SANDALWOOD

(1) General.

(2) Fiji.

(3) Marquesas.

(4) New Hebrides.

(5) Other localities.

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Notes on

SANDALWOOD

GENERAL

SANDALWOOD

Bibliography from article 'Santalum' in the Australian Encyclopaedia.

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(1) Erskine, J.E. "Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific", 1853.

(2) Seeman, B. "Flora Vitiensis", pp.210-15, 1865-73.

(3) "The Journal of William Lockerby ...".

(4) Gardney, C.A. "A Taxonomic Study of the Genus Santalum", Bull. W. Aust. For. Dept., no.44, 1929.

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(6) Metcalfe, C.R. "The Structure of some sandalwoods", Kew Bull. Misc. Inf., no.4, June, 1935.

(7) St. John, H. "The History, Present Distribution, and Abundance of Sandalwood on Oahu, Hawaiian Islands", Pacific Science, vol.1, 1947.

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See also:

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SANDALWOOD

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(3) Dunlaban, T "Firewood of the Gods" in his "Sailing the World's Edge", pp 171-82.

(4) Early Sandalwood trade: Hawaiian version. Hawaiian Almanac, 1906, pp 105-8.

(5) Gardner, C A "Taxonomic study of the genus santalum, with special reference to the sandalwoods of Australia". W.A. Forests Dept. Bull. 44

(6) Gray, H R "Silviculture of western Australian sandalwood". Aust assoc Adv Sci. Rpt 18, 1926, pp. 753-4. (abstract)

(7) Hanson, T H "Sandalwood" (with bibl. notes) in his "Savage Civilization", pp 133-47.

(8) Lockerby, W "Journal ... in the Fijian Islands during the years 1808-9" (with bibl) Hak Soc - Works, ser 2, no 52

(9) Maxwell, C B "Sandalwood", in his "Wooden Hookers", pp. 197-280. 1940.

SANDALWOOD, cont'd

(10) Report on sandalwood preservation and extension - in "Year in Fiji" [1881] . . Horne, J.

(11) Skottsberg, C. "Geographical distribution of the sandalwoods and its significance" (with bibl.) Ill map. Pac Sci Congr. Proc 4, 1929, v. 3, pp. 435-42.

(12) Thrum, T.G. "Sandalwood trade of early Hawaii". Hawaiian Almanac, 1905, pp. 43-74.

(13) Villiers, Alan. "The Coral Sea" (with bibl.) N.Y., Whittlesey House, 1949. The Sandalwooders, pp. 226-35.

(14) Jung, K.E. "Sandalwood merchants and slave catchers" in his "Australia" 1884.

SANDALWOOD

Sandalwood ~~it~~ was evidently used by the Tagans in pre-European days, according to accounts in:-

(i) Vason, judging from its mention in the review of his book in the "Quarterly Review" for 1810 or 1815 (I did not note the date at the time); and

(ii) Bennett, George "a Recent Visit to Several of the Polynesian Islands", United Service Journal, ~~vol~~ No. 38, Jan, 1832, p. 92, where it says of the Tagans: "They are of a light copper colour, and rub over their bodies, (both male and female,) coco-nut oil scented with sandal wood, (which they procure from the Fidjee Islands,) or their native odoriferous flowers, as the tuni, tiare and jessamine."

Also by the Tahitians, for Turnbull speaking of his visit to the island in 1802 (Naval Chronicle, Vol XXXIII, Jan-June, 1815, p. 154) says of the girls who visited his ship: "Their hair was ornamented with white flowers, resembling our lily, and highly scented with the perfume

P.T.O.

of the sandal wood, and cocoa-nut oil."

For use in Tonga see also Waldegrave, w. "Extracts from a private journal kept on board H M S Sulphur, in the Pacific, 1830". Journ. Geog. Soc v. III (1833), p. 193.

SANDALWOOD

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(1) Roe, Michael. "New South Wales under Governor King", ch.III, pp.29-33 and relevant footnotes; filed under WHALING in File No.4.

(2) Kotzebue. "A New Voyage round the World in the years 1823, 24, 25 and 26", vol.II, pp.191-2. < (Hawaiian sandalwood only)

(3) Bradley, H.W. "The American Frontier in Hawaii. The Pioneers 1789-1843". Stanford, University Press, 1942. (London, Humphrey Milford). Pp.53-120.

(4) Brookes. "International Rivalry .....", p.15. 'Daphne' took on sandalwood.

(5) Ellis II:280. No sandalwood in Tahiti.

(6) "Extracts from Dr Wyatt Gill's Papers. No.13. The Coming of Goodenough's ship to Rarotonga in 1820". J.P.S., Vol.XX, no.80 (Dec., 1911), pp.191-6.

SANDALWOOD FROM POLYNESIA.

"... October 22 – On Thursday arrived the Cumberland colonial-schooner, Mr Goodenough, master, from islands to the eastward of the Friendly Islands, whither she from here proceeded the 18th January last, with a view of procuring sandal wood, but failing in that object, has brought a lading of a wood possessing the property of dying various shades of yellow. This they procured at the island of Laratonga, 16 leagues E. of Tongataboo, the natives of which are of the Otaheitean complexion, and of similar manners, but taller, and much better formed.

(Here follows much on the people of Laratonga)

The above is taken from the "Naval Chronicle", vol XXXV, Jan – June, 1816, p 113 where it is stated to be taken from the "Sydney Gazette"

SAUNDERS WOOD

"It is of three sorts, yellow, white and red. Yellow Saunders is a beautiful wood, of a close texture and fine grain. It is usually in blocks, formed from the heart of the tree, and cleared from the investing bark; its colour is a pale yellow, and it is of an extremely sweet perfumed smell, somewhat like a mixture of musk and roses. It has an aromatic taste, somewhat bitter, and agreeably pungent: These qualities, joined with soundness, are the characteristics of its goodness.

White Saunders, is a wood much resembling the former, and is either in long slender pieces or in chips. It is of a light colour, with a fragrant smell and taste, but far weaker than Yellow Saunders in all its qualities.

Red Saunders, is very different in colour and quality from either of the preceding; it is commonly in blocks of a considerable length, which appear to be from the heart of the tree which produces it, separated from the soft outer wood and bark. It is of a dark red colour externally, and of a fine blood red within; its taste is very inconsiderable and rather austere - its smell is very trifling, and without any perfume like the other kinds."

From: "The India Officers and Traders Guide in purchasing the Drugs and Spices

Macarthur Papers index

SANDALWOOD

(1) 1809 speculations in, shipped to China and Rio de Janeiro by G. Blaxcell, W. Cuthbell and T Jamison and others, 1809 (Cuthbell v Macarthur, documents in Appeal Case)

[Macarthur Papers, vol. 9, pp. 15, 31, 69, 131-3, 136-8, 298-333] A2905

(2) 1809 Mar. 23 letter from G. Blaxcell to J. Macarthur, March 23, 1809, giving instructions for insurance and sale of the wood shipped by the Admiral Gambier on account of Captain Cuthbell and himself

[Macarthur Papers, vol 4, p. 5] A2900

(3) 1809 May trade in, with Carter (J. Macarthur to his wife, May 3, 1810)

[Macarthur Papers, vol 2, pp 46-7] A2898

(4) 1809 July 28 account, by John Macarthur, of sandalwood taken to Rio de Janeiro on the Admiral Gambier, collected by the brig Favourite, July 28, 1809: [original no]

[Macarthur Papers, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 2] A2903

SANDALWOOD, cont'd

(5) 1809 Nov. 1810 May speculations in, by Blaxcell, Macarthur, and others (G. Blaxcell to John Macarthur, Nov. 6, 1809, May 10, 1810)

[Macarthur Papers, vol 4, ff 14-16, 18-24] A2900

(6) 1812 Je. 3 duties paid at Rio on vessel despatched of, not recovered (H H Macarthur to John Macarthur, Je 3, 1812)

[Macarthur Papers, vol. 5, ff. 10, 14] A2901

(7) 1815 Mar. 16 a quantity exported to China from Uvaway [UVAWAY] an island lately discovered S E of Otaheite (W. Campbell to W S Davidson, Mar. 16, 1815)

[Macarthur Papers, vol. 4, f. 44] A2900

SANDALWOOD

Gordon Blaxcell's two letters to John Macarthur, dated 6.11.09 and 10.5.10 (in the Macarthur Papers) are of great importance in connexion with the sandalwood trade.

These ships were –

(i) the Dart

(ii) the Gambier, freighted with sandalwood for Rio de Janeiro

(iii) the Wellesley, gone from Fiji to China with 130 tons of sandalwood

(iv) the Elizabeth, then being sold in China

(v) the Favorite, sold to Captain Dudas for £2,000

(vi) the Venus whaler, set to Tahiti for food

(vii) the Hibernia (?), arrived after an unsuccessful quest for sandalwood

Blaxcell considered that the sandalwood trade in Fiji was petering out. The Favorite succeeded in obtaining only 55 tons in 6 months and that very inferior. Natives only wanted 'Ivory'. The Hunter (Campbell & Co) had gone to take a cargo from the Perseverance but found she had little. The two then tried for 2 weeks and got less than 100 tons, the Perseverance returning

PTO

to Sydney without a single stick of sandalwood. As a result Blaxcell was not anxious to dispose of the Favourite, which had been bought for the sandalwood trade.

The Lady Barlow took the Favourite's crew to China. It seems probable that William Canfield and Blaxcell had bought the Lady Barlow from Captain Bennedict, to be paid for with the proceeds of selling the wood.

As regards the Panamatta, Blaxcell says "To account whatever has been learned of the Panamatta, she must therefore be lost. I hope you will remove the romance." (L 15)

SANDALWOOD

BIGGE REPORT

1

Bigge Report on Agriculture and Trade Evidence of Charles Hook

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In charge of affairs of R Campbell & Co during Mr Co's absence in England during 1810. Nature of Trade then oil, skins, sandalwood and other produce of S Seas, eg pearl shells and beche de mer.

Except buy Fox all vessels colonial Brig Perseverance about 140 tons Colonial crews as far as possible 20 men (incl. officers) on Perseverance. At least in sealing everyone on lays Campbell always tried to effective colonial boys

Principal cause of cessation of sandalwood trade with Fiji was outrages committed by crews & masters of vessels engaged in it and consequent reprisals.

Sandalwood sometimes carried to China market, sometimes brought here & exported from hence to Batavia & China

At first sandalwood obtained by bartering coarse iron ware, scissors, tomahawks and similar articles Lately whales teeth have become a valuable article of trade to Fiji. Coarse cloth sent but not in quantity.

SANDALWOOD

BIGGE REPORT

Natives of Fiji usually procured the sandalwood.

Usual to request Governor's permission for particular convicts wanted for voyage to islands, security being taken for their return. Never heard of any convict escaping from NSW on vessels.

Colonial vessels engaged in trade were small.

Until duties were laid on both at home & in the Colony trade was rapidly increasing, as was shipping engaged in it.

Price: 16 dollars per piecal ($133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs.) was highest average price obtained. Since Americans have interfered in the markets the price has fluctuated.

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[1] above is from the Evidence of Charles Hook in the appendices to the Bigge Report on Agriculture and Trade in ML BT9, ff 3837-3845. These pages relate not only to sandalwood, but also sealing and should be photostated in due course. I have only made a precis of the evidence concerned with the sandalwood trade.

The evidence of Mr Edward Riley, loc cit, ff 3871-5 should also be copied as it concerns the S.S. trade. I could find no other evidence on this subject in the box.

SANDALWOOD

SG REFERENCES

(1) Duty imposed by Gov. Bligh remitted. SG: 25.9.08.

✓(2) Cypress tree at Port Macquarie is thought to bear a close affinity to. SG: 5.12.25, p.4.

(3) Brig Matilda cut off by natives of Rooapooah. SG: 8.11.15

(4) Mission at Marquesas. SG: 1.1.24, p.3

✓(5) Lynx, Barque, arrived from the Marquesas. SG: 25.8.25, p.2.

✓(6) Cook, Rev W.P. has left Tahiti for the Marquesas. SG: 20.10.25, p.2

✓(7) " " , report at (6) contradicted. SG: 27.10.25, p.4.

(8) account of visit by U.S. sloop 'Peacock'. SG: 10.10.27 - 4a.

(9) natives kill an officer and two men of the Russian corvette 'Krotky', under Baron Wrangell. SG: 21.1.28 - 2c.

✓(10) Magdalena Island. Bridges - ship ... Lost on the SG: 25.8.25 - 2.

(11) Wm Cantell arrives in brig 'Dolphin', 10.12.17, from voyage to Marquesas, Society and Friendly Islands. SG: 13.12.17

SANDALWOOD

'AUSTRALIAN' INDEX

(1) Cargo sold yesterday, £9.10.0 per ton. 11.11.42, p 2

SANDALWOOD

COL. SEC. IN-LETTERS

(1) obtained by Sydney merchants from Fiji Islands; restrictions on trade with China in (memorial of S Lord to Gov. Bligh, Sept 22, and reply, Oct 12, 1806) [NSW Colonial Secretary – In-letters, 1806-9, ff 37-42]

VERY IMPORTANT

1806 Sept.

C.S.3.

(2) speculation of Sydney merchants in, now extinct because of total devastation of the wood in Fiji Islands (memorial of J. Underwood to Governor Macquarie) [Ibid, 1810, ff 232-4]

1810 March

C.S.5

(3) sandalwood shipped for China on brig Caroline Macquarie, which was forced to return to Sydney owing to gales (Underwood, J. – Memorial, May 22, 1815). [Ibid, 1815, ff 143-5]

1815 May 22

C.S.12

(4) request for remission of duty on cargo of sandalwood from Marquesas Islands, where ship had been plundered (Nobbs, I – Memorial, October 25, 1816) [Ibid, 1816, ff 215-17].

1816 Nov 25

C.S.15

NOTHING UNDER MARQUESAS.

