
Whiffin of Whiffin Spit

Part 1: Mr. Whiffin, R.N.

Richard Hornsey, York University

Introduction

Whiffin Spit is a scenic but otherwise unremarkable location in Sooke on the south coast of Vancouver Island. The first European to record this 'point of sand and ballast' was the Spaniard Manuel Quimper on 19 June 1790.



Figure 1: View towards the west over Whiffin Spit, with the ocean to the left and Sooke harbour to the right. In 1790, Manuel Quimper placed his 'cross of possession' on the beach just beyond the spit (behind the tall trees on the right side of the photo).

strip of rocks and gravel protects Sooke Harbour from the Pacific waves, sheltering the boats within. It is a favourite spot for local dog-walkers or for after-dinner strollers. Views over the ocean towards the mountains are wonderful and it's natural to reflect that this view has changed little over the centuries. Indeed, one is reminded of the history by a plaque explaining

how it came to be known as Whiffin Spit; “named after a clerk on the Royal Navy’s vessel *Herald* which surveyed Sooke Harbour in 1846”. But this tantalising snippet of information serves more to arouse curiosity than to satisfy it. Who was Whiffin? How did he come to be here? What was *HMS Herald* surveying? How was it decided to name the spit after him; was it an unusual honour for a clerk, did he win a game of cards, or was it just his turn? And what did Whiffin do with the rest of his life?

Early Life

John George Whiffin was born in Deptford, on the south bank of the Thames near Greenwich on 18 July 1826 and baptised in St. Paul’s church in September. His father Henry Whiffin was listed as a wheelwright in the baptism record and the 1841 census, but a later census in 1851, when Henry senior was living with another son Henry William Sharp Whiffin, states that he was a “retired government contractor”, suggesting a much wider range of business affairs than a simple wheelwright might imply.

At the time of the 1841 census, John George Whiffin aged 14 was not living at home. He was a pupil at the Grove House Academy, Woodford St. Mary, Essex. He would enter the Navy at the earliest age of 17.

The census showed that Henry Whiffin senior lived on High Street, Deptford, but the street number is not identified. However, by an interesting detour we can work out a probable location for his house. On 18 September 1837 four men were brought before London’s Central Criminal Court at the Old Bailey on charges of breaking into and burgling Henry Whiffin’s house. The testimony of Henry’s mother-in-law Frances Puig described how she awoke in the night to hear noises in the house, how she raised the alarm and ran out into the street to catch the attention of several nearby railway policemen. The burglars ran off, one climbing on to the roof of the wash house and thence over the wall *onto the railway line*.¹



Figure 2: Deptford rail crossing in 2016. John Whiffin’s boyhood house was probably through the arch of the bridge on the right. The original 1840 arches to the right of the bridge still exist, as does the latticework of the bridge itself.

The railway crosses Deptford High Street, with a station on the west side of the street. Indeed, Deptford Station and its bridge across the road was quite famous at the time of its construction in 1836 and several drawings of the bridge survive. With the station occupying the west side of the road and a hotel or coffee shop on the SE corner of the intersection between the railway and High Street, a reasonable conclusion is that Henry Whiffin's house was on the north east, just visible under the bridge in the sketch with the large arch-way (suitable for a wheelwrights place of work).

H.M.S. Herald's Round-the-World Voyage

In the years immediately prior to 1846, Britain and the United States were in dispute about the location of the border between Canada and "Oregon Country", a large area of the Pacific North West of America. At the heart of the dispute was the navigation of the Columbia River, an important access point to the inland fur territory of importance to the Hudsons Bay Company. This issue formed an important component of the 1844 US election, with some politicians calling for war using the slogan "fifty-four forty or fight", referring to the desired latitude for the boundary. As it turns out, a resolution was to follow in the same year as Whiffin's visit. British Prime Minister Robert Peel finally acceded to the more moderate US demands and the boundary was settled at 49°N. This piece of diplomacy was made all the easier because the Columbia River featured less in the HBC's priorities since the company's domination of the Oregon fur trade was already on the wane.

The Oregon Boundary dispute highlighted the need for improved charts of the area, so *HMS Herald*, under the command of Captain Henry Kellett, was ordered to the area to provide reliable information for the British government (Vancouver's survey of fifty years before being still the best available). In 1844 Francis Beaufort², head of the Admiralty Hydrography Office, contacted Kellett with an invitation to:

*Complete the West Coast of America from Guayaquil up to the Arctic Ocean. Are you in the mind to accept of that extensive enterprise?*³

Kellett was indeed in that mind, and *Herald* sailed from Plymouth on 16 June 1845. Aboard her was John George Whiffin, the ship's log for 12 March noting "Joined Mr. J. Whiffin Clerk."

