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The development of coal trade in the  
Wollongong district of New South Wales,  
with particular reference to government  
and business, 1849-1889

Henry Patrick Lee  
University of Wollongong

Lee, Henry Patrick, The development of coal trade in the Wollongong district of New South Wales, with particular reference to government and business, 1849-1889, Doctor of Philosophy thesis, Department of History and Politics, University of Wollongong, 1993. <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/1441>

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## CONCLUSION

This thesis asked the question, 'Why was a coal trade established in the Wollongong district of New South Wales in the second half of the nineteenth century?' The argument was developed in response to five subsidiary questions: who wanted to establish a coal trade, why, how did they go about it, to what extent did they succeed, and who was responsible for that success?

A brief, almost cursory, answer can be given to the organising question. That is, the Wollongong coal trade emerged from the expectation of some owners of capital that the existing and prospective demand for New South Wales coal was such that an acceptable return on their investment could be derived from the mining and export of Wollongong coal. Thus it is possible to identify three phases in the development of the coalfield during the period covered by this thesis. First, 1797-1849, in which the inaccessibility of the seams initially discovered at Coalcliff deterred investment, and the legal monopoly exercised by the Australian Agricultural Company over coal mining in New South Wales prevented investment. Second, the 1850s to the late 1870s, in which the gold rush economy stimulated demand for coal and led to increased activity in the Wollongong coalfield; however, the district's lack of first class export facilities ensured that Newcastle remained the focus of the Colony's coal trade, with only a handful of mines being located in Wollongong. Third, the 1880s, when economic growth in Australia and elsewhere created such demand for coal that not only Australian but British mining capital began to flow into the district. Consequently, by the mid 1880s the economy of the Wollongong district had been transformed from one characterised by dairy farming to one dominated by coal mining.

This had not been the intention of the coal proprietors. Rather, it was a by product of their search for opportunities to increase their capital. Hence, their behaviour may be accounted for largely in terms of conventional industry location theory, encompassing considerations about markets, costs, technology and other technical factors.

However, owners of capital were not the only group with an interest in Wollongong coal. The businessmen (shopkeepers, newspaper proprietors, providers of professional and

commercial services, farmers, landowners and others) of the town and district developed an abiding interest in its exploitation. It is the motives, ambitions, expectations and activities of these businessmen that have been the focus of this thesis. They took to themselves the mission of actually creating a coal trade in Wollongong. To that end they sought to involve the New South Wales government in their plan for the economic restructuring of the Wollongong district. Left to the free play of economic and political market forces, the businessmen could not hope to engineer the kind of change they desired. They had no influence over owners of capital outside the district and possessed nothing like the capital necessary to establish a coal trade. To overcome those drawbacks they decided that Wollongong must be made attractive to investors. They believed that only the district's lack of a coal port was preventing a flood of mining capital from entering the district.

This policy did have a rational basis. A good harbour would eliminate the need for most Wollongong coal to be taken to Sydney in small coastal vessels, where it was loaded into ocean going ships for export to intercolonial and overseas destinations. This transshipment added to costs and caused some deterioration in the quality of the coal, rendering it less able to capture market shares from the more established Newcastle mines. However, the essence of the businessmen's policy was speculative. It arose from their intense belief that a harbour allowing Wollongong coal to be shipped direct to intercolonial and overseas ports would see mines opening all along the Illawarra escarpment.

These were men who lived by faith—faith in their own desires and in their capacity to realise them by controlling the world around them. They were motivated neither by high ideals of national economic development nor of creating a society guaranteeing material abundance, security and meaning for its members. Instead, moved by the love of money and the comfort and meaning it could impart to their lives, these things were used to justify their obsession with attracting mining capital to Wollongong and the manipulation of government to that end.

This made them no better or worse than other groups in Colonial society who viewed public policy in much the same way. John and Thomas Garrett, John Biggar, William Wiley and those for whom they spoke differed only in degree from those they sought to turn to their own purposes. Henry Osborne, James Byrnes, Alexander Stuart, John Robertson, Henry

Parkes, John Sutherland, William McMillan and other capitalist-politicians of the period were similarly concerned, in or out of public office, with money making. However, with the exception of the perennially bankrupt Parkes, they were men of means or men who enjoyed easy access to means; often leaders of Parliamentary factions they were well placed to influence public affairs and government, if not to actually direct them. Thus, they were less strident about their private ambitions and, again with the exception of Parkes, less openly manipulative than the little men of Wollongong.