Photostats of all the above entered. 9 12 59 (Order 2 of 1959)

INFORMATION

concerning the Importation of

SANDALWOOD

into

CHINA

abstracted from: Morse, H. B. "The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China 1635-1834". Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936. 5 vols.

Sandalwood from India

(1) 1672 – Importation of 159 piculs shown as part of the slipcargo stock on the "Zant".

(2) 1736 – 200 cargo loaded at Tellicherie by the "Richmond".
Outturn of "Richmond's" cargo at Canton 859 piculs at 12.80 = Tls. 10,995.

(3) 1742 – "Anslow" brings 1,350 piculs at 9.00 = Tls. 12,150.

(4) 1753 – "Royal Duke" brings 1,800 piculs at 12.50.

(5) 1778 – Imported for private merchants: in Company's ships 980 piculs; in country ships 1,468 piculs.

(6) 1781 – Price fixed by decree of Chinese authorities – 22.22 per piul.

(7) 1792 – Importation for year by Company's ships cost Rupees 73,568 & realized Tls. 26,092: profit 8.3 %.
8,780 piculs imported in country ships at 20 = Profit Tls. 175,600
17 piculs imported in a Tuscan (English) ship at 20 = Tls. 340.
926 piculs imported in Dutch ships at 20 = Tls. 18,250

(8) 1793 – Company's ships imported Tls. 88,100

(9) 1794 – Company's ships imported Tls. 19,219

(10) 1799 – 6,565 piculs, two-thirds on the Company's account, realized Tls. 148,985

(11) 1800 – Importation of Tls. 84,468 gave a profit over cost c.i.f. of 72 %.

(12) 1801 – Importation on Company's account realized (c.i.f. Tls. 65,808) Tls. 103,361.

(13) 1802 – Only Indian product on Company's account was sandalwood, realizing Tls. 92,538.

(14) 1803 – Importation on Company's account realized Tls. 54,891

Sandalwood

(1805)

Vol. III P. 3 "In this season a new development was reported in the American trade with Canton. The greater part of each year's natural stock, with which to buy the investment, had always been in the form of silver dollars, helped out by gunseng in relatively small quantities, and by furs brought to some extent from Atlantic ports, but for the greater part from the trading stations of the 'North-west Coast of America'. Some sealskins had been brought from the South Pacific, but now the great discovery was made that the South Sea Islands produced sandalwood, which was to be obtained at little more than the demurrage of the ship while the trees were being cut. Under date January 22, 1808, appears the following record:

P. 4

'An American Ship lately arrived from the South Seas has imported between Two and Three Thousand Peculs of Sandalwood the produce of the Fajee (Fiji) Islands where it is said immense Forests of the same species of Wood have lately been discovered. Although the Wood of the present importation is of good quality and consists of large pieces, yet as it appears to require considerable cleaning we do not find that it is likely to obtain in the market a price altogether equal to that which has been given this Season for the Canara and Mysore produce. It is reported however that the expense of collecting the Cargo of this vessel

CANARA
MYSORE

Sandalwood, cont'd.

has not exceeded the very moderate sum of 3,000 Dollars."

The market value at Canton of 2,500 piculs would be fully Tls. 50,000."

Season		
(15)	1806	– Importation on Company's account from India Tls. 93,289.
(16)	1807	– " " " (50,119 pagodas) Tls. 112,800
(17)	1808	– " " " " " " Tls 107,055
(18)	1809	– " " " " " " (72,182 pagodas) Tls. 118,611

Vol. III P.104

"Sandalwood was imported from Madras to the amount of 9,650 piculs, of which more than half was on Company's account, realizing Tls. 19 (26.4 dollars) a picul on average. This season (1809) there is recorded a large importation, some declared from New Holland, some from Fiji, 9,342 piculs in English country ships, 5,126 piculs in American ships, together 14,468 piculs, which was sold at Canton at 13 to 14 dollars."

Season		
(19)	1810	– Importation on Company's account[1] Tls. 89,861.
(20)	1811	– " " " " [2] Tls. 28,293

[1] Includes one Botany Bay ship of about 600 tons, importation not stated.
[2] Includes one ship from N.S.W., importation not stated

Sandalwood, contd.

Vol. III
P. 158

"(1811) Of sandalwood the Americans brought 4,130 piculs from Fiji; the English brought 3,521 piculs from Fiji and 4,067 piculs from India."

Season
(21) 1812 – Importation on Company's account from India[3] (c.i.f. 35,044 pagodas) Tls. 43,734

Vol III
P. 176

"(1812) Of sandalwood 5,559 piculs was brought in British vessels from India, 7,350 piculs in American vessels from the islands of the Pacific"

Season
(22) 1813 – Importation on Company's account[4] (85,456 pagodas) Tls. 107,829.

– (1813) No record was kept of the arrival of American ships or of their cargoes, but British ships brought 15,108 piculs.

(23) 1814 – Importation on Company's account from India (51,753 pagodas) Tls. 60,696

– Of 13 American ships cargo particulars are recorded of 5: these had no sandalwood.

– English ships brought 7,182 piculs.

(24) 1815 – Importation of "Indian produce" on Company's account[5] Tls. 39,421

– English ships imported 12,430 piculs. American ships none.

(25) 1818 – Importation on Company's account from Indias (Rps. 235,460 + 25,395 pagodas) Tls. 114,194. cost c.i.f.?

(26) 1819 – " " " " (Bruce cost c.i.f. Sikka Rps. 160,930, Tls. 57,802.

(27) 1820 – " " " " (Prince cost c.i.f. Indias Rps. 325,693, realized Tls. 128,389.

(28) 1821 – American imports 26,932 piculs

(29) 1824 – Company's importation cost Sicca Rps. 119,180, realized Tls. 40,642.

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[3] includes 2 ships from N.S.W. (in ballast)

[4] includes 2 ships from N.S.W., importation not stated

[5] includes 2 ships from N.S.W. of about 600 tons each, importation not stated.

Sandalwood, cont'd.

Vol. IV.

P. 384

Imports by American vessels at Canton

1804 - 1828

Year	American Sandalwood Piculs
1804 - 5	— 900
1805 - 6	— 1,600
1806 - 7	— 2,700
1807 - 8	— 2,000
1808 - 9	— 2,000
1809 - 10	— 1,815
1810 - 11	— 496
1811 - 12	— 11,261
1812 - 13	— 19,036
1813 - 14 / 1814 - 15	— 1,100
1815 - 16	— 2,500
1816 - 17	— 7,400
1817 - 18	— 15,825
1818 - 19	— 14,874
1819 - 20	— 10,073
1820 - 21	— 6,005
1821 - 22	— 26,822
1822 - 23	— 20,653
1823 - 24	— 8,404
1824 - 25	— 7,438
1825 - 26	— 3,097
1826 - 27	— 6,680
1827 - 28	— 13,265
1828 - 29	— 18,206

IMPORT TRADE OF CANTON

Sandalwood — Values in Dollars

Season	British: Company	British: Private	British: Total	American	Other Flags	Total
1817	28,100	47,100	75,200	166,200	—	241,400
1818	158,603	67,500	226,103	—	—	
1819	80,280	59,337	139,617	101,228	—	
1820	139,430	57,239	196,669	—	—	
1821	—	35,893	35,893	269,320	—	
1822	90,960	22,716	113,676	139,408	—	
1823	72,858	37,116	109,974	67,232	—	
1824	56,447	110,000	166,447	66,942	—	
1825	—	72,000	72,000	32,518	—	
1826	3,762	200,448	204,210	83,500	—	
1827	22,504	103,000	125,504	211,070	—	
1828	91,699	197,840	289,539	127,442	—	
1829	21,375	248,955	270,330	43,228	16,800[1]	
1830	—	144,300	144,300	39,000	—	
1831	—	74,471	74,471	7,000	—	
1832	2,986	22,825	25,811	28,000	600	54,411
1833	75	41,400	41,475	—	—	

[1] Under Netherlands flag.

Conventional Equivalents

From Vol. I, p. XXII

Currency

The tael of currency at Canton was treated in the accounts as equivalent to 6s. 8d. (£1 = Tls. 3).

The Spanish dollar was treated in the accounts as equivalent to Tls. 0.72, the exact equivalence in weight (apart from the touch of silver) being Tls. 100 = 120.8 oz. troy.

The Spanish dollar was invoiced from 1819 to 1814 at 5s. per dollar (£1 = 4 dollars). From 1815 it was invoiced at the actual cost (c.i.f.) per oz. Salaries and other fixed charges at Canton were fixed at the rate £100 = $416.67. Bills on the Company in London were issued at rates varying from 4s. 10d. to 6s. per dollar, for bills payable 365 days after sight.

Weight

The picul is $133\frac{1}{3}$ lb. av. = 100 catties.
The catty is $1\frac{1}{3}$ lb. av. = 16 taels.
The tael is $1\frac{1}{3}$ oz. av.
The tael of Canton was actually 579.85 grains.

Length

The ch'ih or 'covid' or 'cubit' of the carpenters of Canton was 14.1 English inches: used for measuring ships and cloth.

The Sandalwood Trade[1]

A. Fiji

(1) 1798 "Argo" sells cargo of spirits – obtains further cargo in Canton – wrecked on reef – Oliver Slater reaches Vanua Levu – "El Plumier" calls (1st ship to visit Vanua Levu) – Slater announces discovery of sandalwood.

(2) Previously collected from Malabar and Timor and sold in India, Muscat & Canton – burnt in temples, used in making fans, small furniture, & in cosmetics – supplies small, demand keen ($75 a ton)

(3) "El Plumier" seized by Spaniards at Guam – crew reach Manila – Slater & John Boston (one of her owners) reach Sydney in "Fair American" – they interest Simeon Lord & enter his employ

(4) Agreement between Lord & Master of American ship "Union" – sails for Fiji August, 1804, (Boston as supercargo) – "Marcia" sails north later with Slater on board.

(5) "Fair American" sails independently.

(6) Boston & others on "Union" killed in Taga – vessel wrecked. "Marcia" brings 15 tons – "Fair American" gets cargo & sails for Canton via Manila

(7) Lord's difficulties with E I Co's trade restrictions – transfer of his men to Am vessel at sea – last voyage before secret was out – Lord quits to exploit N Z flax

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[1] From "Development of Pacific Trade 1791-1817".

(8) 1807 - rapid development. Owners of "Union" send another ship from America - Indian "country ship" chartered by Campbell and Hook (Robert Campbell had first come to Sydney as agent of Indian firm) makes 2 trips - 2 colonial ships go.

(9) Sydney merchants handicapped by having to bring cargoes to Sydney for re-export in licensed vessels or sale to Americans, but profits still attractive.

(10) 1808 - rush at its height - 5 colonial vessels obtain cargoes - Loden sealing vessel - 2 American ships & one from India

(11) 1809 - 6 from N S W (5 locally owned), one from India, one from U.S.

(12) Trading procedure - cut by Fijians, bought to coast or men for purchase - Beachcomber intermediaries - Barter articles: scrap iron, tools, muskets, ammunition, whales' teeth.

(13) Deceit and intimidation and meddling in native wars result in decline & eventual extinction of trade.

(14) 1810 - only one Sydney ship working one week; 1811 - none. American & Indian ships carry on, but less vigorously owing to difficulty & danger of obtaining supplies. One ship from India diverted to Tahiti.

(15) 1813 - "Hunter" massacre ends trade. Only one one voyage - Sudders from Bengal in 1814: from killed (including Oliver Slater).

(16) Navigational and other dangers large but so were profits - 1st 4 colonial

vessel voyages obtain 520 tons sold in Sydney at about £70 a ton – gross proceeds about £9,000 a voyage & expenses (with 40% allowance for depreciation of ship) about £2,000. American and Indian ships even better placed – trading direct to Canton & selling at from £75 to over £100 a ton.

(17) Even great Indian firm of Fairlie, Fergusson & Co of Calcutta sends ship in 1812-13. Indian ships larger and cargoes sometimes exceeded 200 tons, selling in Canton at £13,000 – £15,000. Even ½ filled ship would pay.

(18) obtaining cargoes got one difficult but even at end was not impossible – "not the exhaustion of supplies nor the disappearance of profit but the conduct of the men engaged in it which had finally destroyed the trade".

B. Marquesas

(1) 1811 & 1812 – Am. trading vessels begin exploitation of Hawaiian sandalwood

(2) Shortly after extended operations to Marquesas

(3) 1815 – Campbell, engaged in Tuamotu pearling, visits Marquesas (probably after wreckage of "Essex" prizes at Nukahiva) and returns to Sydney with 50 tons

(4) On discharge Campbell sets out again - also 4 other ships within 3 months

(5) By end of 1815 about 130 tons brought back (and one ship still away).

(6) Interest then faded - only one caller in 1817 obtaining little wood - Americans occasionally returned visits - solitary French visit - results appear unsatisfactory.

(7) Marquesans unused to trading - commercial relations possible only with few tribes - outside Nukuhiva little attempt to look for supplies.

c. General

(1) 1804-1816 - sandalwood important in S. Pac. economy

(2) Most important market Canton where 1807-1816 half a ton of sandalwood imported must have come from S Pac.

(3) About 3,000 tons from Fiji - ½ direct to Canton ½ to Sydney (mostly re-exported to Canton) - small quantities to Calcutta & Penang

(4) About 400-600 from Marquesas - again about ½ Canton ½ Sydney.

(5) As Nukuhiva & Tinian quantities remained about same additional supplies resulted in in falling prices - Calcutta 1809 20 sicca rupees per maund; 1810 18; 1811 16 rupees. - Sydney fell about £70 a ton to £50.

(6) Gross proceeds of trade about £150,000 - £200,000, of which ½ clear profit - about £100,000 profit obtained by N.S.W. firms.

(7) Hawaiian exports resulted in later, further and greater fall in prices — in early 1830s only £33 a ton in Canton.