Whiffin entered the Royal Navy in 1843 at the age of 17.⁴ His first posting was on *HMS Tartarus* on a surveying assignment to Ireland during the 1844 arrest of Daniel O'Connell, the prominent advocate of Irish independence from Britain. Being a steamship, *Tartarus* was also employed as a swift messenger during Queen Victoria's state visit to France in 1843 and as a survey vessel in Bantry Bay. More significantly for our story, in July 1844, *Tartarus* carried orders to *HMS Volage*, then in Bantry Bay, to sail to Cork to become the flag-ship for Rear-Admiral Sir Hugh Pigot.⁵ Serving aboard *Volage* was Thomas Woodward,⁶ the man who would become *Herald's* Purser and Paymaster. It seems likely, therefore, that Whiffin and Woodward became acquainted during this period.

So it may have been on Woodward's recommendation that Whiffin was appointed to *Herald* in 1845 for the voyage to the west coast of Canada. During the expedition, Captain Kellett took the opportunity, in the time-honoured way, to name some coastal features, although, by this

date, only the less prominent landmarks remained unnamed. Most of the officers had places named in their honour during the voyage, including the Kellett Bluffs on Henry Island, Trollope Rocks and, of course, Whiffin Spit. Given Whiffin's subsequent successful and eventful career, one might easily imagine that Kellett's naming of the spit was made in due recognition of the personal abilities of his 20-year-old clerk.

Herald circumnavigated the globe on a mission that was to last almost exactly six years. Details of the voyage were published in 1853 by Berthold Seemann, the rather appropriately named naturalist on *Herald* from 1847 until 1851, in *A Narrative of the Voyage of the H.M.S. Herald during the years 1845–1851, under the command of Captain Henry Kellett, R.N., C.B., being a Circumnavigation of the Globe, and three cruises to the Arctic regions in search of Sir John Franklin*. This lengthy but very readable account contains a wealth of information about the voyage, the local people and natural history, and the adventures of the crew, including Whiffin. Information on the maps below is taken from Seemann's account.

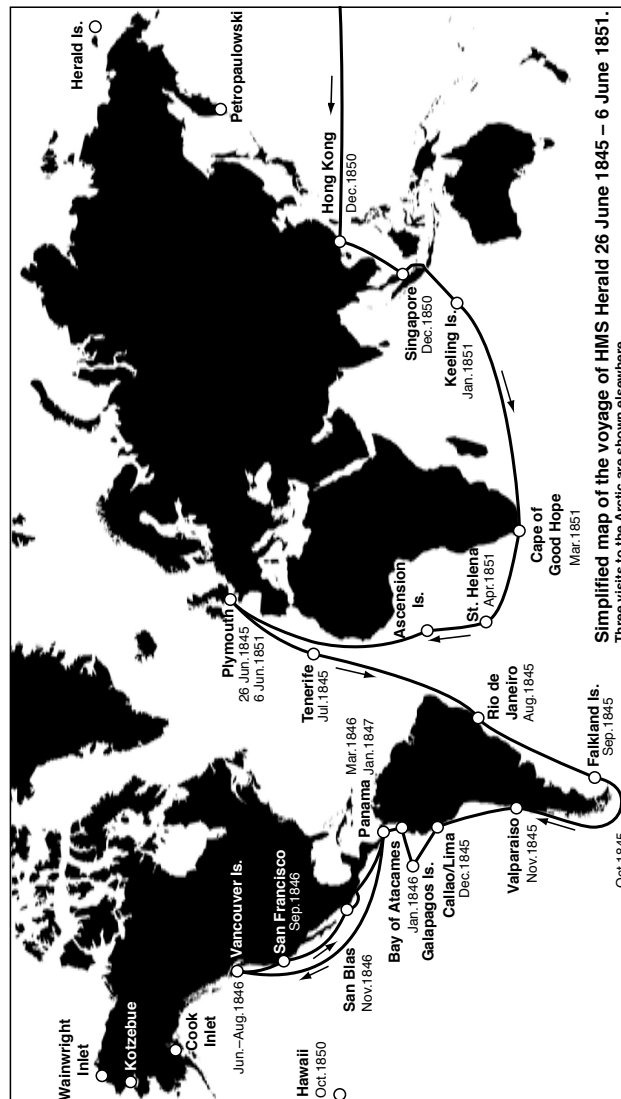


Figure 3: *Herald's* overall voyage, 1845-1851.

