharf could not be matched for long by the Co-operative which raised its fare to 6d return in April 1896, followed soon afterwards by another reduction to 3d.94 In addition, progress payments were becoming

93. NSW Government Gazette, 7 May 1895. D. Tel, 14 May 1895, 4 June 1895.
94. Star, 18 April 1896, 28 April 1896.
due on the company's steamer being completed at Young, Son and Fletcher, Balmain, and additional capital was called for, unsuccessfully, to meet the debt. By May 1896, the Co-operative was obliged to negotiate with Port Jackson and its service collapsed on 15 May. There has been a suggestion that Newcastle coal magnate and tug-owner John Brown, whose tugs were competing with those of the Port Jackson Co., offered finance and coal to the Co-operative to keep them going, a suggestion partly confirmed in two versions of a black-edged mourning card issued by Port Jackson at the end of the competition. From the wording of that card it would seem, however, that the Co-operative approached Brown for help and was refused. In mid-1896, Port Jackson changed its name to the Port Jackson Co-operative Steamship Co. Ltd. and took over the interests of the Manly Co-operative Company (including the boat nearing completion), offering debentures to the Co-operative's 700 shareholders. As these stockholders were largely Manly residents (nearly 20 percent of the suburb's population), their intake inevitably led to greater sensitivity to the suburb's needs.

There were no real losers in this three-year episode. The Port Jackson Co. acquired vastly increased patronage (thanks, it must be said, to Manly Council insisting on lower fares) and the people of Manly had a greatly improved service, lower fares and a greater say in the running of the Port Jackson Co. Another benefit for Manly appears to lie in the fact that Cygnet's charter had to be temporarily maintained by Port Jackson to carry not just additional patronage, but consignments of bricks and

96. T.W. Jenkin, in Australasian Shipping Record, v 8, no 4 (1977), p. 239. The more irreverent version of the card is reproduced at Appendix 7. See also D. Tel, 23 August 1906.
97. Registrar General-Companies Office. PJS Co. and M Co-op SF Co. files (3/5690, file 752; 3/5717, file 1381). A certificate in the name of the new company was issued by the Registrar General on 30 October 1896. New Articles of Association were issued on 19 September 1896. PJ Co-op. S Co. Ltd. Memorandum and Articles of Association, 1898.
building material. Long-delayed overhauls of the passenger boats were
effected, including installation of electric lighting (resolving one of
the grievances which caused the competition). A huge overdraft from the
Commercial Bank (£16,741 in 1896) was gradually paid off from earnings. Interestingly, Brightside was included in the overhauls and had crept back
into service by 1897, with the company assuring Manly Council that she was
being used only on Sundays, holidays and cases of emergency. Brightside
herself was a minor emergency as she sank twice at her moorings in Neutral
Bay, in 1897 and 1907. Manly Council reasserted its authority on the
wharf leases (now covering two wharves) and requested the company to run a
special cargo boat. This it eventually did by so converting Brightside
in 1902. The new wharf erected by the government in the course of the
competition became the cargo wharf and still exists today. One casualty
of the competition was Thomas Heselton who was replaced as Chairman by
John Woods in 1895. In August 1896 Heselton was voted out as a director
due to the influx of stockholders from the Co-operative Co., an unhappy
departure for the man who had turned the Manly ferry into a substantial
operation but then, presumably, became too entrenched as he aged.
Ironically, in defending Manly's middle-class status (with higher fares),
he had held back the company's potential for further growth.

The new ferryboat ordered by the Co-operative entered service late
in 1896 as SS Manly. She was a double-ended double-screw vessel of wooden
construction, measuring 147.0 x 26.0 x 10.9 feet. Capable of over 14
knots, she could carry 820 passengers. She was a revolutionary vessel,

98. PJ Co-op S Co. Minutes of General Meeting, 26 February 1897.
99. PJ Co-op S Co. Minutes of General Meeting, 18 February 1898.
100. SRMS, 30 September 1897. Manly Municipal Council. Minutes of Meeting,
28 September 1897.
101. Manly Municipal Council. Minutes of Meetings, 25 August 1896,
11 October 1898. It should be noted (as verified in the company
ledgers) that cargo was always carried on the passenger steamers, not
on the tugs as asserted by Andrews and other writers.
102. SRMS, 45/1896.
introducing a design which was to be unique to the Manly service. With high forecastles, she was built to operate at speed, in either direction, in the deep-sea conditions prevailing on the Manly-Sydney route. Her wooden construction was a disadvantage as it allowed the continuous propeller shaft to lose its alignment and severe vibration problems were encountered.103 However, she introduced the design pattern for the twentieth-century Manly boats, thus representing another significant outcome of the competition.

The final change in the wake of the competition was the disposal of the tugs which themselves were facing rivalry from the operations of Brown and Fenwick. The origins and course of this competition have still not been unravelled, but its effect on Port Jackson through declining profitability in the late 1880s has already been noted. It is likely that the economic conditions of the 1890s produced further difficulty. The origins of the competition appear to lie in the practice of towing ships between Sydney and Newcastle (and attending to calls in between the two ports), with the consequence that each port's tugs often appeared in the other port seeking business.104 The most aggressive operator in this regard was John Brown who, by the turn of the century had secured two-thirds of Sydney towage by competing so ferociously that he made only successive losses.105 The Sydney operator Fenwick had also been competing with Port Jackson but in 1897 they were forced to merge their interests to


meet the threat from Brown. However, evidently unknown to Fenwick, Port Jackson had previously made an agreement with Brown (2 September 1896) allowing Brown to work the Port Jackson tugs himself and charging him a £30 monthly management fee. The tugs Commodore, Port Jackson and Irresistible were sold to Brown on 30 September 1898 but evidently Port Jackson continued to manage the Sydney operation, having cunningly ensured that any litigation against it for breaches of agreement would not succeed. Threatened with the prospect of litigation from Fenwick, it is likely the furious John Brown terminated the agreement with Port Jackson about 1900, ending the Manly operator's pioneering role in the NSW tug industry. By then, however, the tugs were no longer necessary for the economic security of the Manly ferry operation.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Port Jackson was again making comfortable annual profits of £6,000 - £8,000 and shareholders were receiving ten percent dividends. The Manly timetable was expansive with over 24 daily trips (even more in weekends) at 30-60 minute intervals between 6.30 am and 11.30 pm. The large weekend timetables testified to a great increase in the excursion trade. However, the enormous residential expansion beginning to occur was to help carry the Manly ferry into a long golden age, lucrative to the company, memorable to its patrons. Ironically, the slogan "seven miles from Sydney and a thousand miles from care" was created after 1945. Its application might well have been to the years 1900-1946, a period for which the opulent years of the nineteenth century were but a preparation.

106. D. Tel, 12 November 1897. SMH, 2 October 1897, 20 October 1897. 13 November 1897. PJ Co-op S Co. Minutes of General Meeting, 26 February 1897.


108. See, for example, timetable in SMH, 27 October 1900.