D Miscellaneous Notes

(1) Cargoes on individual voyages taken from HRA and, after 1820, from N.S.W. Blue Books (C.O. 206/63-83). Rough, but error not probably more than 20 %.

(2) Cargoes in India measured in candies (1 candy = 560 lbs.) or maunds (which varied from place to place). Calcutta bazar maund = 82 lbs (approx). In China measured in piculs (1 picul = 133 lbs. approx.).

(3) In Fiji loads probably estimated in tons measurement: in Sydney in tons weight. Good sandalwood 1 ton w. = 1.3 tons m.: fiscus wood 1 ton w. = 1.85 tons m. (approx.).

(4) India 1 sicca rupee = 2/6: China 1 tale = 6/8 (E.I. Co. reckoning).

(5) Ships arriving in Sydney reported in SG — fairly more records in archives of Col. Sec and Naval Officer.

(6) Gutzlaff, II, App. IV, gives amount imported into China in Am. ships. Mansir, "Boston traders..." 9-47 roughly supposes all came from Hawaii or Marquesas, whereas much was from Fiji.

E. Ships mentioned (in Appendix)

(i) Criterion. U.S. dep S. June 1805 - Fiji - Carter

(ii) Hope. Philadelphia, Fanning & Co. dep S April 1807 - Fiji - Carter (Fanning, Voyages ..., 239-40)

(iii) King George. Syd, Kable & Co. (1) dep S March 1807 - Fiji - ret.
(2) dep S (?) - Fiji 1808 - ret Feb, 1808

(iv) Elizabeth. Syd. (1) dep S (?) - Fiji 1807 - ret Sept., 1807.
(2) dep S Feb., 1808 - Fiji - ret (?)

(v) General Wellesley. Madras, David Delzapfle & Co. dep Molucca - Fiji ret, 1808 - arr Canton Sept, 1809.

(vi) Jenny. Boston, John Dorr & Co. dep S March 1808 - Fiji - arr Calcutta (as a British prize) March 1809.

(vii) Hunter. Calcutta, Fairlie Fergusson & Co. dep S Dec. 1812 (HRA, I, VII, 762) - Fiji Feb-Sept. 1813 - arr Calcutta.

(viii) Pennsylvania Packet. U.S. dep Canton - Marquesas - arr Canton (1812-13). Porter, "Journal ...", II, 176.

(ix) Governor Macquarie. Sydney, William Campbell (?)
(1) to Marquesas - ret S. Feb 1815
(2) to Marquesas - ret S. Oct 1815.

F. Later developments

(1) 1825 – cutter owned by chief Tati of Pafara (Tahiti) visits Rofa in search of sandalwood.

(2) 1811 – sandalwood boom brings Europeans to Hawaii as settlers & stimulates commercial interests of Hawaiian chiefs. By end of 1820s supplies almost exhausted.

(3) 1825-27 – American, Ferrano, sails from Hawaii to Tahiti to search for sandalwood in Austral Islands, where the "Dolphin" had obtained some at Raivavae in 1813. Quest unsuccessful.

(4) 1829 – Boki sails for New Hebrides and disappears – one of his 2 ships returns

(5) Hannah's venture at Wallis – depot for beche-de-mer, tortoise shell and sandalwood – failure after a year.

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(6) Much of islands trade has always been in a "marginal" position. In 1936 when enquiries were made from New Hebrides as to market for sandalwood, Sydney merchants wouldn't venture.

(7) Sandalwood served in Fiji as subsidiary to beche-de-mer trade in the 1830s (with tortoise shell).

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(8) 1825 - Dillon visits the N H in the "Calder". "I sailed from Sandal-wood Bay (Nlua) late in January (1825) for the New Hebrides and in a few days anchored at Port Resolution in the Island of Tanna. It appeared to me that no ship had been there since Captain Cook left it." He found a few pieces of sandalwood at Tana and was told "that on the neighbouring Island of Erromango, there was abundance". He does not seem to have made any practical use of his discovery, but eventually most of the sandalwood trade of the Pacific became centred in the N.H, and the name "Dillon Bay" on the west coast of Erromango commemorates the discovery.

References: (1) Davidson.

(2) Dillon in SG (c 1825)

(3) George Bayly's work.

The Sandalwood Trade — References

A. Fiji.

(1) In Thum & Wharton, "The Journal of William Lockerby ...", XXXII – XXXIX – (1).

(2) Early rumour of sandalwood in Fiji – HRA, I, V, 322.

(3) Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society, XII, 287; Milburn, "Oriental Commerce; containing a Geographical Description of the Principal Places in the East Indies ...", I, 290-1; McCulloch, "a Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical of Commerce and Commercial Navigation", 1085 – (2).

(4) McNab, "From Tasman to Marsden ...", 91; In Thum & Wharton, XLVII, 178 – (3).

(5) HRA, I, V, 721-2, 724-9; Fanning, "Voyages ...", 233-4; In Thum & Wharton, XLIX – (4).

(6) In Thum & Wharton, LIII, 190 – (7)

(7) For Robert Campbell see Shann, "An Economic History of Australia", 38. There is little on the early commerce of Australia except in RAHS articles, some of which are very unreliable – (8).

(8). HRA, I, V, 8; 322-3 – (9).

(9) For demand for whale's teeth in Marquesas see Porter, II, 22-5.

The Sandalwood Trade — References

(10) In Thurn & Whatten, passim; and especially 19, 59, 65-6, 68 - (13). also Porter, I, 266; Kotzebue, "a Voyage of Discovery ...", III, 257, In Thurn & Whatten, 140 (for missing difficulty in obtaining sandalwood)

(11) Dressier of "Cyclops" SG, 4.2.10. A year later she was engaged in Tasmanian pearling - (14)

(12) For SG officers of Fijians see especially 27.11.08 and 19.2.09.

(13) Dillon, "Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas ..." I, 2-25 - (15).

(14) In Thurn & Whatten, 209-14, 163-76; SG 27.7.14 - (15).

(15) HRA, 1, VI, 681, 683 - (16).

(16) Melbourne, II, 491; HRA, 3, III, 463 - (for American advantages)

(17) Parkinson, "Trade in the Eastern Seas 1793-1813", 343; In Thurn & Whatten, 198 - (17).

B. Marquesas

(1) HRA, 1, VII, 520 (Cathcart letter); 1, V, 334-405 (Hunter); T.R.S. II, 310-19; In Thurn & Whatten, 119-160 ("Hellenia" 1809-10).

The Sandalwood Trade — References

(2) Porter, II, 17, 22, 76-81 - (1).

(3) HRNZ, I, 509-510; SG 25.8.25; letters of John C. Jones appended to Musser, "Boston Traders in Hawaii 1789-1823"; Brookes, "Anglo-French Rivalry in the Pacific Islands 1815-1861", 51 - (6)

C. General

(1) Melburn, I, 291, II, 151, 481-7; Gutzlaff, "a Sketch of Chinese History, Ancient and Modern: Confining a Retrospect of the Foreign Intercourse and Trade with China", II, Ap. IV - (2).

(2) Dillon, "Extract from a letter from the Chevalier Dillon, to an influential character here, on the advantages to be derived from the establishment of well conducted Commercial Settlements in New Zealand", 3.

D. Hawaii.

(1) Best treatment of Hawaiian sandalwood trade is in Kuykendall, "The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation", 84-94, 434-436.

F. Later developments

(1) Quarterly Chronicle of the Transactions of the L.N.S., III, 323 ff, 360 - (1).

The Sandalwood Trade — References

(2) Kuykendall, "The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854 ...", 92 - (2).

(3) Quarterly Chronicle of Trans. of L.H.S., III, 328-9; IV, 97-8; HRA, I, VIII, 109 - (3).

(4) Kuykendall, 97-8; George Bennett in Asiatic Journal, N.S. VII, 119-131 (1832) - (4).

(5) Olivin & Dix, "Wreck of the Glide ...", 123-170; this de solidising account is summarized by Kuykendall in "Some Early Commercial Adventurers of Hawaii" (in 37th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1928), 15-33; Burrows, "George Marine in Uvea (Wallis Island)" (in 45th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1936).

(6) PIM, 19.8.1936 - (6).

(7) Olivin & Dix, passim, & p 44, 82; Wallis III, 50, 208-222, 261.

Sandalwood Ships

Earliest volume of Ship Musters in M.L. begins in Dec. 1816, and it includes three ships leaving on Sandalwood voyages: —

1816, Dec. 10 Daphne, brig, of Calcutta, 127 tons, bound for the Fejees for Sandal Wood, William Campbell, master. no. 48/91

1817, Feb. 8 King George, ship, of Sydney, 185 tons, bound for the islands in the South Seas for Sandal Wood &c. and thence back to Sydney. Robt. Stewt. Walker, master. no. 2/94

1818, Mar.? (date not given) King George, ship, of Sydney, 185 tons, bound for the Marquesas & Islands adjacent for Sandal Wood & Pork & thence back to Sydney. John Beveridge, master. no. 9/148

1816 is the earliest.

Notes on

SANDALWOOD

FIJI ISLANDS

SANDALWOOD - SHIPPING FIJI

Dep 24.12(11?).12 Hunter (J. Robson) Fejees and China
HRa 1.7 649 for an.[1]

Dep 11.4.13 Favorite (brig) Fejees and China

an 2.10.13 Elizabeth (cutter) (Ballard) Fejees Tere

an 24.10.13 Elizabeth Fejees Ballast

Dep 27.7.14 Campbell Macquane (Siddons) Fejees

an 4.3.15 Campbell Macquane (Rd. Siddons) 135 4 28
Calcutta Calcutta Alexander & Co Fejee Islands
49 1/5 tons of sandalwood

Dep 29.4.15 (6.5.15?) King George (L. Jones?) South Sea
Islands (Fejees?) Ballast.

dep 14(17?).12.16 Daphne Fejee Islands (Marjesons
& Co.?) Ballast

dep 9.11.17 Martha Fejee Islds. Ballast

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[1] 320 8 44 Built Java From Calcutta
J Gilmore & Co Calcutta HRa 17 649
(? Built Pegu Fairlie, Ferguson & Co.?)

SANDALWOOD - SHIPPING FIJI

arr 28 12-17 Martha (Stepson Goff) John Redmond
Peraja Island.

SANDALWOOD: FIJI 1805-1808.

Dunlaban, Thomas. "New Light on the Earliest American Voyages to Australia". American Neptune, Vol. X, no. 1 (Jan., 1950), pp. 52-64.

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(1) 1805 62. Loss of Union while trying to carry out a contract with Lord to secure sandalwood from Fiji, from "Papers of the ship Favourite, 1805" (Nantucket Whaling Museum).

(2) 1808 63-4. Sandalwood trading in Fiji by Jenny (Capt. William Dorr) 1808, from "The Jenny Papers, 1807-1808" (Peabody Museum, Salem).

BECHE-DE-MER: CAROLINES

64. see (2) above.

SANDALWOOD

F 151

(1) "This vessel owned the brig Campbell Macquarie, Captain Sudders (also belonging to Mr. Joseph Underwood); from the Fejees, with about 70 tons of fine sandal wood, but in her masts and rigging a perfect wreck, having encountered a furious hurricane 6 days after she left the islands, in which she lost her rudder and both her masts. In this dreadful gale she lost a man, who was washed overboard: the name of the deceased was John Braddock. The vessel now lies in Botany Bay, from whence the information of her arrival was brought in over-land by Mr. Powell, with a letter of advice from Captain Sudders, giving a melancholy account of the assassination of four of his people by the natives of one of the Fejee Islands: these were, Mr. Oliver Slater, George Conor, a youth born in this colony; William Flanaghan, and William Gibson, both said to be Americans." SG: 4.3.15, 2b.

SANDALWOOD - FIJI

Strauss, Wallace Patrick. "Early American Interest and Activity in Polynesia, 1783-1842". Columbia University, Ph.D. thesis, Modern history, 1958.

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[24] American contact with Fiji began when the whaler Argo, engaged in carrying a load of provisions for Port Jackson, hit a reef and sank eleven miles east of Lakemba, in the central part of the group [Im Thurn & Wharton, pp.xxxii-xxxvii. Derrick, p.37]. The survivors scattered as far south as Tongatabu in the Tonga group and throughout the larger islands of Western Fiji [Loc.cit.]. In addition to their low moral standards and their unwillingness to do much but drink, the survivors of the Argo introduced a devastatingly deadly disease, probably either a form of cholera or acute dysentery. "Its progress through the Group was fearfully rapid and destructive; in many places it was with the greatest difficulty that persons could be found to bury the dead. Those who were seized died in agony." [Rev. John Hunt quoted in Derrick, p.38. This epidemic was similar to those that broke out in Hawaii in 1801 and Tonga in 1813. Jarves, p.191; Derrick, p.38n. See Lambert's The Depopulation of Pacific Peoples].

[25] At about the same time an Australian trader gathered a cargo of sandalwood at the southwest end of Vanua Levu ... As the trade grew, several of the Argo survivors became useful to the Fijian chiefs as intermediaries in the trade, and they became minor chiefs. Among the first vessles to reap the benefits of the trade were several American ships in the Port Jackson area. The Fair American procured a full cargo there in 1804. The brig Union, which had a checkered career until then, also obtained a load, but was wrecked shortly afterwards on one of the smaller islands in the group [The Union had been engaged in fulfilling a contract for a Sydney merchant when it was lost. Fanning, pp.319-20, 325-6].