Seemann was a native of Hanover but left to join Kew Gardens in London to learn botanical collection. He was appointed to the expedition on the recommendation of Sir William Hooker at the age of 21. Seeman became a naturalist of “a high order” whose knowledge “had the advantage of being mainly founded on actual observation.”⁷ He lived to be only 47, dying of a fever contracted in Nicaragua.

Narrow Escapes

Seemann did not join *Herald* until January 1847 and assembled the first part of his Narrative from the notes and journals of the other officers.⁸ The occasion for his appointment was the death of the original naturalist, Thomas Edmondston, on 24 January 1846. On that day a group went ashore to hike through the forest by the bay of Attacames. The party became lost in the woods and were further delayed by a stop at a village for refreshments, during which Whiffin displayed his marksmanship by shooting a bird “at an immense distance”.⁹ A local guide led them back to their boats where, late, tired and with stormy weather brewing, they hurried to get into the boat to return to *Herald*. As one of the officers, apparently Lt. Henry Trollope¹⁰, clambered in:

...the leg of my trowsers lifted the cock of a rifle. The piece went off, sending its charge through the arm of Mr. Whiffin¹¹, and making a perfect furrow through the skull of the unfortunate Edmonston. ... So suddenly had the accident taken place that nobody in the boat knew what had happened, Mr. Whiffin not even being aware of his wound.¹²

The incident is described rather more graphically in recollections of the voyage published anonymously in 1860 as *Euryalus: tales of the sea a few leaves from the diary of a midshipman*, now attributed to William Chimmo: “His brains were literally strewn about the boat and those few in her; the sea was turned red with his blood. Many near him [especially Whiffin, one assumes] escaped by a miracle.” In gothic style, Chimmo describes his middle watch that night as a “mournful and dismal” with torrents of rain, deafening thunder and “vivid and terrifying” lightning.

Fortunately, Whiffin survived to have a spit named after him. The less-fortunate Edmondston, aged 20, was buried by the shore, his grave marked with a “small sheet of copper nailed on a board”. Seemann was selected to replace him and set sail from England to join the ship in Panama, the ship’s normal base of operations.

From Panama, *Herald* sailed northwards and entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca in June 1846 after an unpleasant passage of seventy days marked by lack of drinking water, poor food, and heat.¹³ Between 7th and 16th August the ship’s crew surveyed Sooke Inlet in small boats, naming Whiffin Spit in the process. *Herald* returned to Panama in Fall 1846 via San Francisco and San Blas, familiar to us from the days of Vancouver and Quimper. At San Francisco we get the first glimpse of Whiffin as a sociable young man.

At the time of our visit the gold had not been discovered, and San Francisco was extremely dull. One evening, however, an American whaler, the Magnolia, of Boston, gave a ball, and all our young people went to it; and judging from the numerous little

anecdotes and incidents which were afterwards told of that ball, they must have enjoyed themselves very much. There was a very motley company, and gin was in great request. One of the officers asked a mother if she would permit him to dance with her daughter. "How can you dance with her when she doesn't know your name?" was the reply. "Whiffin is my name, Madam." "Here, Betsey," said the mother, "here's Whiffers wants you." And off the pair started.¹⁴

The year 1847 saw Herald hard at work surveying the coastline between the Gulf of California and Lima, as per Beaufort's original request. Seemann's account provides us with three passages in Whiffin's own words which reinforce an impression of a theatrical side to his nature. The first is the appropriately flowery (albeit misspelt) acrostic poem that Whiffin penned on the occasion of their October 1847 visit to Edmondston's grave, by then covered in "brilliant flowers".