Nonetheless, both groups shared a common social and economic environment, one that had engendered high material expectations. The near 40 years of economic buoyancy that followed the gold rushes of the 1850s seems to have liberated the entrepreneurial capacities of the population. Sustained by high and relatively stable rates of economic growth, which rested increasingly on inflows of British capital, the New South Wales economy held the promise of making all things possible.

If in their pursuit of a slice of the action Wollongong's businessmen encountered indifference or resistance from governments or capitalists, they were not deflected from their course. There was plenty of public capital about, and the prevailing system of Parliamentary politics offered opportunities for grabbing a share for Wollongong. Between the 1850s and the 1880s New South Wales politics was not without ideology, but it was not riven by it. General notions of economic progress and development, and of liberal individualism were the great guiding principles of Members and Ministries. Consequently, Parliament operated on the basis of factions organised around prominent individuals, and not disciplined parties devoted to the implementation of a particular ideology or even fixed platform.

Thus, Ministries often resulted from complex factional compromises which meant the elevation of some interests to the status of public policy and the relegation of others to the level of private ambition. James Byrnes' sudden emergence in 1866 as Minister for Public Works, following negotiations between the Martin, Parkes and Cowper factions, was a classic instance of this. But for Byrnes' friendship with Parkes, Wollongong Harbour might not have been completed until well after 1868.

The regional economic fragmentation of New South Wales was also of great assistance to Wollongong's businessmen. Little district economies like that of Wollongong gave rise to a Parliament with a significant number of Members not attached to any faction. Given the often finely balanced position of Ministries in a House where not even factional coalitions could always command a certain majority, the power of well organised and highly motivated groups in the electorates to extract concessions was enhanced. Wollongong's businessmen played the system with some finesse. By offering the support of their Members to Ministries, and by threatening its withdrawal, they managed to extract public capital for their scheme of regional economic transformation.

However, Parliamentary politics was a most uncertain business, and in any case as this thesis has shown, the economic change that did occur in Wollongong was due not to the machinations, clever and well orchestrated though they were, of local businessmen or to public capital formation. Rather, the decisions of Australian and, later, British owners of capital, made in the light of their understanding of the state of demand for New South Wales coal and of their expectations about profits, created a coal trade in Wollongong.

Wollongong's businessmen did much toward achieving the construction, at public expense, of a third rate coal port which only two mines, Osborne Wallsend and Mount Pleasant, used, the remainder shipping their coal from ocean jetties. The Illawarra Railway, claimed by the businessmen as their greatest triumph, had little if any impact on the growth of the local coal trade. Indeed, the Railway was not even the result of their political manouverings. They did initiate the idea but it was only the support of some Sydney manufacturing and commercial interests that had kept it on the public agenda and got it twice before Parliament, in 1876 and 1878, when it was rejected by a combination of Newcastle coal and business interests, and the pastoralists of the interior. Parliamentary sanction was given in 1881 simply because Sydney's capitalist-politicians and merchants and its commercial and maritime interests required a railway system that would keep for them the benefits of the wool export trade, a growing proportion of which was being diverted to the neighbouring Colonies of Victoria and South Australia. The Illawarra Railway was not a part of that rail network; it was simply a branch line to a provincial coalfield. However, in order to ensure the huge British

loans required for their own scheme, the Sydney interests bought the support of regional electorates by including their claims in the package.

For most of the period between the 1850s and the 1880s, the principle upon which the Colonial government intervened in regional economic development was to arbitrate upon the multiplicity of claims made upon public resources. However, by the 1880s, with the economy booming as never before and the Colony's credit riding high in the London capital market, the decision had been made that everyone could be accommodated. The distinction, such as there was, between private ambition and expectation, and public policy and duty virtually dissolved as New South Wales' capitalists and regional businessmen feasted at the public trough.