~~At first the Fiji profits were enormous~~

From this time until about 1813 was the era of large scale sandalwood trade in Vanua Levu. This business changed the isolated small native village of the chief harbor, Bau Bay, to a busy trading area that became increasingly more important politically in its relations to the rest of the Fiji Islands At first the profits were enormous. One ship, the Jenny, a sealer from Boston under Captain William Dorr, Jr., secured a cargo in 1808 of 250 tons of sandalwood for which trade goods worth approximately $250 had been traded. These goods included axes, knives, cheap razors and whales' teeth. For this amount the Jenny received a cargo expected to realize nearly $100,000 in China [The Journal of William Lockerby, pp.82-3. Lockerby called this trade an "equal-to-coining business".]. For the Fijians the trade from the beginning was ~~disastrous~~ injurious. They became, says one historian, "greedy to possess such new wealth as hoop iron fashioned into crude chisels or trade knives and axes; and when there was a chance of success they would attempt to rob or even murder traders [26] to get these prized implements more easily [Derrick, p.43]. But reprisals were swift and "generally the natives suffered more than the whites" [Loc.cit.]. The Fijian sandalwood trade reached its height in 1808 and 1809, and by 1813 it was all but over. The actual number of ships engaged in the trade was not large, probably no more than twenty, but one captain reported that in July 1811 there were a total of five American ships in Bau Bay at the same time [Salem Gazette, March 24, 1812]. By the time the trade had spent itself the hills of Vanua Levu were so stripped of the tree that a quarter of a century later the commander of the United States Exploring Expedition had difficulty in finding even a few specimens for its scientific collection [Wilkes III:202].

The felonies caused knowingly or otherwise by all the traders before 1808

at Fiji were few compared with those after that time because of the wreck of an American brig from Providence, the Eliza, under Captain E. Hill Correy [Dunbabin, "New Light on the Earliest American Voyages to Australia", pp.63-4]. The Eliza was en route to the sandalwood coast when she struck a reef, but all aboard managed to get to shore except two of her crew/ [Boston Patriot, June 7, 1809. There was supposedly $28,000 on board of which the captain saved between $5,000 and $6,000. Dunbabin, ibid., p.64]. ... Unfortunately, the ship also carried an ample [27] supply of muskets and gunpowder which the survivors retrieved. One of the crew members, a Swede named Charlie Savage, obtained control of most of the firearms and he shortly thereafter settled at Bau. Within two or three years he had built up a mercenary army of about twenty white men consisting of convicts and seamen who had either deserted or taken discharge there. Their muskets made them the terror of the enemies of Bau, and the sandalwood center quickly became one of the leading political powers in the Fiji Islands. Savage's motley collection of mercenaries lived and died by violence - most often inflicted as a result of drunken quarrels among themselves over women or the spoils of their wars. Eventually the army disintegrated and Savage himself was killed in 1813, but not before the Fijians had learned for themselves the use of firearms [Derrick, pp.44-5; Wilkes III: 62]. From that time until well into the 1840's the Fiji Islands remained an extremely dangerous place for ships calling, and the combination of formidable sailing obstacles with the ferocity and cannibalistic tendencies of the natives discouraged all but a relatively few hardy Salem ships engaged in the beche de mer trade.

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SANDALWOOD TRADE - FIJI

Salem vessels to Fiji

Indus (Nathaniel Page) 1812.

Active (William P. Richardson) 1811.

Indus (Benjamin Vanderford) 1817.

Roscoe (Banjamin Vanderford) 1822.

Indus (Benjamin Vanderford) 1819.

Clay (Benjamin Vanderford) 1826 (1827?).

Clay (Charles H. Millett) 1830.

Fawn (?) 1830.

Quill (Joshua Kinsman) (?).

Charles Doggett (William Driver) 1831.

Charles Doggett (William Driver) 1834.

Glide (?) 1832.

Augustus (?) 1836.

Pallas (Henry Archer) 1834.

Gambia (Edward A. King) 1842.

Elizabeth (Edward A. King) 1844.

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Merchants in sandalwood trade

N.L. Rogers.

Stephen C. Phillips.

Benjamin A. West.

Joseph Peabody.

Samuel Chamberlain and Company.

Robert Brookhouse.

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Account Books, etc.

Phillips, Stephen C. Shipping memo. books, 1828-33 (1 envelope).

Brookhouse family. Commercial letters to and from, business papers, miscellaneous papers, 1791-1861 (1 box).

West family. Shipping, deeds, civil war, etc. (1 envelope).

Phillips, Stephen C. Account Books, 1820-25 (1 vol.); 1824-47 (6 vols).

Rogers, N.L. & brother. Account Book, 1810-45 (1 vol.).

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Logs

Eliza 1805.

Catherine 1845.

Pallas.

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SANDALWOOD TRADE - FIJI

REFERENCES TO MATERIAL IN SALEM

(1) Joseph W. Osborn, "Journal of the ship Emerald, 1833-1836".

(2) William Richardson, "Journal of the ship Eliza towards the East Indies, 1805".

(3) Thomas McColl, "Diana of New York, 1799-1802".

(4) Robert Murray, "Schooner Providence, 1796".

(5) Jenny of Boston. Letter from Captain William Forr, jun., written at Sandlewood Bay, Fiji, 1808.

(6) Active of Salem, in sandalwood trade, 1811.

(7) Many Salem vessels in 1812 in sandalwood trade.

(8) Brig Roscoe of Salem, 1822-1823 (sandalwood).

(9) Glide of Salem, 1829-1830 (sandalwood, beche-de-mer, tortoise shell).

(10) Second voyage of Glide, 1830-1831.

(11) Log of Hope of New Bedford, 1864 (whaling).

(12) Salem Gazette, October 25, 1805 (Duke of Portland at Tongatapu).

(13) Salem Gazette, March 24, 1812 (ships at Bau).

(14) Boston Patriot, June 7, 1809 (Eliza en route for sandalwood).

(15) Journal of Nathaniel Appleton, 1801, in Essex Institute.

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PEABODY MUSEUM FILMING LIST

(1) Gambia - from Tuesday Oct.22, 1844 (at Bay of Islands) to Wednesday Feb.4, 1846.

(2) Clay - all.

(3) Roscoe - from Feb.7, 1822, to Sept.24, 1822.

(4) Neva - all. Not a sandalwood ship.

(5) Glide - all (26). Not (27), which has been published.

(6) Papers of Fiji Islands. Misc. Marine (Box file) - as selected.

(7) Ship Jenny of Boston, 1808. Admiralty Appeal. 36pp. - all. 1071.51 4786 Append.

(8) John Henry Eagleston's Journal - 4 vols. TS - all. (Fiji sandalwood trade). 750pp.

(9) "Accounts of the different native chiefs of the Fejee Islands" and "Sailing Directions for the Fejee Islands", by Wm. Lockerby; "Fejee Vocabulary", by Capt. W.P. Richardson of the brig Active, 1810-1812. (Brown folder) - all.

(10) "Log extracts pertaining to Pacific Islands". Caroline Islands, Cook Islands, Gilbert Islands, etc. (Box file) - copy whole file.

(11) Papers of Fiji - Extracts from Logs. (Box files), 3 boxes:-

Vol.I
(a) Ship Britannia, 1792B - New Zealand.
(b) Endeavour, 1792B - New Zealand.
(c) Providence, 1792B - Loyalty Islands.
(d) Lockerby's two MSS, A & B - Fiji.
(e) Ship Clay, 1727C2 - Aitutaki, Samoa, Tonga, New Hebrides, Fiji.
(f) Ship Glide, 1829G3 - New Zealand, Fiji, Wallis, Tahiti.
(g) Bark Pallas, 1832P - Tikopia.
(h) Ship Emerald, (S.W.P.) - Fiji.
(i) Ship Bengal, 1832B - Marquesas.
(j) Ship Concord, 1799C - Marquesas.

Vol.II
(k) Ship Emerald, 1833E5 (cont'd).
(l) Capt. Eaglestone's Journal, Part I, 1836M - New Zealand, Fiji.
(m) Ship Emerald, 1833E7 - Rotuma.
(n) Ship Eliza, 1833E3 - mention of Fiji.
(o) Brig Mermaid, 1836M - Fiji. (Eaglestone).
(p) Peru, 1836 (S.W.P.).- Fiji.

(11) Cont'd.

Vol.III (g) Continuation of Eaglestone's Journals.
Emerald and Peru.

168 pp.
(Remainder of volume apparently duplicates).

Note: Item (11) is the most essential to have copied.

(12) Ethnology 1 (Box file).

Contents of envelope - Ethnology 1,c Fiji:-

(a) Letter from Henry Fowler to Samuel Fowler, Hawaii, 9.7.32. (Wreck of Glide, 1831).
(b) Notes by Henry Fowler on wreck.
(c) Danvers Courier 16.8.45: Account of Henry Fowler in Fiji.
(d) Danvers Courier 26.9.45: Review of Oliver's book on Glide.
(e) Book with notes by Fowler.

(b)-(e): not required to be copied this time.

(13) Log extracts pertaining to Pacific Islands (Box file).

Solomon Islands; Tonga Islands; Santa Cruz Islands.

(As selected).

(14) Osgood, Chas. S. and H.M. Batchelder, Historical Sketch of Salem. 1626-1879. Salem, Essex Institute, 1879.

Pp.168-173: on Fejee Islands Trade.

(15) Papers of George West, John A West, Benjamin A. West. #27.

Letter from J.W. Osborn to Geo. West with data re trade in Carolines and New Caledonia. Dated Canton, 23.2.49.

(16) Papers of George West, John A. West, Benjamin A. West. #23.

Tim Pickering (brig): Protest - Survey Report. Statement of general average and partial loss. Sailed from Salem, November 1846. Went ashore at the Fiji Islands. Repaired at Sydney. 1846-1847.

(17) Papers of George West, John A. West, Benjamin A. West. #4.

Dragon (bark): Excerpt from Salem Evening News 19.5.1910, "Thrilling Adventures of the Dragon's Crew" (in envelope); B.A. West to Capt. Thos. C. Dunn, Salem, 3.12.56, Master's letter of instructions re trading in Fiji; letters from Capt. Thos. C. Dunn to Benjamin A. West, Ambau, Fiji, both dated 16.3.57 re Fiji trade; Articles of Agreement and mate's bill for services, 1856-1858.

(18) Papers of George West, John A. West, Benjamin A. West. # 2.

(a) Pilot (bark) in Misc. Folder: all material in folder, including accounts, letters from Capt. T.C. Dunn to G. West, Feejee Islands, 1.1.50, 26.7.51 and Nov.13, and from G. West to Capt. T.C. Dunn of 24.4.52.

(b) Pilot (bark) in Folder I: Bill of Sale of bark, Sept. 1846.

(c) Pilot (bark) in Folder III: all material, including letters from Capt. T.C. Dunn to G. West of 27.7.50 and 8.11.50.

(d) Pilot (bark) in Folder IV: all material, including letters and Account of Settlement of 3rd voyage and excluding only the Bills of Lading dated Manilla Dec., 1851.

(e) Pilot (bark) in Folder V - all, including agreement between Capt. T.C. Dunn and Reteva, chief of Mathuata, of 4.10.52, letter of Capt. Dunn to G. West, and Certificate of David Whippy.

(f) Pilot (bark) in Folder VI - Settlement of 4th voyage (1852) only.

(19) Papers of George West, John A. West, Benjamin A. West. # 9.

Maid of Orleans (Benjamin Wallis) 1st voyage: Salem - Fiji Islands. All in folder.

(20) Papers of George West, John A. West, Benjamin A. West. # 13.

Mary A. Jones.

(a) Folder marked 1st voyage 1 - all.
(b) Folder marked 1st voyage 2 - items in covers marked "cargo vouchers [or used in trade], and Acct. Current: Alex. Green and Wilkinson Bros. (including sales and disbursements), Sydney 1856 (Sept.).
(c) Folder marked 1st voyage 3 - all.
(d) Folder marked 1st voyage 4 - nothing.
(e) Folder marked 1st voyage 5 - nothing.
(f) Folder marked 1st voyage 6 - Settlement of 1st voyage out, Salem 1857; Estimate of voyage to Fiji Islands and back, 1856-1858.

(21) Papers of Joseph Winn, Jr.

Coral (schooner) - all.

Eliza (ship) - all, especially letter of instructions to Capt. J. Winn dated Salem 23.5.1833; Memos and Extracts from letters re trade, articles of trade, sailing directions for Fiji and other Pacific Islands, 1830-1833; and notebook containing memo. on trade expended in Fiji, 1834.

(22) Papers of John B. Williams. Williams #7.

(a) Letter from Thos. C. Dunn to Commander, U.S. sloop Falmouth, Mathuata, 12.3.51.
(b) Commander, U.S.S. John Adams to Chief of Bau, Levuka, 17.10.55.
(c) John B. Williams to Henry, Nuthata Coast, 12.11.52.

(23) Papers of John B. Williams. Williams #8.

(a) John B. Williams to Henry, Nukulau, 26.11.50.
(b) John B. Williams to Henry, 21.12.56.

(24) Papers of John B. Williams. Williams #9.

(a) David Whippy to John B. Williams, undated.
(b) Instructions for trading at Fiji Islands.
(c) Description of best method of trading with the Pacific Islands.
(d) List of trade for Feejees and adjacent islands.

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In search of a Staple:

The Blind Alley of Sandalwood 1804-1809.

by

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It is clear that the first development of commerce in New South Wales was hedged about with a variety of obstacles, but early studies of this topic seem to have been hampered by the sociological and political commitments of the writers concerned. Primarily the focus of attention has been on the officers of the New South Wales Corps, with its alleged monopoly, and on the Governors, helplessly seeking to bring this monopoly of imported goods, particularly spirits, to an end.[1] In fact, as I hope to demonstrate on another occasion, the monopoly of the Corps has been exaggerated and did not exist after the departure of Governor Hunter - that is from the year 1800 onward. Recent writings have stressed

1. Prominently H. V. Evatt's stimulating but ill-balanced Rum Rebellion, Sydney, 1955; Brian Fitzpatrick's British Imperialism and Australia 1783-1833: An Economic History of Australia, London 1939; and the Late Professor E. O. G. Shann's Economic History of Australia which is very weak on the early period.

more formidable obstacles and especially the lack of a circulating medium acceptable to visiting ships' captains and supercargos, or to London or Calcutta merchants.[2] The restrictions on trading imposed by the Governor's official instructions from the first, and the barriers to colonial trade automatically set up by the terms of the East India CompanY's charter of privileges have long been recognised, although at times the insurmountability of these obstacles may have been overestimated. The basic problem of Sydney entrepreneurs in the period 1800-1821 - the period chiefly under review here - was not the existance of a monopolistic clique, the privileges of John Company or the restrictions of the Governors; rather it was the lack of a staple which could be exchanged for China, Bengal or London cargos.[3]

The purpose of this article is to examine the attempt to make of sandalwood a partial answer to the staple problem - an attempt which failed. In the course of it some light may be thrown on the way which existed of circumventing the East India Company and its dogged sentry, the Governor, and also on the fluctuating "connections" of Sydney entrepreneurs during this period

2. For adescription of this situation see further Professor S. J. Butlin's monumental Foundations of the Australian Monetary System L788-1851, Melbourne, 1953, Cahpters One and Two.