*'T was from this beautiful and rock-bound bay
H eaven deem'd it right to call his soul away;
O ne moment's warning was to him denied;
'M idst life, and youth and health, and hope he died.
A las I that boastful Science could not save
S o apt a scholar from his early grave.*

*E ven those who knew not of his private worth
D eplore his talents buried in the myth.
'M ong flowers that gem the softly verdant ground,
O 'erepread with trees his grave is to be found.
N o crowd his resting-place shall ever view;
S till sad affection will induce a few
T o gaze where plants o'er which he lavish'd years,
O 'er him, now silent, shed their dewy tears
N or seek to hide a grief denied to nobler biers.¹⁵*

More exciting is Whiffin's melodramatic account of his second near-fatal accident, which took place in January 1848 just prior to their first trip to the Arctic. He, along with the surgeon and the purser, were "endeavouring to pass from the beach of the Bay of Solano" around a "bold, precipitous cape" to a beach from which they could be collected by boat. Their path was interrupted periodically by a series of streams which they were obliged to cross. One of these was larger than the rest, and "the water ran lazily down a smooth, rocky inclined plane, from eight to ten feet wide, terminating about thirty feet below in a precipice upwards of a hundred feet deep, beneath which the sea dashed and roared violently."

The surgeon and purser managed to cross safely, with the assistance of overhanging branches, but the branch Whiffin grabbed was rotten and he started falling:

... my foot slipped, – and oh! awful to think of, I found myself sliding at a rapid pace down the slimy declivity into the foaming pit. Thoughts of all kinds crowded into my mind; home – friends – the horrid death awaiting me – all were instantaneously reviewed. My impetus increased; in vain I relinquished my gun; in vain I tried to clutch

the slippery, watery slab of rock; in vain I endeavoured to plant my heels in some inequality – all was of no use: my fate appeared certain. Providentially my faculties were spared me, with even more than their wonted power. Still sliding, still nearing the awful brink, striving to retard my descent by all the muscular pressure in my power, I descried, on the opposite side of the watercourse to that on which I was, a small twig shooting between the fissures of the rocks. Oh, thought I, that it were on this side! that switch might save me! But how can I ever reach it? However, it was my only chance, – the only ray of hope which deterred me from resigning myself to destruction. By an instinct almost incredible, (I have not the presumption to term it presence of mind,) I so twisted my body as to give it the direction requisite to enable me to gain the desired object. I approached nearer – nearer, – but when about to grasp it new apprehensions seized me. Would it hold me? – was that also rotten? – would not my weight and the force I had acquired either break it or root it up? – No! I clutched it – it held ...¹⁶

As if to emphasise Whiffin's narrow escape, his hat then fell off, slipped down the same slope and tumbled "into the gulf beneath".

The Search for Franklin

On their return to Panama in April 1848¹⁷, the crew of *Herald* were surprised to learn that they were to "enter a new career". In the first of what was to be three trips to the Arctic, they were ordered to interrupt their surveying activities (much to Kellett's dismay and despite his protests) and to sail through the Bering Strait into the Arctic in support of the search for Sir John Franklin's missing expedition. Franklin had not been heard from since he had set off from England in May 1845, shortly before *Herald* sailed, to search for the north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific¹⁸. His disappearance was a major cause for public concern in Britain and the fate of the expedition continues to fascinate us today. Pressure on the government to locate the expedition was intense.

Thomas Edmondston mentions that he and others from *Herald* dined with officers of Franklin's vessels, *Erebus* and *Terror*, in Woolwich, and Midshipman William Chimmo describes having many friends aboard. Indeed, it seems to have been the hope that *Herald* would rendezvous with Franklin the following year after the latter's expected traversal of the north-west passage. Franklin's officer's were packing dancing shoes in anticipation of a grand ball to be held in Valparaiso to honour their meeting. When Franklin's expedition sailed, *Herald*'s yards were manned to wish them success. Presciently, Edmondston also records that the Queen's geographer, James Wyld, was not expecting to see Franklin's expedition again.

Herald (with Whiffin now promoted from clerk to assistant paymaster) together with another Admiralty ship, *Plover*, formed one component of a three-pronged attempt to locate Franklin and his men. They recorded information on the geography, the state of the ice, and news from the native population in an attempt to gain intelligence information for other vessels better equipped to sail in ice (*Herald* left England without even any stoves below decks).

We now know that *Erebus* and *Terror* were abandoned by the surviving members of Franklin's crew in the same month that Kellett received his orders, April 1848. The ships had been frozen in the ice since the Fall of 1846, and Franklin himself had died on 11 June 1847. The current

understanding is that a combination of hypothermia, scurvy and tuberculosis undermined the health of the crew. Their condition was exacerbated by contaminated food and lead poisoning, either from their water system or poorly-made food tins.