In their haste to claim a share, neither Wollongong's businessmen nor their fellow diners seem to have realised that their schemes had not added to the real productive capacity of the economy and that their inability to support the interest burden on their borrowings would so damage the public credit of the Colony in London that as the trough emptied it would not be replenished. Acting collectively for ends of individual financial gain they took their liberal capitalist economy to the point of collapse. This did not mean the end of capitalism; rather, it challenged the methods by which capitalism in New South Wales had been administered. It required a re-evaluation of the liberal individualist ideology that had served the system in the good years. From the 1890s would emerge a new, more stable form of Parliamentary politics—one based on continuous and disciplined parties representing both liberal and collectivist approaches to the regulation of market forces.

This change would not render the New South Wales economy any less susceptible to cyclical booms and busts, but it did mean that provincial speculators like the businessmen of Wollongong would never again enjoy the ability to hold Ministries and public policy in their thrall. In the case of Wollongong between the 1850s and the 1880s, regional power served only to distort public policy and encourage the expenditure of public money to increase the existing capacity of the New South Wales coal industry for overproduction. Ironically, it was the absence of government regulation of private investment that permitted the establishment of a Wollongong coal trade at all, thus enhancing that capacity. To the extent that Wollongong's businessmen and the capitalist-politicians of Sydney succeeded in diverting public resources to

the same end, they contributed to the economic and social distress that scarred the new coal economy of the district in the 1890s.



## APPENDIX 1: THE WOLLONGONG COALFIELD: MINES, PROPRIETORS, PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT, 1849-1889

YEAR	MINE	LOCALITY	PROPRIETOR	LESSEE/OPERATOR	PRODUCTION (Tons)	EMPLOYEES
1849	Albert Coal Mines	Mount Keira	James Shoobert	-	na	na
1850	Albert Coal Mines	Mount Keira	James Shoobert	-	na	na
1851	Albert Coal Mines	Mount Keira	James Shoobert	-	na	na
1852	Albert Coal Mines	Mount Keira	James Shoobert	-	900	na
1853	Albert Coal Mines	Mount Keira	James Shoobert	-	431	na
1854	Albert Coal Mines	Mount Keira	James Shoobert	-	700	na
1855	Albert Coal Mines	Mount Keira	James Shoobert	-	74	na
1856	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Henry Osborne	Robson & Company	na	1
1857	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Henry Osborne	Robson & Company	5,017	na
1858	Bellambi	Bellambi	Thomas Hale/Henry Osborne	McMullen & Company	3,580	na
	Dr O'Brien's	Bulli	Bartholomew O'Brien	Christopher Walker (& Robert Taylor?)	200	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Henry Osborne	Robson & Company	12,438	na
1859	Bellambi	Bellambi	Thomas Hale/Henry Osborne/Osborne Family	McMullen & Company	9,449	na
	Dr O'Brien's	Bulli	Bartholomew O'Brien	Christopher Walker (& Robert Taylor?)	1,033	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Henry Osborne/James & Francis Osborne	Robson & Company	14,244	na
1860	Bellambi	Bellambi	Thomas Hale/Osborne Family	McMullen & Company	13,429	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Robson & Company	19,200	na
1861	Bellambi	Bellambi	Thomas Hale/Osborne Family	McMullen & Company	21,549	na
	Osborne Bellambi	Bellambi	Osborne Family	Robert Taylor & Christopher Walker	1,131	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	12,600	na
1862	Bellambi	Bellambi	Thomas Hale/Osborne Family	McMullen & Company	20,357	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Patrick Lahiff & Benjamin Fawcett/Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	4,050	na
	Osborne Bellambi	Bellambi	Osborne Family	Robert Taylor & Christopher Walker	7,012	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	17,456	na
1863	Bellambi	Bellambi	Thomas Hale/Osborne Family	McMullen & Company	19,736	na
	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	10,000	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	10,949	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	10,000	na
1864	Bellambi	Bellambi	Osborne Family	Bellambi Coal Company (John Manning)	10,500	56
	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	17,333	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	20,059	22
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	10,030	28
1865	Bellambi	Bellambi	Osborne Family	Bellambi Coal Company (John Manning)	18,867	na
	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	29,267	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	18,022	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	18,022	na
	Pioneer Keroseene Works	American Creek	John Graham	W.J. Hammil	500	na