3. An interesting discussion of the need to apply "staple theory" when analysing the course of Australia's early economic history can be found in J. W. McCarty's The Staple Approach in Australian Economic History in this journal's issue for February 1964.

Like seals skins, seal oil and whale oil, sandalwood was valued by Sydney entrepreneurs less for the profits that selling it might bring, than for the profits obtainable from a China cargo which a substantial consignment of sandalwood might purchase. Sydney entrepreneurs like Simeon Lord, John Macarthur and Garnham Blaxcell were eager to obtain China goods in the King-Bligh period as Alexander Riley was in the Macquarie period.[4] London cargos could be bought with the profits of sealing, but in Canton the price of skins was often unfavourable; as a sealing market it could not compete with London.[5] Bengal might serve as a source of China goods, but prices would naturally be higher than at Canton, and must be met with specie or acceptable bills of exchange. Canton beckoned just because there tea, silks, china ware and a variety of luxury articles could be bought (at source) far more cheaply than in London and Bengal. The two problems to overcome were, firstly, to find a staple which was available to the Sydney entrepreneur and greatly valued by the Chinese, and secondly, in spite of East India Company and Governor, convey that staple to China and bring a China cargo back to Sydney. Simeon Lord, the unscrupulous and ingenious emancipist adventurer, succeeded in solving the first problem. He also contrived to get his staple to China but he never seems to have

4. For Lord, Macarthur and Blaxcell see below. For Riley c.f. Riley Papers, Mitchell Library, especially "Letters from Sydney" p108

5. c.f. Kable & Underwood v Campbell, Col. Sec. Appeals Court Record: NSW Archives 4/6606/39-117 and Supreme Court Papers, Civil Court Proceedings Vol. IV, NSW Archives 1101.

succeeded in landing a China cargo in Sydney which he had purchased by these means. John Macarthur and Garnham Blaxcell, profiting by Lord's pioneering effort, succeeded in solving both problems for just one very profitable venture.

It was probably Simeon Lord who first turned his attention to the possibilities of Canton, and indeed he was usually in the van of any enterprise which combined pioneering, the chance of high profits and a contempt for regulations. He told Governor Ralph Darling in 1826 that he was among the first to discover the islands on which sandalwood grew and to procure cargos of the timber for export.[6] Mendacity rather than modesty seems to have characterised Simeon's claims when he wanted something from the Government, but he was probably responsible for landing the first cargo of sandalwood in Sydney.[7] Sandalwood, the wood of the Santalum Album, was to be found on the slopes of high ground on many of the groups of Pacific Islands including Fiji, Tonga and the Marquesas. It is a highly aromatic wood, and was greatly prized by the Chinese who burned it in the form of joss sticks, and carved intricately ornamented boxes and ornaments of artistic and religious significance. In the Bligh period the wood was sold for export from Sydney at prices of more than £50 a ton, according to the port's Naval Officer, Robert Campbell.[8] He asserted that in fact merchants had sold sandalwood in Sydney to visting captains for considerably more than £50 a ton and in an elaborate set of imaginary accounts set

6. "Claims on Account of Cedar, etc" 1822-26, NSW Archives 4/1099-2.
7. In April 1805 (see below).
8. HRA I, vi, 681-3.

out as an example, showed how a net profit of £4,345-15 might be obtained in six months from an investment of £3,354-5 (including a depreciation of £800 on a £2,000 vessel) in a sandalwood voyage - the voyage producing 130 tons of sandalwood sold at £50 a ton.[9] Certainly the wood could be obtained very cheaply from the natives in exchange for low cost trade goods (although soon the natives were demanding ivory and were sometimes paid in whale or sea-elephant teeth). However, the collection of the wood involved considerable risks. The tribes in whose territories it grew were never trustworthy, were often engaged in inter-tribal wars (in which traders tended to get involved), and were sometimes openly hostile to the whiteman.[10]

Sometime early in the year 1800 a ship, the Argo, was wrecked on a reef somewhere between the Tongan and Fiji groups. One of the survivors, an American called Oliver Slater, managed to reach Fiji where he spent twentytwo months among the natives learning their language and customs.[11] Slater was picked up by a former Spanish prize, El Plumier, now owned by a syndicate of ex-convicts including Thomas Fyshe Palmer, which had left Sydney in January 1801 on a generally disastrous voyage which ended at Guam two years later.[12]

9. Op. cit. p. 683.

10. C.F. Sir Everard Im Thurn and Leonard C. Wharton, Eds., The Journa of William Locerby, Hakluyt Sco. Ser. II Vol. LII, 1925. This contains much vivid detail of the perils and bizarre experiences of sandalwood traders in these years.

11. Op. cit. Introduction and Notes.

12. Marjorie Masson's Thomas Fysshe Palmer: A Political Exile, Scottish Historical Review, Jan. 1916. Searle's Dictionary of Australian Biography.

In May 1804 an American ship. the Fair American, arrived in Sydney with Oliver Slater on board. She carried a general cargo, and came from Manila.[13] The editors of the Journal of William Lockerby state that Slater was "intended to serve as guide and intermediary wuth his old Fijian acquaintances," for the Fair American was bound for Fiji for sandalwood. However, they continue, Slater left the ship at Sydney, taking employment with James Aitken (or "Aiken", "Aikin" or even "Akin") who was seeking a fresh venture for his small twentysix ton schooner Marcia. In fact the Marcia was Simeon Lord's. He had had her built in November 1803[14] and had employed her in th Bass Strait fishery and in a salvage voyage to Wreck Reef. In September 1804 the Marcia sailed with Slater on board, her avowed object a search for trepang on the shores of New Caledonia. In fact she went to FIji collected fifteen tons of sandalwood - not without danger and difficulty - returning to Sydney with her cargo in April 1805.[15]

13. Naval Officer's Returns, HRA I, v, 120.

14. "The Cato's large boat purchased by Mr Lord for....£60... raised upwards of four feet...decked and sloop rigged..." Sydney Gazette, 2.10.1803. She was launched on November 22 "and on pressing the bosom of Thetis received the name of Marcia." op. cit. 11.12.1803. Her first commander was Daniel Cooper.

15. In Thurn and Wharton, op. cit. See also Sydney Gazette.

It may be that Lord had intended the Marcia to rendezvous with a small American sealing vessel, Union, at Fiji, and had thus disguised her true destination. The Union arrived in Sydney in June 1804 during a successful sealing expedition to Australian waters. Lord persuaded her captain Isaac Pendleton to form a partnership with him in which Pendleton's sealing gangs would be left with Lord's on Penantipodes Island (a sealing ground which Lord had pioneered) while the Union went to Fiji and China on a sandalwood speculation. It is probable that Lord and Pendleton agree that the latter should leave a cargo of skins with Lord, and that the Union having obtained sandalwood with Lord's assistance - that is, with Aitken and Slater's assistance - it should sail for Canton. There it would purchase a cargo of Chinese merchandise and bring it to Sydney to be sold by Lord on behalf of himself and Pendleton. It is significant that the Union left Sydney shortly before the Marcia - yet it was on the Marcia that Slater the interpreter sailed.[16] The story of the Union is well known. Departing from Sydney on August 29 she called at Tonga where Pendleton, his supercargo John Boston and a boat's crew were murdered. The Union's first mate brought her back to Sydney.[17] She sailed again for Tonga and Fiji

16. The best-known published account of Lord's relations with Pendleton and John Boston is to be found in Edward Fanning's Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas 1792-1832, 1924 Edtn. pp 230 ff, which is very inaccurate, highly coloured and confused. However, the agreemat as I have reconstructed it fits what facts we have and parallels other similar agreements Lord made with ships' captains which have survived.

on November 12 1804 in company with the Fair American. She was never seen again. Fijians told Aitken a ship had been wrecked in a certain bay but he could find no trace of her and concluded the story must be false. Whether the Marcia contacted the Fair American is doubtful but certainly the latter got a valuable cargo and sold it at Canton.[18]

Beforethe Marcia brought in her little cargo in April 1805, Lord was already involved in another American partnership in spite of the hostility of Governor King. To give Lord his due he sought less dubious means of defeating the prohibitions of the East India Company and the Governor's regulations. First he tried to employ the famous snow Harrington, a licensed privateer based on Madras, which arrived in Sydney from the coast of Peru in March 1805 His partnership with her captain, William Campbell, came to nothing when King arrested both master and vessel on a charge of piracy. Lord then sought and failed to charter the Sophia, a former prize now owned by Campbell & Co. of Calcutta and Sydney.[19] Just three days before Marcia returned, the 229 ton Criterian of Nantucket arrived with seal skins from the Crozat Islands. Lord was not slow to board her, we may be sure, and apparently her captain Peter Chase was as ready as Pendleton to form a partnership with him. With Aitken and Slater back on the 27th of April all looked well, and so the blow when it fell was all the more bitter. Governor King refused to allow Aitken to sail on the Criterian. Aitken for

17. Sydney Gazette, 28.11.1804.

18. "Memorial of James Aiken", HRA I, v, 721-723.

19. HRA Loc. cit.

Lord swore a "protest" before the Deputy Judge Advocate for any losses he and his owner might suffer as a result of King's action - a legal move designed to threaten King with being held responsible for any losses Lord might suffer. The Governor was unmoved by the implied threat, and by the aggrieved tone of the Protest in which Aitken refers to his "owner and principal" who had:

"...embarked deeply and expended considerable sumsnin the Undertaking and who had sustained heavy losses in former Adventures of the same nature[20] and who had reason to fear he should suffer still more materially by the reputed loss of the ship Union which he had employed on a similar expedition." [21]

It was of no avail. King would allow Slater to embark on the Criterian for he was an American citizen, but he not only refused to permit Aitken and another Lord employee Bailey to embark on her, he refused to allow them to embark on the British vessel Harriett unless Thadeus Coffin her master gave bond of £500 on each man not to transfer them to the Criterian once both vessels were nicely out of the Heads ! (By 1805 it is clear Governor King had little to learn about Simeon Lord.) Having recapitulated all this in his Protest, and pointed out that since Captain Chase now knew about the location of the sandalwood, he was likely to scoop the pool for himself, Aitken sombrely concluded by assessing the

20. The writer is at a loss to account for this reference to earlier loss unless it is an oblique reference to King's refusal to allow William Campbell to sail under bond on Lord's behalf.

21. HRA I, v, 724-30.

potential damages from this illadvised Governmental interference at £25,000 and reserved the right to seek such redress as learned counsel might adtise.[22]

In the event the Criterian sailed with Slater, and Aitken and four other Lord employees sailed with Coffin ostensibly for England and the Governor's victory appeared to be complete. Whether the five eally persuaded the Governor they sincerely wished to go to England (C ffin had given £500 bonds on each) is not really clear. What is certain is King's wrath when the Criterian sailed back into Sydney Cove in May 1806 with a valuable cargo from Canton - and Mr Aitken ! Interrogated by a furious Governor as to the reason for his return and for an explanation of Aitken's presence on board, Chase said he had simply called for provisions, to register certain "protests" of damage for the underwriters, and to have his vessel surveyed and refitted. As for Aitken, Chase admitted he had transferred with the others from the Harriett between Sydney and Norfolk Island. King ignored Lord's pleadings that Aitken be allowed ashore "for his health's sake". Instead Chase was commanded produce his papers, above all his invoices, and a sworn statement that all the cargo on board was entirely the property of the vessel's owners. All this Chace unblushingly did. Meanwhile a committee of

22. "Learned counsel" would probably hve turned out to be Gove rnor King's least favourite emancipist, Michael Massey Robinson, a close associa te of Lord's at this time and who was banished to Norfolk Island in a somewhat high handed manner a few weeks afte: these protests of Aitken were drawn up in 1805. Likely enough he was their real author. "Michael Robinson Mss" Mitchell Library Mss A1939.

experts sat on Mr Aitken and finally decided he was ill enough to come ashore. King actually contemplated confiscating ship and cargo but shrank from the lifetime of legal entanglements that might ensue. Instead he refused Chace a permit to land any of his cargo, even for the purpose of careening his ship, and issued a warning proclamation that no cargos would be allowed ashore which were the result of any infringement of the East India Company's monopoly.[23] In August Lord commented dolefully to Captain Piper at Norfolk:

> "I was under the necessity of sending the Criterian away without being permitted to land anything."[24]

Had the Governor set eyes on this letter this one revealing sentence would have infuriated him afresh. This was, however, the closest Simeon Lord came to a successful China venture in sandalwood. Although a failure, the profits were far from small. In 1808 Lord's London agents were gathering in remittances from Nantucket which were to total some $30,000.[25] Still, though profitable, the Criterian venture was not the bonanza it might have been and Lord, who had been planning to leave the colony since the previous year (he was never to do so), vengefully and experimentally brought an action for £5,000 damages against the Governor in the Court of Civil Jurisdiction - but was non-suited.[26]

23. The documents relating to this comedy have been printed in HRA I, v, 719-739 as enclosures to an indignant dispatch from King to Castlereagh dated June 30, 1806. They can also be studied in mss At Col. Sec. In-Letters 1804-6 NSW Archives 4/1720/83-105.