To relieve the monotony of the long passage to Kotzebue Sound, the officers “unanimously agreed to have a series of theatricals.” The first of these, entitled “The Mock Doctor; or the dumb lady cured”, was held in Kotzebue on 15 September 1848. It was produced by Whiffin, with Bedford Pim showing “great skill” in making the ladies’ dresses “including caps and bonnets” and with Chimmo in charge of painting the sets. The necessary materials were purchased from an American vessel in Petropaulowski.

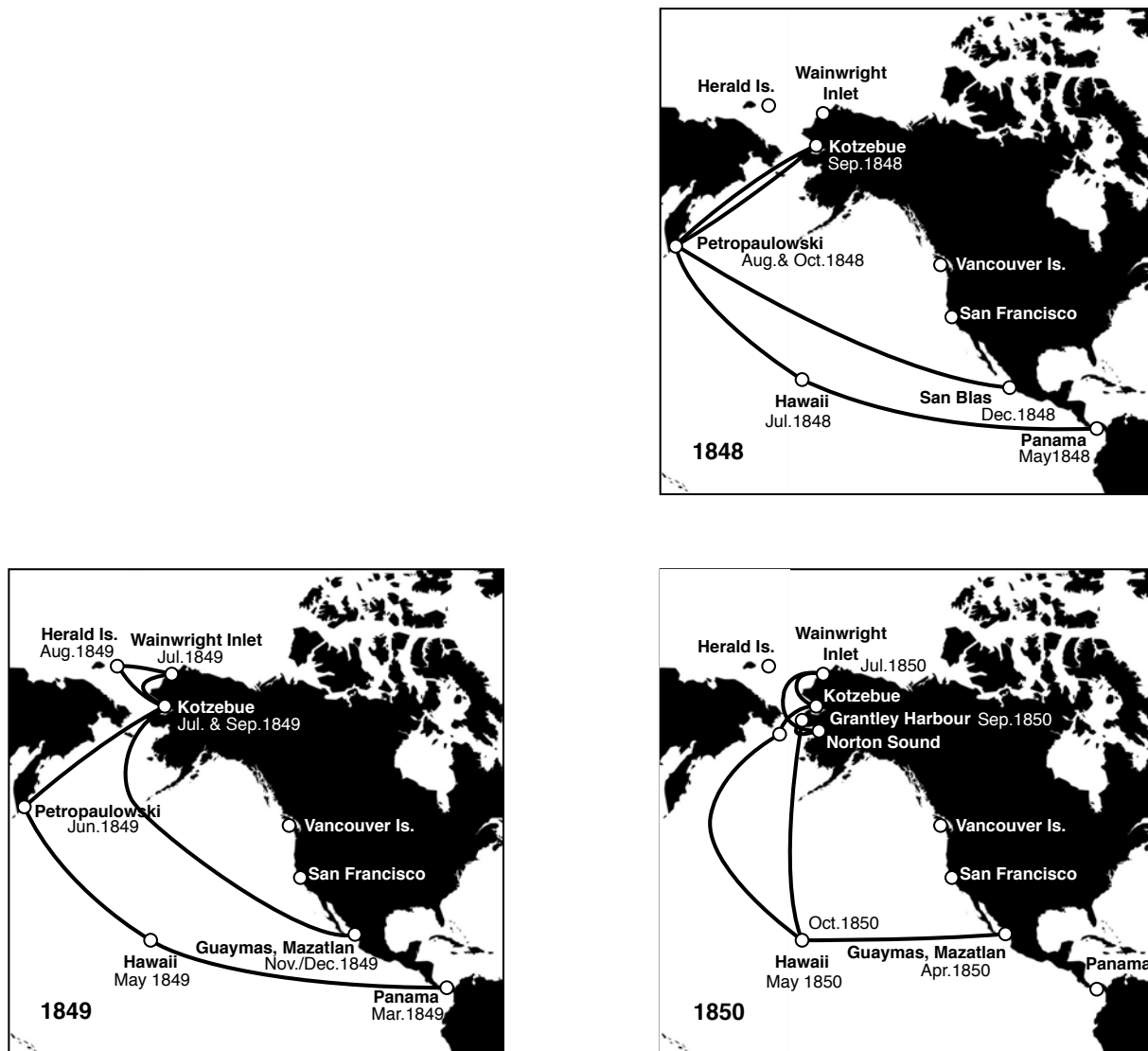


Figure 4: Herald's voyages in search of the Franklin expedition, 1848-1850.