YEAR	MINE	LOCALITY	PROPRIETOR	LESSEE/OPERATOR	PROD- UCTION (Tons)	EMPLO EES
1866	Bellambi	Bellambi	Osborne Family	Bellambi Coal Company (John Manning)	4,537	na
	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	40,088	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	22,416	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	22,416	na
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	W.J. Hammil	520	na
1867	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	33,126	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	22,362	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	22,362	na
1868	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	59,791	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	21,043	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	21,043	na
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	Edward Graham	500	10
1869	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	65,320	90
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	17,014	25
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	17,014	25
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	Edward Graham	700	11
1870	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	61,179	90
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	16,814	25
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	Osborne Wallsend Coal Company	13,488	na
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	Edward Graham	800	12
1871	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	32,253	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	34,002	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	-	35,482	na
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	Edward Graham	800	na
1872	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	35,866	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	43,232	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	-	43,534	na
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	Edward Graham	850	na
1873	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	62,051	142
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	35,750	90
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	-	38,422	na
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	Edward Graham	840	na
1874	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	59,586	na
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	38,985	na
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	-	37,796	na
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	American Creek	John Graham	Edward Graham	1,000	na
1875	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	-	53,286	178
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	-	51,795	122
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	-	44,246	130

YEAR	MINE	LOCALITY	PROPRIETOR	PRODUCTION (Tons)	EMPLOYEES
1876	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	101,709	269
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	51,575	128
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	47,000	121
1877	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	121,392	274
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	1,309	15
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	50,277	129
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	James & Francis Osborne	45,271	126
1878	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	124,737	331
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	15,226	73
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	57,623	136
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	40,967	122
1879	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	120,119	368
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	35,935	165
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	62,500	182
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	48,444	160
1880	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	96,071	331
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	51,445	138
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	58,699	166
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	33,996	136
1881	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	95,703	317
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	28,705	172
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	56,559	166
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	72,000	145
1882	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	131,120	318
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	48,590	143
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	53,971	159
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	82,028	177
1883	Bulli A	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	124,862	279
	Bulli B	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	6,530	18
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	50,000	130
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	21,522	110
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	65,986	167
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	87,011	180
1884	Bulli A	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	106,718	282
	Bulli B	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	9,065	26
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	51,500	150
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	91,013	198
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	70,981	174
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	66,464	160

YEAR	MINE	LOCALITY	PROPRIETOR	PRODUCTION (Tons)	EMPLOYEES
1885	Bulli A	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	128,340	314
	Bulli B	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	8,533	31
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	48,500	130
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	80,324	200
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	69,841	209
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	108,579	208
1886	Broker's Nose	Corrimal	Broker's Nose Coal Company	1,611	15
	Bulli A	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	99,923	371
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (Alexander Stuart & John Robertson)	56,623	140
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	51,794	190
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (James & William Byrnes)	71,913	193
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	77,386	225
1887	Broker's Nose	Corrimal	Broker's Nose Coal Company	439	15
	Bulli A	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	31,161	177
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (John Robertson & Charles Cowper)	36,773	106
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	99,790	300
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Illawarra Coal Company (William & Charles Byrnes)	63,935	196
	North Illawarra	Austinmer	North Illawarra Coal Mining Company	57,119	219
1888	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	73,678	210
	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	77,042	213
	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (John Robertson & Charles Cowper)	82,157	140
	Metropolitan	Helensburgh	Metropolitan Coal Company of Sydney	4,200	45
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	152,839	260
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant Coal & Iron Mining Company (William & Charles Byrnes)	100,795	230
1889	North Illawarra	Austinmer	North Illawarra Coal Mining Company	123,440	327
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	121,825	220
	South Bulli	Bellambi	Bellambi Coal Company	90,000	170
	Great Wollongong	Mount Kembla	Great Wollongong Proprietary Coal Company	24,500	27
	Bellambi	Bellambi	Bellambi Coal Company	14,736	96
	Bulli	Bulli	Bulli Coal Mining Company	63,299	257
1889	Coalcliff	Clifton	Coalcliff Coal Company (John Robertson & Charles Cowper)	64,930	140
	Corrimal	Corrimal	Southern Coal Company	8,639	15
	Metropolitan	Helensburgh	Metropolitan Coal Company of Sydney	14,571	123
	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla	Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company	122,558	300
	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant	Mount Pleasant Coal & Iron Mining Company (William & Charles Byrnes)	4,639	5
	Mount Pleasant New Tunnel	Balgownie	Mount Pleasant Coal & Iron Mining Company (William & Charles Byrnes)	77,972	241
	North Illawarra	Austinmer	North Illawarra Coal Mining Company	116,576	358
	Osborne Wallsend	Mount Keira	Francis Osborne	113,652	260
	South Bulli	Bellambi	Bellambi Coal Company	100,000	270