24. Piper Papers Vol. III, p. 407, Mitchell Library Mss A256.

25. c.f. Messrs Plummer to Lord, Oct 16, 1808, in Plummer v Lord, Kabl & Underwood 1811, Supreme Court Papers, Civil Court, Related Documats 1810-14, NSW Archives.

26. Lord v King Oct, 1806. S.C.P., Civil Court Proc. Vol. IV, NSW Archives 1101.

During Lord's struggle with the Governor the latter's secretary was that enterprising, probably quite unscrupulous and certainly ill-fated man of business Garnham Blaxcell. Blaxcell was closely associated with John Macarthur in a number of enterprises during the King-Bligh period and their association did not end until Macarthur's departure for England in 1809. The controversy over Fiji sandalwood must have interested Blaxcell but he and Macarthur made no move to exploit this new source of wealth until the arrival of the Criterion demonstrated its possibilities. By June 1806 Macarthur was penning a letter to the Governor which must have been designed to be as different as possible from Lord's combinations of menace and deceit.[26]

Stressing that he wished to unite commercial and agricultural speculations in order to benefit the latter, Macarthur state he had for some time considered sending a vessel to the Fiji and Friendly Islands in search of "articles of trade".

"For that purpose (he had) lately purchased a brig and entered into Engagements with a respectable and intelligent young man, a Member of the Missionary Society, who...is well acquainted with the languages, customs and manners of their inhabitants.

"The recent and successful experiment that has been made by Mr Chase...has proved that the Fiji Islands abound with sandalwood and from the little difficulty with which Mr Chase collected 120 tons... it is to be feared that other Americans and foreigners may follow his example and reap the first and best fruits...unless speedy and energetic measures are adopted to secure it exclusively to British subjects."

26. HRNSW vi, 92-3 (Original at Col. Sec. In-Letters 1804-6, NSW Archives 4/1720/66-70.)

Macarthur stressed that speedy and energetic measures were just what he had in mind, hoped the Governor would not merely look favourably on this enterprise but would also throw in some naval stores and took care to emphasise the contrast between his own public spirit and Lord's malignant chicanery.

"By these means a lucrative trade will be rescued from the hands of foreigners, or from men whose loose and immoral characters threaten to produce the most fatal effects upon the rising generation and who it is well known calculate upon the possibility of engrossing the whole trade of the colony through the instrumentality of American and other Neutral Flags."

After a further assurance that only considerations of public interest led him to embark in sandalwood speculations, he offered room in his brig to a Government surveyor. Having with some success resisted an assault from one direction, King must have known that he was now faced with a more insidious one from another angle - despite the odour of sanctity and benevolence provided by missionaries and surveyors. Macarthur needed no permission to send his vessel to Fiji and perhaps the Governor was answering the thought rather than the word when he replied that he could not "but afford" his permission but under no circumstances could the brig Elizabeth be registered outside the limits of the colony, and while she could collect sandalwood at Fiji under no circumstances could she sail to Canton to sell it. Moreover £2,000 security was insisted on. Governor King was taking nothing on trust.[28] The missionary was William Shelly who was to act as supercargo of the Elizabeth, take a cargo of trade good and exchange it for sandalwood, pearls and pearlshell, and to

28. HRNSW Loc. cit.

receive 5% of the profits with a guaranteed minimum of £300. He was to make as many voyages as possible during the next two years.[29]

At the time Macarthur was sounding out King it was already known Governor Blighwas to tkae his place. Now while King was in sympathy with the commercial aspirations of colonial entrepreneurs - even Lord's when he stayed within the law - and had even da: dared to suggest to Lord Hobart in August 1804 that colonial vessels be permitted to trade seal skins and oil direct to China,[30] there is little reason to suppose Governor Bligh was greatly interested in New South Wales's commercial development especially if it was largely in the hands of ex-convicts and Macarthur. Indeed Bligh believed, rightly enough, that his Instructions and the policy of the Government were out of sympathy with such a development, particularly if it was in any way to involve trade with China. Bligh's views were, however, ~~[illegible]~~ an unknown factor when Simeon Lord approached him for

29. Macarthur, Blaxcell and Shelly agreement. Supreme Court Papers, Bundle 22, No. 11 NSW Archives.

30. HRA I, v, 8-9. "...this indulgence wouldalso prevent that intercourse and employment of Americ ans by Individuals, which among some I see in contemplation." It is likely King was the more opposed to Lord's law bending ingenuity in that he feared if the Company's wrath was once aroused he would be ordered to reverse the liberal policies towards shipbuilding and sealing he had hit her to pursued to the colony's considerable benefit. A letter from Blaxcell to Aitken, May 13 1805 concludes significantly: "The ~~[illegible]~~ repetition of these collusive measures, the Governor is apprehensiv may operate as a Check to the Success of his Exhertions on behalf of His Majesty's Subjects in this Colony." HRA I, v, 724.

permission to send the King George - an 185 ton ship built by James Underwood in 1805 - to Fiji for sandalwood and thence to China for a cargo of

"...any kind of goods Yr Excellency may please to point out...for the Benefit of this Colony, either to be disposed of to Government or Individually at such an advance..."

as the Governor might think suitable.[31] There is no direct offer of a bribe but the careful turns of phrase certainly carry an invitation to the Governor to take an interest in the venture if he had been as dishonest as Lord would have liked and as his recent very peculair land deal with Governor King might have suggested. In his letter Lord sought to show Canton was a free port open to all the world, and that the East India Company did not trade to New South Wales nor were interested in sandalwood - therefore no infringement of the monopoly was involved. All this was nonsense of course, but Lord was on very sane ground when he argued:

"If Yr Excellency should be pleased to sanction the projected voyage, it will in the opinion of Yr Memorialist be of public Service to this Infant Colony exclusive of private Benefit as a large Quantity of useful Articles would be imported and no Capital or Principal drained from its Resources but what would be again circulated here."[32]

Here plainly expressed is Simeon Lord's commercial philosophy. The colony was bereft of sterling money and any that came in fled on the first ship that called. Its only steady source of sterling was the Commissariat Stores Bills on the Treasury,

31. Col. Sec. In-Letters 1806-8 NSW Archives 4/1721/37-9.

32. My italics.

supplemented by cheques of officers, officials or settlers on London banking or agency houses. The Colony's resources of these were too slender and too scattered for a Lord or a Macarthur to buy a valuable investment of China goods. Sandalwood could be invested in merchandise in Canton without any diminution of the merchant's capital or credit. Sandalwood then, like sealskins, was only a means to an end. The problem was not so much in getting the sandalwood to Canton - the problem rather lay in getting the cargo back. Ships very rarely came from Canton to Sydney, although some licensed convict ships went from Sydney to Canton. There they joined the China Convoy and went home without touching Australia. It was always possi possible to profitably get rid of sandalwood at a profit but that was not the point of extracting the sandalwood in the first place.

Bligh, reasonably enough, ignored logic in favour of his instructions, and not the least interesting aspect of Lord's letter is the explosive little marginal comments Bligh made on it rebutting Lord's argument point by point. Among them:

"The Feegee (sic) Islands can be visited by any of the Colonial vessels. But no Colonial Vessels can be allowed to trade from this Colony to China nor can Government enter into Mr Lord's concerns other than Colonial Regulations will allow....Teas and China Goods must be brought by regular trading ships from Great Britain or India."

Seeing that Lord had brazenly ~~charged~~complained about the sending away of the Criterian, Bligh noted:

"This was an absolutely necessary proceeding to counteract an illegal design and disobedience of a colonial order in opposition to all faith and honour."

When he composed his refusal Bligh coldly concluded his letter by observing that Lord and his associates had already been greatly indulged in being permitted to launch vessels like the King George with a tonnage far greater than the King's Instructions permitted.[33] This was uncomfortably true. Not only was the suggested voyage to Canton quite illegal - it was illegal to have launched a vessel large enough to make such a voyage.

Lord never succeeded in exchanging sandalwood for a China cargo after the Criterian venture. He made several attempts: with Kable & Underwood he bought a Spanish prize, Santa Anna for far more than its real worth because Bligh had promised the purchaser a licence to go to China for urgently needed supplies for the Colony. The Governor revoked his promise, permitting a Government House favourite, Robert Campbell to send the Colonial-built brig Perseverance instead.[34] Lord also entered into secret agreements with the master of the American vessel Hannah and Sally and bought a share of the Madras country ship General Wellesley signing an ambitious agreement with her master, David Dalrymple. It was all for nothing. Cogswell

33. Col. Sec. Appeals Court Records 1806-13, Lord, Kable & Underwood v Harris & MacLaren, NSW Archives 4/6609.

34. For Santa Anna affair c.f. Col. Sec. loc. cit. and Supreme Court Papers, Civil Court Proc., Vol. IV, NSW Archives 1101, Harris & MacLaren v Lord, Kable & Underwood. Also John Harris to Mrs P. G. King, HRNSW /vi, 339.

failed to rendezvous at Fiji with the King George and failed to obtain sandalwood. David Dalrymple died on passage to Sydney and while his vessel was successful in extracting some sandalwood from Fiji, holding off the natives with its artillery, Lord was unable to prove he was part-owner and to his bitter chagrin the vessel came under the control of his competitors Blaxcell and Macarthur.[35] It must have been a consolation later to learn that thanks to a slump in the Canton market Macarthur and Blaxcell reaped little benefit from their triumph.[36] Lord's failures are often more informative than his successes, but in an article it is impossible to give detailed accounts of these thwarted ventures.[37]

This is essentially a study of attempts to use sandalwood as a staple with which valuable cargos could be purchased and imported. According to Robert Campbell in the documents on sandalwood which he submitted to Bligh (after the mutiny) cargos of sandalwood had been landed in Sydney on four occasions and the average quantity landed was 130 tons for each venture.[38] This wood was sold

35. Lord's agreement with Dalrymple, Supreme Court Papers, Bundle 10, No. 25, andsee below p. 23 ff. Other papers Bundles 15, No. 10, Bundle 29, No. 3. The Hannah & Sally affair can be traced in Col. Sec. Appeals Court 1806-14 Kable & Underwood v Lord 1810, NSW Archives 4/6609.

36. See below p. 23 ff.

37. I hope to describe these odd commercial histories morefully in a forthcoming work on the Sydney Merchant Venturer 1788-1821.

38. HRA I, vi, 682-3.

for export in Sydney for considerably more than £50 a ton (Bligh alleged it sold for an average of about £70 a ton) to vessels bound for China. Writing to Windham in October 1807 Bligh had observed that colonial vessels were engaged in sandalwood ventures to Fiji and selling their cargos to masters of "transient" ships who were licensed to go to China.[39] This suggests such sandalwood ventures were frequent but this writer has been unable to trace them. John Macarthur's Elizabeth sailed for Fiji on February 7, 1808 and returned with 120 tons of sandalwood on October 16, 1808, having lost four of the crew murdered by the natives.[40] However, the Elizabeth and a cargo of sandalwood left for Canton on December 18, 1808 - Bligh being deposed could not prevent this irregularity - and there brig and cargo were sold to little profit, as we shall see shortly. This would appear to be the only sandalwood voyage of the Elizabeth officially recorded her previous Islands voyage being to Tahiti. Lord, Kable & Underwood's King George made a voyage to Fiji between December 10, 1807 and July 21, 1808, bringing in about 110 tons of sandalwood.[41] This wood was probably re-exported. Without Campbell's customs records it is probably impossible to elucidate this mystery, but lacking them or any other supporting evidence, it may be desirable to treat them with some reserve.

39. HRA I, vi, 152.

40. J. S. Cumpston Shipping Arrivals and Departures, Sydney 1788-1825, Canberra, 1964, p. 64.

41. Loc. cit.

In any event it is sandalwood as a staple that we are directly concerned with here, and fortunately the evidence for this is forthcoming. John Macarthur and Garnham Blaxcell were as anxious as Lord to get a China cargo unleaded in Sydney which they exclusively owned. In December 1806 they approached William Campbell of the Harrington, now freed from arrest on an all too well founded charge of piracy, and made an agreement with him probably much like the one he had first signed with Lord prior to the Governor's intervention more than a year before. After some haggling Macarthur and Blaxcell as woners of the brig Elizabeth and Campbell as part owner of the Harrington agreed to operate their vessels in conjunction at Fiji, with the Macarthur-Blaxcell schooner Halcyon, then at Tahiti, acting a s tender. Shelly was to negotiate with the natives. Walter Stephenson Davidson, Macarthur's partner in his grazing concerns, was tontravel to China on the Harrington. The plan was that the Harrington should ~~ﬁ~~ carry sandalwood owned by her owners, and she would also carry wood collected by the Elizabeth on freight for Macarthur and Blaxcell. Davidson would sell the latter in Canton and with the proceeds and with £1,500 advanced by Macarthur and £1,300 advanced clandestinely by Thomas Jamison (supposedly barred from trade by his official position) he was to buy a cargo, and ship it to Calcutta and once there buy an Indian investment and bring it to Sydney. Meanwhile Campbell was to buy a China cargo with his sandalwood and bring it to Sydney where he would sell it to Macarthur and Blaxcell at a 75% advance. In theevent the Elizabeth, Halcyon

and Harrington failed to rendezvous at Fiji, with the result that no sandalwood was embarked on Macarthur, Blaxcell and Jamison's behalf and the amount embarked on Captain Campbell's behalf was not as substantial as it should have been. Davidson's Indian odyssey proved impossible so he simply invested the £2,700 he carried in Canton merchandise and freighted it to Sydney on the Harrington. Campbell sold his wood for £4,000 which he invested in a cargo and brought it back to Sydney in March 1808, fourteen months after his departure.[42] There the two investments in the Harrington's hold were amalgamated and the whole became the joint property of Blaxcell, Macarthur and Jamison. This combined cargo involved the three partners in a total outlay of £9,651 - which figure includes the £7,000 owed Campbell, plus the cost of Davidson's investment, plus freight to Sydney of £230. Sales lasted several months and when Macarthur left Sydney in March 1809 he took a small portion to Rio and there sold them. Sales in New South Wales and Hobart up to his departure totalled £16,641; sales after March 1809 amounted to a further £5,669. Blaxcell handled all the sales and after his commission had been deducted the sales totalled £21,478-18-3. Macarthur's sales at Rio proved a dead loss. The partners seem to have achieved a net profit of about £11,827 - which would seem an

42. Although the Macarthur Papers in the Mitchell Library contain some materials on this venture a far fuller set is to be found in Col. Sec. Appeals Court Records, Campbell v Macarthur 1820 4/6609.

adequate explanation of Simeon Lord's eagerness to buy Canton merchandise with sandalwood. The profits were, of course, by no means as substantial as they might have been - the breakdown of the rendezvous at Fiji proved costly.