Whiffin also starred as Dorcas, the doctor’s wife, in this “highly amusing play.”¹⁹ In *Euryalus*, Chimmo at once manages to go into some detail about the staging of this production, while refraining from mentioning either the names of the characters or the actors. But, using

Seemann's reproduction of the programme, we can piece together the story. Assuming that Whiffin's character, Dorcas, is Chimmo's "Elderly Lady", his costume consisted of:

*Blue muslin, trimmings blue, white lace habit shirt, a pillow for a bustle, other paddings of wool [presumably breasts], no petticoat, white lace cap, red trimmings, Manilla rope curls (natural colour), mud boots, chequered blue apron, trimmed with red, long sleeves, and peak to dyed dress.*²⁰

Quite a sight! The elderly lady "did her part well; she had the "brass of a coal-box;" the song was excellent." The play was not without errors; in his haste to make his transition from musician to actor, Chimmo, as the maid, forgot important parts of his padding and was consequently late making his entrance. The Elderly Lady (a.k.a Whiffin) "forgot her "prunella boots"²¹ in the hurry of dressing, and her flushing trousers were observed."

Extensive accounts by Captain Kellett of the 1849 and 1850 voyages appeared in The Times newspaper in January 1850, testifying to the great popular interest in the search for Franklin and his men.²² In the other prongs of the search, John Richardson was to travel overland by following the MacKenzie River while two ships under the command of James Clark Ross were to retrace Franklin's route from the Atlantic. *Herald* and *Plover* were also to establish supply depots for Richardson's expedition. Herald Island, now part of the Russian Federation, was named after Kellett's ship after he charted its remote and rocky coast in August 1849.

None of these three attempts was successful in locating Franklin, so another two vessels, *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, were dispatched from England, via Cape Horn and Honolulu, to enter the Arctic from the west, as *Herald* had done. Indeed *Herald* had hoped to rendezvous with them in Hawaii, but had pressed on to the Arctic alone. *HMS Investigator* was commanded by Lieutenant Robert McClure, an ambitious and rather unscrupulous man who yearned for the recognition that could come from finding Franklin. Although the two ships were supposed to work together, McClure contrived to arrive in the Kotzebue Sound ahead of *Enterprise*, at the end of June 1850. There, he met Kellett in *Herald*. McClure, anxious for his chance to make his name, spun Kellett (the more senior officer) a yarn saying that he was trying to catch up with *Enterprise* and that he should be permitted to proceed immediately. Kellett appears to have been aware that this was untrue, but allowed McClure to continue in the interests of speed.

In October 1850, McClure got his wish and became the first European to see (from land) that the north-west passage was indeed continuous. He was later caught in the ice and had to be rescued by Bedford Pim, formerly of *Herald*.

Hawaii and the Voyage Homeward

Whiffin returned home in *Herald*, travelling via Hong Kong, Singapore and the Cape of Good Hope. An extract from Whiffin's diary describes how, during their stay in Hawaii in October 1851, *Herald's* officers were invited to a reception hosted by King Kamehameha III.²³ The prospect of a royal reception hosted by "a people but lately emerged from barbarism" was greeted with some scepticism by the officers. Nevertheless eight or nine officers attended. Whiffin describes the affair at some length, concluding that although he had left the ship "fully prepared for something comic", he came away convinced he "had seen but little which a

sensible observer would ridicule.” Since our current interest lies in learning more of Whiffin himself, his account of his late arrival adds a personal touch:

Our party was soon completed. After breakfast, eight or nine of our officers ordered their costly state garments to be released from the musty obscurity in which, since we departed from Guaymas, they had been buried, while I, leaving most of them to dress at their leisure on board, hastened on shore, with a small boy and a large parcel, to finish my extensive toilet. On reaching the lounge – a small tenement hired by our mess as being more convenient than the hotel for dressing and refreshing – I found it was locked, and vainly despatched several messengers around the town in quest of the native youth charged with the key and the care of the house; but he came not, so I philosophically pocketed my vexation, and, much to the amusement of the inmates, retired into an adjacent hut to wash, and assume the habiliments proper for the occasion.