## Notes

1. Employees are shown only for those mines which produced coal. Mines being opened out, etc., were not included:

1875	Pioneer Kerosene Works	35
1876	North Illawarra	8
	Pioneer Kerosene Works	2*
1877	Pioneer Kerosene Works	15
1878	Pioneer Kerosene Works	30
1880	Mount Kembla	36
1881	Mount Kembla	60
1886	North Illawarra	45

\* Fleming (see Sources) gives 45

2. Details about proprietors were drawn from the relevant Chapters in this Thesis, and from other sources. Companies, syndicates and individuals whose schemes did not eventuate or were merged with others have not been included. There were a number of these, the most notable being: The Osborne Bellambi Co-operative Coal Company (Thomas Garrett & others), 1864; The Illawarra Coal Mining Company (William Wiley & others), 1883, which merged with George Allen's North Bulli Coal and Iron Company in 1884 to become the North Illawarra Coal Mining Company; The Victorian Coal Mining Company (Thomas Saywell), 1884; The South Cumberland Coal Mining and the Cumberland Coal and Iron Mining Companies, which merged to form the Metropolitan Coal Company of Sydney in 1886/7, and The Dapto Coal Mining Company (John Biggar), 1888/9.
3. Changes in the proprietorship of several companies arose from the death of individuals:

April 1877: James Osborne suicided, leaving sole ownership of the Osborne Wallsend mine to his brother Francis.

July 1885: George Allen, major shareholder in the Bulli and North Illawarra Coal Mining Companies.

June 1886: Alexander Stuart, main proprietor of the Coalcliff Coal Company.

September 1886: James Byrnes, main proprietor of the Illawarra Coal Company.

4. British coal companies began to move into the coalfield from the 1880s:

The Mount Kembla Coal & Oil Company, floated in London in 1880 with a nominal capital of £100,000; 90 per cent. of shares retained for British investors.

The Metropolitan Coal Company of Sydney, floated in London in 1886 with a nominal capital of £300,000; two-thirds of shares retained for British investors.

The Southern Coal Company, floated in London in 1888; 'almost entirely an English one'.

So far as can be determined, all other companies and syndicates operating in the coalfield to 1889 were based on local, mainly Sydney, capital

5. Between 1864 and 1879 the Mount Pleasant and Osborne Wallsend mines operated as virtually one company, having a common marketing arrangement under the name of the Illawarra & Osborne Wallsend Coal Company and sometimes being referred to as the 'Wollongong Collieries'.

### Sources

Production figures taken from:

1. Colonial Secretary of N.S.W. Returns of the Colony. Mitchell Library. (Production, Albert Coal Mines, 1849-1856).
2. L.F. Harper, Geology and Mineral Resources of the Southern Coal-Field. Part I. - The South Coastal Portion. Memoirs of the Geological Survey of New South Wales. Geology No.7. Government Printer: Sydney 1915, p.7 (Production, Osborne Wallsend, 1857).
3. Statistics of New South Wales, from 1849 to 1858 & ... from 1850 to 1859.
4. Statistical Register of New South Wales, 1860-1874.
5. Annual Report of the Department of Mines, New South Wales, 1875-1889.
6. Production figures given in (5) for 1874 & 1875 were incorrect. Correct figures in Illawarra Mercury, 17 November 1876.