Macarthur and Blaxcell's subsequent experience suggests that if it was profitable to sell sandalwood to transient ships, and if it was profitable to buy a China cargo with sandalwood and sell it in Sydney, it could be very unprofitable to take sandalwood to China and sell it there without bringing a cargo back. Simeon Lord, still trying to break into this tri-angular trade, signed a partnership with William Campbell after his return from Cantonand sought to employ the Harrington in precisely the same way that Macarthur and Blaxcell had used her. With Lord's usual luck convicts piratically stole the snow from Farm Cove before this plan could bear fruit. In this Lord was luckier tha he could know.[43] What the historian of British activity in the Pacific calls "the brief sandalwood boom in Fiji" was nearing its end for the Cnton market was going down.[44] The unhappy discoverers of the changed situation were Macarthur, Blaxcell and Jamison who allied

43. Supreme Court Papers, Civil Court Proc. Vo. VII, Lord v Campbell 1810 NSW Archives 1104; Col. Sec. Appeals Court Records, Campbell v Lord, Lord v Campbell 1810, NSW Archives 4/6608.

44. W. P. Morrell Britain and the Pacific Islands, 1960, p. 29.

themselves with Campbell once more after the siezure of the Harrington and launched another sandalwood speculation using a brig they jointly purchased, the Favourite, lately arrived from Bengal.[45] The Favourite left for Fiji and China in September 1808 but encountered the General Wellesley in distress at Fiji with a depleted crew and a dying captain. Campbell remained with the Wellesley and a re-inforced crew at Fiji, overawing the natives with her cannon, while Dalrymple and his supercargo Scott chartered the Favourite for £1,000 to take them to Sydney on a rescue mission. Dalrymple died on the way and Scott took charge now of the ships destinies much to the fury of Simeon Lord who vainly fought to prevent this in the courts. The Favourite brought 120 tons of sandalwood to Sydney on this unexpected return voyage. In December 1808 the Favourite left once more for Fiji (probably with some sandalwood) and the General Wellesley was freighted to China by the partners with forty tons of sandalwood owned by the partners and five tons extra put on by Campbell, which he had collected in the Favourite's absence. On February 14, 1809, the Favourite arrived back in Sydney with more than 100 tons of wood, the fate of which is disclosed below.[46]

Meanwhile the General Wellesley had reached Canton where Baring & Co., Macarthur's agent, only succeeded in obtaining a net return of $7,889 (port dues, expenses, etc paid) for the forty tons and the five tons combined. Campbell's only average $40 a ton (some could not be sold at any price) while the forty tons only averaged about $198 a ton. The price range was from $13 a picul

45. For these new ventures c.f. accounts preserved in the Macarthur Papers, Vol. VI, Mitchell Library Mss A2902.

46. For ship movements c. f. Cumpston op. cit. pp. 63-7.

($133^1/_3$lbs) to $3.25. According to one report a Nantucket captain, almost certainly Chase of the Criterian, had obtained $27 a picul in January 1806,[47] and in the Santa Anna law suit Lord claimed Chace had got this price - which is roughly a shilling a pound ! So the General Wellesley's cargo sold for a disastrous price, and Lord's anguish at seeing his business rivals attempt to carry out his own plan in a ship which he partly owned must have been assuaged in the end. Meanwhile Macarthur and his partners found themselves with a large amount of sandalwood on their hands - I would deduce more than 200 tons. Unaware of course of the collapse of the Canton sandalwood market they agred the Elizabeth should take 120 tons to Canton where brig and wargo should be sold. Hannibal Macarthur, John's nephew, was supercargo. There the brig sold for $2,000 but the wood only $13 a piwul as before, or about £6,853. With a further £500 for the brig this meant a gross of £7,353 but from this had to be extracted wages of officers and crew, Baring's commission, pilotage, dues etc. This left the partners about £1,922. (No costs of extraction have been deducted of course). Fortunately for the partners Macarthur had had a stroke of luck. He had taken the remaining sandalwood to Rio on the Admiral Gambier where he sold 55 tons of it to an American captain for £70 a ton, and freighted the remaining 40 odd tons to Canton on that unsuspecting mariner's ship. The 55 tons brought

47. Columbian Sentinel, Boston, 28. 6.1806.

48. for reference see note 34 above.

about £3,381 (sundry port fees and duties paid) while the rest of the wood sold at Canton for $14 a picul, bringing a further £560. Thus the partners shared a return of about £7,830 from one voyage to Fiji by the Elizabeth, and subsequently to China, and two voyages to Fiji by the Favourite. This however is not net and it includes £500 for the Elizabeth. While port dues, commissons, salaries and wages of the officers and crew of the Elizabeth have been taken into account many other expenses have not: notably freightage ~~to~~ from Fiji to Canton of £520, unknown freightage Sydney to Rio (about 98 tons), Rio to Canton (about 43 tons), the depreciation of the Favourite on two voyages (about £1,600) and all the expenses of extracting the wood~~s~~, trade goods, wages of officers and crew on the actual sandalwood voyages. At this late date it is probably ~~to~~ impossible to work out profit and loss, but all in all the chances of profit are bleak - and would have been non-existant but for Macarthur's unwitting windfall at Rio and the £1,000 freight of the Favourite - which is a very peculiar figure indeed but the accounts show it to be an accurate one.

The boom, if one could so describe it, was over. The large scale activity of American traders in the Marquesas had lowered the price of a once-scarce article by their large consignments, but it was not simply the depressed price at Canton which ended the boom. Sydney sandalwooders faced another problem - the supply of wood at Fiji was rapidly diminishing, the hazards of extracting it increasin Several hundred tons of the wood had been extracted by Sydney-based entrepreneurs and they were not the only visitors to the island. ~~Although~~ Although sandalwood was still got there at infrequent intervals and in

varying quantities, as a staple it had proved a broken reed. In 1809 Robert Campbell whose commercial concerns in Sydney, like his brother's half of the business in Calcutta, were in shoal water, made a serious attempt to get a cargo of sandalwood to China. The Hunter, one of Campbell & Co.'s ships which had arrived in April, was sent to Fiji in May to rendezvous with the Perseverence. She only succeeded in getting 75 tons, and according to Blaxcell, writing to Macarthur in November 1809, the Perseverence arrived in Sydney with not a stick of sandalwood on board. He concluded gloomily:

"Thus the sandalwood speculation is at an end."[49]

In November 1810 the Hunter left Port Jackson for Fiji once more (having returned from Bengal in August).[50] The results of the voyage are in doubt. On February 17 the Hibernia owned by William Campbell and Garnham Blaxcell, arrived from Tahiti and Fiji after an adventurous voyage. She carried only four tons of sandalwood, and had encountered an American vessel Hope at Fiji commanded by a Captain Chase[51] who had had no success for although he had pleanty of trade goods he had found all the sandalwood seemed to be cut down. Joseph Underwood, brother to James but apparently not his partner, and one of the most outstanding entreprenaurs of the period 1810-1825 had signed articles with a crew to take the Marian of which

49. Blaxcell to John Macarthur, Nov. 1809, Macarthur Papers Vol. IV, Mitchell Library Mss A2900 pp. 15-16.

50. Cumpston, op. cit. pp. 67-71.

51. Perhaps Peter Chase or Chace of the Criterian ? Sydney Gazette 24. 2.1810.

he was part owner to Fiji for sandalwood. Reading the writing on the wall with his usual skill he persuaded the crew to Bengal on wages. Explaining his action to Governor Macquarie in March 1810 he used language which reminds us of Lord's earlier letter to Governor Bligh,[52] when he describes his abandoned project of sending the Marian to Fiji and Canton for a China cargo

> "whereby the want of internal resources would be much relieved and a staple commodity supplied by the Spirit of Adventure to the great advantage of the Colony itself by the substitution of an Article of Trade in lieu of draining it of its circulating Specie..."[53]

Although no real basis for hope remained that sandalwood would ever serve as an effective staple, hope would at times flare up. In 1814 William Campbell, Blaxcell, Alexander Riley and D'Arcy Wentworth formed a company to exploit an allegedly rich find of sandalwood at Rarotonga. William Charles Wentworth went along as supercargo, but the venture was a total failure. Not only was no sandalwood found but some of the party was massacred, and the future statesman narrowly escaped a like fate.[54]

52. see above p. 15.

53. Col. Sec. In-Letters 1810 NSW Archives 4/1723/232-4, 236-8.

54. I am indebted to Mr H. E, Maude and Miss Marjorie T. Crocombe who kindly permitted me to read a first draft of their account of this episode, Raratongan Sandalwood: An Ethnohistorical Reconstruction, a paper prepared for the Pacific Science Congress, Honolulu, 1961.

Vessels owned by Blaxcell and Campbell occasionally arrived in Sydney with small amounts of sandalwood on board, and in March 1815 Campbell himself wrote to Walter Stephenson Davidson, now a naturalised Portugese citizen at Macao, suggesting Davidson should send him a shipload of China goods and he would load her with 200 tons of sandalwood from an island he had discovered.[55] Nothing came of this highly dubious proposal and in any event the price of sandalwood in Canton was only $12 a picul in 1815. The American traders were still active in the Marquesas Islands which were also sometimes visited by New South Wales vessels - Isaac Nicholl's Endeavour and Joseph Underwood's King George in 1816.[56] Little success could be hoped from these efforts and in any event Macquarie had re-imposed Bligh's sandalwood duty, an inexcusable burden on a declining trade.

Sandalwood was never a really useful staple to the early commercial community in New South Wales. It is easy to see how contemporaries were misled into pursuing this Will o'whisp: the very high prices obtained by Captain Chase in January 1806 and probably also by the master of the Fair American in 1805 were exciting. Sydney was poor but affluance could be acquired by the man who had desirable goods to sell. The question was: how to obtain them ? No goods were more desired than Chinese merchandise, tea, silks, china ware especially - and particularly when bought cheaply

55. Macarthur Papers Vol. IV Mitchell Library Mss A2900 p. 44.

56. C.f. Col. Sec. In-Letters 1816 NSW Archives 4/1735/147, 215-7.

at source. But how were they to be bought ? Sandalwood was no answer to this problem. It carried within itself the seed of its own ineffectiveness: it was only valuable because it was scarce. If the Sydney entrepreneurs had solved all their other difficulties with the East India Company and its watch dog the Governor, and had got their sandalwood to Canton in effective quntities and by regular shipments - and of course they never did - then they would have found themselves defeated by their own success and the price of their staple sinking fatally. Sandalwood was a blind alley, as in the end were seal skins, seal and whale oil, as I shall hope to show in a later article. It was to be to the cacpphony of the bleating of innumerable sheep that New South Wales, and with it Australia, was to solve her staple problem.

D. R. Hainsworth
Townsville University
College,
August 1964.

Notes on

SANDALWOOD

MARQUESAS ISLANDS

MARQUESAN SANDALWOOD

Construction of Paper

(1) Tell story of 'Sengapatan', but explain that crew were not, as they alleged, prisoners of war but women who had the American service on their ships being captured - SG: 25.2.1815.

(2) The sequence can be :-

(i) Theodore Walker and Tahiti.

(ii) Wentworth and the Sandalwood Company

(iii) Arrival of 'Sengapatan' at Sydney.

(iv) Capbell sails for Rarotonga and the Marquesas.

SANDALWOOD — SG EXTRACTS 1815–1816 — MARQUESAS

(1) Capt Campbell arrives at Nukuhiva Dec. 11, 1814.
Hears from Wilson (who had then been 17 years in the Marquesas) the story of events from the departure of Porter to that of Gamble. (Cf. the story told at the end of the 2nd ed. of Porter). "The Governor Macquarie delayed at that and the contiguous islands a month, and returned by way of Eimeo". SG: 25.2.1815, p. 2, cols. 2 & 3.

(2) "WANTED, for the Brig GOVERNOR MACQUARIE, Twelve able Seamen, to proceed on a Voyage to the Eastern Islands. Apply to Captain Campbell."

SG: 25.2.1815, p. 2, col. 4, Advert.

(3) "SHIP NEWS. — On Thursday returned from a voyage to the Society Islands and the Marquesas, the brig Governor Macquarie, Captain W. Campbell, with a cargo of sandal wood, computed at 50 tons, and a quantity of iron, copper, &c. procured from wrecks of vessels at the Marquesas."

SG: 25.2.1815, p. 2, col. 1.

SANDALWOOD, cont'd. MARQUESAS

(4) 'Gov Macquarie' brings from Eimeo a Tahitian taught alphabet at Missionary School under Mr Davis – so well that he was able to help Mr Crook in reading proofs of a Tahitian tract being printed in Sydney SG: 4.3.15, 2b.