The hour appointed had passed by some minutes before my arrival at the house of our Consul, General Miller, where my disordered, bewildered, and perspiring condition astonished and amused the Captain and officers already seated there. Luckily a conversation succeeded, sufficiently long to allow me to cool and recover breath before starting.²⁴

Herald arrived at Spithead off Portsmouth on 6 June 1851, just three weeks short of six years since she had departed and having travelled an estimated 100,000 miles. Information concerning *Herald's* search for Franklin had appeared periodically in the newspapers and public interest was high. Hence, as *The Times* reports²⁵, the fact that *Herald* sailed through Spithead towards Chatham without communicating at all with the shore was the cause of “much astonishment and annoyance to the inhabitants” of Portsmouth. The reason was probably that, owing to a long return journey fraught with fever and scurvy, the crew was in no fit state to receive visitors. Indeed, fifty-two men, more than a quarter of the complement, were discharged to hospital when *Herald* finally docked.²⁶

On 27 January, Whiffin had been promoted to Acting Purser, on the death of Thomas Woodward, paymaster and purser, from a “severe cold” contracted in the Arctic (Whiffin was “confirmed in death vacancy” in November of that year). If Woodward really did recommend him for his original position on the voyage, Whiffin’s promotion must have been bitter sweet. In support of this promotion Kellett wrote about Whiffin, ‘His conduct most exemplary & a most capable officer’.²⁷

By this date, the position was that of a commissioned officer and was in charge not only of paying the ship’s complement and managing the Navy’s money, but also of securing, and accounting for, supplies in general (what was later called the Supply Officer). The older term ‘purser’ had become “purser and paymaster” in 1844, and was becoming simplified to just ‘paymaster’. An idea of the scope and complexity of the purser’s task can be found in Janet Macdonald’s excellent *Feeding Nelson’s Navy*.²⁸ At the end of the eighteenth century, the pay was relatively poor and, until reimbursed by the navy, the financial risk was born personally. However, there were also opportunities for an enterprising purser to supplement his income by selling items from his private store and scrimping on supplies to the ship. Much of this

entrepreneurialism continued but, as the nineteenth century progressed, the role became much more professional until 1852 when paymasters received a full naval salary and the causes for many of the complaints about pursers' meanness were eliminated. A great part of the paymaster's duties involved keeping record books of the business side of the ship's operations. The 1862 Queen's Regulations²⁹ lists fifteen books under the responsibility of the paymaster, including the Muster List, the Quarterly Victualling List, the Bounty List, and several regarding the crew's pay. "All these Books, Accounts, &c., and the documents connected with them are to be kept and rendered (under the control and direction of the Captain) by the Paymaster, who is held responsible for their correctness, and for the transmission into office, at proper times, of such of them as are required at the Admiralty." The Paymaster also supervised any sub-ordinate clerks and Assistant Paymasters.

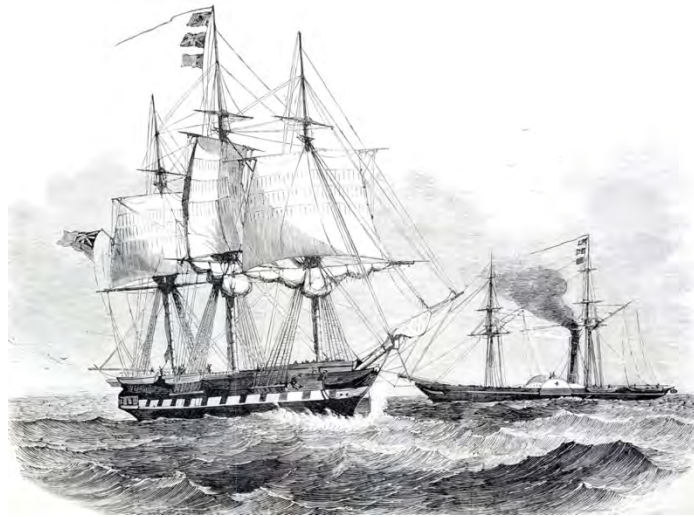


Figure 5: HMS Herald and HMS Torch in 1852 (Illustrated London News).

¹ Two of the accused were acquitted. The other two, Joseph Andrews (21) and James McConachy (19) were found guilty and sentenced to death. However, their sentence was expected to be reduced to transportation and indeed a Joseph Andrews was one of 266 convicts transported on the *Theresa* on 5 October 1838 and a James McConachy was one of 270 convicts on the *Bengal Merchant* on 24 March 1838.