Employment figures from:

1. Inspectors of Coal Fields. (Proceedings of.) In Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Session 1864, Vol.1.
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APPENDIX 2: THE WOLLONGONG COALFIELD: EXPORTS AND PRODUCTION, 1875-1889

MARKET/DESTINATION	1875			1876			1877		
	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports
<b>1. EXPORTS</b>									
<b>AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>									
Queensland	1,290	0.9	18.6	473	0.2	7.2	1,103	0.5	13.5
South Australia	7,823	5.2	7.4	8,788	4.4	9.1	5,892	2.7	6.8
Tasmania	660	0.4	4.4	2,893	1.4	11.5	5,051	2.3	21.3
Victoria	14,148	9.5	5.7	15,021	7.5	5.7	19,838	9.1	6.7
Western Australia	0	0.0	0.0	-	-	-	0	0.0	0.0
<b>TOTAL AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>	<b>23,921</b>	<b>16.0</b>	<b>6.4</b>	<b>21,175</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>6.9</b>	<b>31,884</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>7.7</b>
New Zealand	2,958	2.0	2.1	3,359	1.7	2.2	1,180	0.5	0.8
Overseas	na	na	na	119,233	59.5	36.6	101,161	46.6	28.7
<b>TOTAL EXPORTS</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>na</b>	<b>149,767</b>	<b>74.8</b>	<b>17.2</b>	<b>134,225</b>	<b>61.9</b>	<b>14.7</b>
<b>2. DOMESTIC USE</b>									
Wollongong & Sydney	na	na	na	50,517	25.2	-	82,715	38.1	-
<b>3. TOTAL PRODUCTION</b>									
	149,327	-	-	200,284	-	-	216,940	-	-

MARKET/DESTINATION	1878			1879			1880		
	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports
<b>1. EXPORTS</b>									
<b>AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>									
Queensland	749	0.3	8.2	1,833	0.7	14.0	745	0.3	9.3
South Australia	4,764	2.0	5.0	1,830	0.7	1.8	4,180	1.7	4.3
Tasmania	7,038	3.0	27.5	2,310	0.9	8.6	1,417	0.6	7.1
Victoria	20,607	8.6	6.7	24,009	9.0	8.0	13,943	5.8	4.8
Western Australia	-	-	-	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0
<b>TOTAL AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>	<b>33,158</b>	<b>13.9</b>	<b>7.6</b>	<b>29,982</b>	<b>11.2</b>	<b>6.8</b>	<b>20,285</b>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>4.8</b>
New Zealand	2,416	1.0	1.3	4,001	1.5	2.3	8,882	3.7	6.7
Overseas	98,861	41.4	25.8	103,691	38.8	27.5	50,796	21.1	25.1
<b>TOTAL EXPORTS</b>	<b>134,435</b>	<b>56.4</b>	<b>13.4</b>	<b>137,674</b>	<b>51.6</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>79,963</b>	<b>33.3</b>	<b>10.6</b>
<b>2. DOMESTIC USE</b>									
Wollongong & Sydney	104,118	43.6	-	129,344	48.4	-	160,248	66.7	-
<b>3. TOTAL PRODUCTION</b>									
	238,553	-	-	267,018	-	-	240,211	-	-

MARKET/DESTINATION	1881			1882			1883		
	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports
<b>1. EXPORTS</b>									
<b>AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>									
Queensland	3,208	1.3	22.3	2,519	0.8	11.8	2,760	0.8	5.9
South Australia	1,680	0.7	1.6	2,616	0.8	1.9	1,809	0.5	1.4
Tasmania	2,692	1.1	10.2	427	0.1	1.4	1,459	0.4	4.9
Victoria	5,202	2.1	1.4	10,517	3.3	2.5	8,060	2.3	1.6
Western Australia	0	0.0	0.0	781	0.2	15.1	260	0.1	4.5
<b>TOTAL AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>	<b>12,782</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>16,860</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>14,348</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>2.0</b>
New Zealand	7,870	3.1	5.8	10,764	3.4	7.0	4,136	1.2	2.7
Overseas	112,723	44.6	30.2	156,740	49.6	31.3	132,589	37.3	20.2
<b>TOTAL EXPORTS</b>	<b>133,375</b>	<b>52.7</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>184,364</b>	<b>58.4</b>	<b>14.6</b>	<b>151,073</b>	<b>42.4</b>	<b>10.0</b>
<b>2. DOMESTIC USE</b>									
Wollongong & Sydney	119,592	47.3	-	131,345	41.6	-	204,838	57.6	-
<b>3. TOTAL PRODUCTION</b>									
	252,967	-	-	315,709	-	-	355,911	-	-

MARKET/DESTINATION	1884			1885			1886		
	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports
<b>1. EXPORTS</b>									
<b>AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>									
Queensland	2,387	0.6	6.0	8,136	1.8	15.5	1,636	0.5	7.4
South Australia	2,459	0.6	1.4	2,940	0.7	2.1	1,147	0.3	0.8
Tasmania	1,292	0.3	3.4	2,353	0.5	5.0	1,232	0.3	2.6
Victoria	12,303	3.1	2.4	13,320	3.0	2.4	12,514	3.5	2.0
Western Australia	0	0.0	0.0	0	0.0	0.0	200	0.1	1.7
<b>TOTAL AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>	<b>18,441</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>2.3</b>	<b>26,749</b>	<b>6.0</b>	<b>3.3</b>	<b>16,379</b>	<b>4.6</b>	<b>1.9</b>
New Zealand	6,502	1.6	3.2	1,457	0.3	0.8	764	0.2	0.5
Overseas	125,425	31.7	18.0	175,931	39.6	23.0	173,728	48.4	24.5
<b>TOTAL EXPORTS</b>	<b>150,368</b>	<b>38.0</b>	<b>8.9</b>	<b>204,137</b>	<b>46.0</b>	<b>11.6</b>	<b>190,871</b>	<b>53.1</b>	<b>11.0</b>
<b>2. DOMESTIC USE</b>									
Wollongong & Sydney	245,373	62.0	-	239,980	54.0	-	168,379	46.9	-
<b>3. TOTAL PRODUCTION</b>	<b>395,741</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>444,117</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>359,250</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

MARKET/DESTINATION	1887			1888			1889		
	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports	Tons	% of District Production	% of New South Wales Exports
<b>1. EXPORTS</b>									
<b>AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>									
Queensland	2,945	0.8	15.8	-	-	-	1,992	0.3	27.2
South Australia	3,852	1.1	3.0	20,636	2.7	21.7	9,001	1.3	4.7
Tasmania	4,401	1.2	10.1	6,485	0.8	16.2	3,666	0.5	5.6
Victoria	15,117	4.2	2.1	77,478	10.0	10.4	45,760	6.5	5.3
Western Australia	51	-	0.4	482	0.1	3.9	400	0.1	2.6
<b>TOTAL AUSTRALIAN COLONIES</b>	<b>26,366</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>2.8</b>	<b>107,283</b>	<b>13.8</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>60,819</b>	<b>8.7</b>	<b>5.4</b>
New Zealand	291	0.1	0.2	2,875	0.4	2.0	4,465	0.6	2.8
Overseas	105,399	29.0	14.8	233,377	30.0	26.4	230,861	32.9	21.2
<b>TOTAL EXPORTS</b>	<b>132,056</b>	<b>36.4</b>	<b>7.4</b>	<b>343,535</b>	<b>44.2</b>	<b>17.9</b>	<b>296,145</b>	<b>42.2</b>	<b>12.4</b>
<b>2. DOMESTIC USE</b>									
Wollongong & Sydney	230,839	63.6	-	433,283	55.8	-	405,427	57.8	-
<b>3. TOTAL PRODUCTION</b>	<b>362,895</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>776,818</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>701,572</b>	<b>-</b>	<b>-</b>

SOURCE: Calculated from figures in Statistical Register of New South Wales, 1875-1889 (New South Wales exports), and Annual Report of the Department of Mines, New South Wales, 1875-1889 (Newcastle exports). The Wollongong figures were calculated by subtracting Newcastle's exports from those for New South Wales. The remainder of total Wollongong production, after accounting for exports, is taken to be the quantity of coal consumed locally and in Sydney by householders, manufacturers, steamship companies, etc. Separate 'Overseas' and 'Wollongong & Sydney' figures for 1875 are not available, owing to a discrepancy in the official statistics, which gives a figure for Wollongong exports greater than its total production for that year. The combined 'Overseas' and 'Wollongong & Sydney' figure for 1875 was 122,448 tons, equivalent to 82 per cent. of district production.