² Beaufort is perhaps best known today for developing and popularising the Beaufort Scale of wind speed, originally quantified according to the wind's influence on a sailing vessel. The Beaufort Sea in the western Arctic is also named for him. He was a polymath of broad-ranging interests and insatiable curiosity. He led the Hydrological Office from 1829 to 1855, establishing a golden age of hydrology that brought the level of Admiralty charts to an unprecedented level of detail and accuracy. *Herald's* voyage is typical of Beaufort's quest for detailed information and accurate charts. For an entertaining account of Beaufort and his scale, see Scott Huler's *Defining the Wind*. Beaufort was also responsible for dispatching *Herald* under Captain Denham on her next, and final, surveying voyage to Australia and the south seas.

³ Jane Samson, "That Extensive Enterprise: HMS *Herald's* North Pacific Survey 1845–1851", *Pacific Science* vol.52, no.4 (1998), 287-293.

⁴ Basic details of Whiffin's life and career are outline in his obituary in *The Times*, 11 January 1892. For other information see the 1881 UK Census data.

⁵ *The Times* 10 July 1844 p.8.

⁶ B. Seemann A Narrative of the Voyage of the H.M.S. *Herald* 1853, vol. II p.261.

⁷ *The Journal of Botany British and Foreign*, 1 January 1872, p.1

⁸ Seemann could not, however, refer to the personal journal of Thomas Edmondston, his predecessor, which was in a cipher that could not be deciphered after his death. Edmondston's letters from the voyage were edited by his mother and published as *The Young Shetlander* (Mould & Tod, Edinburgh 1868). These letters describe the young man's delight at being offered at the last minute the position as naturalist aboard *Herald*, and his hasty withdrawal from his dull lectureship at Glasgow University. He goes on to describe for his family his hectic preparations for the voyage and the whirl of meetings with London's naturalists: "The British Museum folks are half-mad about it, as scarcely any thing is known from the west coasts." Edmondston had to leave Glasgow for London so quickly that had no chance to visit Shetland to say good-bye to his family. Their letters expressed a mixture of pleasure that he had received such an exciting position and of worry about his distant journey. Knowing now what was to happen, these exchanges take on a particular poignancy (probably as it was intended to).

⁹ Described in the journal of midshipman Lieut. John Anderson and quoted in *The Young Shetlander*.

¹⁰ Jane Samson *An Empire of Science: the voyage of HMS Herald 1845 – 1851*, p.75

¹¹ His right arm, according to the log book of *Herald*.

¹² Seemann vol.I p.66.

¹³ Chimmo p.167.

¹⁴ Seemann vol.I p.116

¹⁵ Seemann vol.I p.216

¹⁶ Seemann vol.I starting p.224.

¹⁷ Whiffin's pay record (ADM/196/11) indicates that Whiffin "passed Clerk" on 4 March 1848, presumably marking his promotion to officer rank.

¹⁸ M.W. Sandler, *Resolute*, Sterling Publishing 2006. John Franklin also served as Lieutenant-Governor of van Diemen's Land from 1836 – 1843. During an 1830s visit to Cascades Female Factory where later Sarah Hornsey would be incarcerated (see Ch.2), some 300 women reportedly protested their conditions by baring their backsides, and using both hands to slap their buttocks in a disruptive salute.

¹⁹ Seemann vol.II p.10

²⁰ Chimmo p.301

²¹ Prunella was a strong, heavy material used for the uppers of boots.

²² *The Times*, 24 & 25 January 1850 p.8 and p.3, respectively.

²³ Kamehameha III was the second son of King Kamehameha the Great, who unified Hawaii as a single kingdom.

²⁴ Seemann vol.II starting p.218. Seemann relates one other story (from Edwin Jago's journal) concerning Whiffin. While in the Arctic exploring the ice cliffs in February 1849 it was determined that the officers should dine in the cabin of one of the boats rather than on-land. But Whiffin complained about seasickness and gave orders that his dinner was to be served in the tent where they would sleep. Jago remarks: "The remarkably precise manner in which our friend gave his orders on the subject, while labouring under the disease, afforded a clear proof that in this case at least the mind was not much affected by the derangement of the stomach." (Seemann vol.II p.125).

²⁵ 7 June 1851, in the *Naval Intelligence* column.

²⁶ Samson, *An Empire of Science* p.84.

²⁷ UK National Archives document ADM/196/76

²⁸ Janet Macdonald', *Feeding Nelson's Navy* (London: Chatham, 2006), chapter 3.

²⁹ *The Queen's Regulations and the Admiralty Instructions for the Government of Her Majesty's Naval Service, 1862*, chapter 35.