(5) "The arrival of the Governor Macquarie, Capt. Campbell, has awakened a spirit of adventure among us which we hope will reward the exertions of those who are immediately engaged in the undertakings that are in foot, and prove generally beneficial to the colony in its results. Several vessels are fitting with every despatch possible, for islands to the southward and eastward, and will doubtless adopt every necessary precaution in avoiding, as they are not qualified to contend with, American privateers or other armed vessels that may perchance speculate on a trip to the Marquesas, in the hope of gleaning a profit from the vestiges of the Essex's captures." SG: 4.3.15, 2b.

SANDALWOOD, cont'd

MARQUESAS

(6) "This day sailed the Queen Charlotte and Governor Macquarie for the Marquesas". SG: 18.3.15, 2b.

"WANTED immediately, for a pleasant Voyage on board the fine New Brig QUEEN CHARLOTTE, Twelve Active Seamen, who will find Good Encouragement. — Apply at the House of John Martin, Commander, George Street." SG: 4.3.15, 2d.

(7) Just above the above advert is one wanting 30 "active able bodied" for the 'King George' and 'Elizabeth and Mary' who "will have a choice of two productive Voyages, and will meet with good Encouragement. — Apply to Mr Jos. Underwood."

(8) And in the next SG (for 11.3.15):-

"WANTED, for the ship KING GEORGE, TEN ABLE HANDS, to complete the Complement. — Apply to Capt. R.S. Walker, Cambridge-Street; or Mr. Joseph Underwood, George-street." SG: 11.3.15, 1d.

(It would seem that a trip to the Marquesas was not so popular as Macquarie Island, where the 'Elizabeth and Mary' went on April-15. Probably this would be because the voyage was short, e.g. the 'E and M' retd on June 16, with 28 tons of whale oil and 4,000 skins.)

SANDALWOOD, cont'd MARQUESAS

(9) "On Tuesday last [May 2, 1815] the ship King George, Mr. Jos. Underwood owner [Capt. R. S. Walker] sailed for the Marquesas." SG: 6.5.15, 2a.

(10) "On Friday last [May 26, 1815] the Trial sailed for the Marquesas, intending to call at New Zealand and the Society Islands." SG: 27.5.15, 2a.

(11) "On Sunday [Nov. 2] arrived from the Marquesas, via Otaheite, the brig General Macquarie, Capt. Wm. Canfield, with 60 tuns of sandal wood, and a few tuns of pork, the latter purchased at the Society Islands." SG: 4.11.15, 2b.

"The King George and Queen Charlotte were taking in sandal wood at the Marquesas; from whence Capt. Fowler, late of the Matilda, has returned in the General Macquarie, with the unwelcome tidings of the loss of his vessel at the island of Rooapooah [ROOAPOOAH], where she was cut off by the natives, but no lives lost, owing to an extraordinary interposition of Providence - which saved the small crew from a voracious race of cannibals." SG: 4.11.15, 2b.

SANDALWOOD, cont'd MARQUESAS

(12) "In our Gazette of Saturday, we had the pleasure to notice the safe arrival at the Islands of the Queen Charlotte & King George, which were taking in cargoes of sandal wood, intending no doubt to call at the Otaheitan Isles in their return."

SG: 8.11.15, 1d.

(13) "A letter from Mr Powell, master of a colonial vessel called the Endeavour, to a friend in Sydney, mentions an attempt of the Marquesa natives at Anna Maria, to cut off his vessel. They had succeeded in cutting two cables he had out; but a timely discovery prevented further mischief." SG: 8.11.15, 2a.

(14) "NAUTICAL INFORMATION. Extract from the Matilda's Journal, of Feb. 18, 1815, communicated by Captain S. Fowler." Dangerous reef of rocks found extending in East & West direction - not more than 3 miles in extent - rocks high & distinctly to be seen above water. Long. 145°35'W; lat. 26°37'S. Named it Fowler's Reef. "It lays naturally in the track of vessels while running down their Easting in a Southern latitude, and intending afterwards to proceed to the Marquesa Isles". Samuel Fowler. SG: 8.11.15, 2b.

(15) "The Northampton, Captain Tween, sailed for China on Wednesday, with the sandalwood imported in the Governor Macquarie, which latter vessel is making ready for a return to the Islands with as little delay as possible." SG: 11.11.15, 2a.

(16) "A letter received from Otaheite, by the owner of the King George of this Colony, from the master of that vessel, acquaints him with her arrival there, loaded in a sandal wood voyage." SG: 11.11.15, 2a.

(17) King George left Otaheite June 10 for the Marquesas or the Pumotus. SG: 2.12.15, 2c.

(18) "Yesterday arrived the King George colonial ship, Capt. R.S. WALKER, from the Marquesas, via Otaheite: from the former she brings a valuable cargo of sandal wood, computed at between 80 and 90 tons; and from the latter she brings 12 tons of salted pork. This vessel belongs to Mr Joseph Underwood, and well it is hoped, in her present success liberally conversate the spirit of enterprize which in this instance is so happily productive of an absolute resource to the Colony." SG: 16.12.15, 2a.

SANDALWOOD, Cont'd. MARQUESAS.

(19) "On Thursday [Jan 4, 1816] sailed for the Marquesas, the brig Queen Charlotte, Captain Powell." SG: 6.1.16, 2c.

(20) "This day sailed for Batavia with a cargo of sandal wood imported in the ship King George, the brig Amelia, Captain Shaw ..." SG: 13.1.16, 2a.

The Amelia finally left 17.1.16.

(21) 'King George' dep for Society & Marquesas Islands. Wm Joseph Underwood owner, on 27.2.16. SG: 23.16, 2a.

(22) 'Governor Macquarie' (retd fm Tahiti 28.5.16 with pork) brings news from Wm Powell, master of the 'Queen Charlotte', met there, who it was considered would go from there to Marquesas SG: 15.6.16, 2b.

(23) On 8.8.16 arr from Tahiti and Marquesas brig 'Trial' (Capt Barnett) with about 20 tons of sandalwood from M & 6 tons of pork from T. Moorea dep. 17.4.16 for Sydney. Sailed from Sydney 27.5.15. 3 months in Marquesas. 'Queen Charlotte' had gone to the Marquesas "and is by now homeward bound" SG: 10.8.16, 2d.

(24) arr from Marquesas & Tahiti 11.10.16 'Queen Charlotte' (Capt Powell) with 40 tons of sandalwood and a few tons of fuk. Left Tahiti 31.8.16. SG: 12.10.16, 2d.

(25) Colonial Ship 'Endeavour' left at Nonea the 'King George' procuring fuk for the Colony, "having previously procured 35 tons of sandalwood at the Marquesas" ...

Introduction of Pompous into Australia

"Mr Powell has brought for Nepean a fine kind of pea, known ~~as~~ in the Caribbean as the pigeon pea, as well as a fruit, the popah apple, "used as a table vegetable generally" both which species, should they vegetate here, will be found a pleasing addition to the varieties that already decorate the Colonial garden and orchard." SG: 19.10.16, 2 a & b.

(26) arr 2.12.16 'King George', Joseph Underwood owner, with sandal wood from Marquesas and fuk from Tahiti. SG: 7.12.16, 2d.

SANDALWOOD S.G. EXTRACTS – MISC. MARQUESAS

(1) "The Dauntless, on her way hither from South America, had an encounter with the natives of the Marquesas, to punish them for cutting off the boats of a whaler . . ."

SG 15.3.22 (2b)

(2) "Yesterday [28.2.17] sailed for Marquesas & Society Is Colonial ship King George SG 1.3.17

(3) On Wed last [8.10.17], and from Marquesas bay Queen Charlotte (Capt Powell), with a cargo of sandalwood SG 11.10.17.

(4) This morning and from Marquesas, with sandal wood etc Colonial ship King George, Wm Joseph Underwood, master SG 6.12.17.

(5) "From Captain Caufield we learn that two American ships, viz the Resource and Sultan, apparently about 400 tons each, were lying at the Marquesas, and taking in sandal wood. The Sultan was from the North West Coast" SG 13.12.17, p. 2c

(6) On Wed [10.12.17] and bay Dolphin (Capt William Caufield) with a cargo of 16 tons of sandalwood, 4 tons of pork, and a quantity of coir. Left Marquesas in October & visited the Society and Friendly Islands, Tongatabu being the last port called at. Passage given to James Cann, who had left Queen Charlotte about 2 years ago and lived at Tongatabu.

SG 13.12.17, p. 2b, c.

SANDALWOOD MARQUESAS

(7) "Yesterday arrived from the Marquesas and Society Islands, the barque Lynx, Captain Sibrell, belonging to Messrs. T H. Jones and Co with cocoa-nut oil, arrow root, &c. She has brought up Captain Richards, and part of the crew of the ship Bridges, of London, stolen, lost on the island of Magdalena, one of the Marquesas, with 750 barrels of sperm oil. Captain Sibrell, of the Lynx, was captured, for eight days, by the natives of the Marquesas, and lost thirty tons of sandal wood." SG 25.8.25, (2)

(8) "We were not aware, till the other day, that the Reverend W. P. Crook, a Gentleman well known and universally respected in this Colony, but who has been employed in the Society Islands for the last 8 or 10 years, has left Tahiti for the Marquesas, with his large and interesting family. The barque Lynx, at that time belonging to Jones and Company, conveyed Mr Crook and family from the Society Islands to the Marquesas, free of all expense to the London Missionary Society." SG 20.10.25, 2

(9) "To the Editor of the Sydney Gazette.

Sir,

I have to apprize you, that a report in your Gazette of last Thursday, the 20th instant, stating that the Rev. W. P. Crook, Missionary at Tahiti, had gone thence, with his family, to the Marquesas, is incorrect. Mr C proceeded with

SANDALWOOD MARQUESAS

re to these Islands, for the purpose of establishing Native Teachers there, which having accomplished, he returned to his family at Tahiti; having, I believe, no intention of quitting that Island. You will therefore please to contradict the said report in your next. Sir, your obedient servant,

Edward H. Sibrell, late Master of the Lynx.

Paramatta, 25th October, 1825."

MARQUESAS

SG

(1) Arrival of 'Sevengalatan' in Sydney and the account of her exploits in the Marquesas are in SG 2.7.14, p 2; 9.7.14, p 2.

(2) "On Sunday [28.8.14] last sailed the brig Governor Macquarie, Captain WM CAMPBELL, for Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands." SG 3.9.14, p 2.

(3) Advertised as departing in the Governor Macquarie

JOHN SHEARS	WILLIAM JONES
FRANCIS SILVER	JAMES ALLAN
JON. PREVIER	JAMES WHITE

SG 20.8.14, p 1.

None of these are the same names as any of the 'Sevengalatan' mutineers listed in Pater I: 200.

SANDALWOOD

MARQUESAS: 1825

"Yesterday arrived from the Marquesas and Society Islands, the barque Lynx, Captain Sibrell, belonging to Messrs. T. H. Jones and Co. with cocoa-nut oil, arrow root, &c. She has brought up Captain Richards, and part of the crew of the ship Bridges, of London, whaler, lost on the island of Magdalena, one of the Marquesas, with 750 barrels of sperm oil. Captain Sibrell, of the Lynx, was captured, for eight days, by the natives of the Marquesas, and lost thirty tons of sandal wood." SG: 25. 8. 1825 (Vol. XXIII, no. 1136), p. 2a.

SANDALWOOD

MARQUESAS: 1834

Coulter, John "Adventures in the Pacific . . ." Dublin, William Curry, Jun. and Co., 1845.

Dr. John Coulter visited the Marquesas in the ship "Stratford" (Capt. Abijah Lock) of which he was surgeon. Leaving Gravesend in Oct, 1832 they arrived back in 1836.

About 1834 he visited Roberts' Island, in sight of Nukuhiva – and said to be the rest N of the Marquesas.

251 Here he found Thomas Holt who "told us he had been on this island for about five years; that he was in an American brig searching for sandal-wood, that the vessel touched at the island for the purpose; and not liking the crew or captain" he remained ashore, and was later joined by James Butler from Nukuhiva (with a Marquesan boy). The 'Stratford' obtained no sandalwood in the Marquesas – indeed the wood is not once mentioned as an article of trade.

SANDALWOOD MARQUESAS

First cargo seems to have been by 'Governor Macquarie' (William Campbell) - landed PJ Feb.23, 1815.

I distrust statement that R.S. Walker landed cargo by the 'Governor Macquarie' on Oct.29, 1814 (Evening News Shipping List - nowhere else). Among other reasons SG 3.9.14 says that she left for Tahiti under Campbell on Aug.28, 1814. no mention 1814 was an error for 1815

'Seringapatam' arrived from Marquesas July 4, 1814.

She seems to have touched off a race to get sandalwood from the Marquesas -

Governor Macquarie
King George
Queen Charlotte
Matilda (lost there)

But see -

Lockerby's Journal - Im Thurn & Wharton, pp.119-160, for 'Hibernia' 1809-10.

Porter II:17, 22, 76-81.

HRA V:334-405.

HRNZ I:509-10.

TMS II:310-19.

Greenwood

Shepherd, J. "Austral-Asia, the Australian Geographer, vol. III".

Kuykendall "Sac Early Commercial Relations of Hawaii", p 29

Coulter "Relations in the Pacific", p 251

Bradley

Outrages by Queen Charlotte at Santa Christiana. HRNZ I:426-7

SANDALWOOD MARQUESAS ISLANDS

Presumably 1815 (but check).

Sydney Gazette Sat. Feb. 25, 2b-c.

Information from Captain Campbell of the Governor Macquarie. Sailed from Sydney to Novevah, most considerable of the Marquesas, arrd 11 Dec.

Learnt from Englishman there, who has lived with natives 17 years, that 9-10 days after departure of the Seringapatam on 6 May, some of the Americans left on the island as garrison by the frigate Essex, murdered by natives - remainder escaped in Sir Henry ~~Ma~~ Hammond.

SG notes that from information now got, men who sailed Seringapatam into Sydney not prisoners of war, but men who had entered American service from various British ships captured by Essex - 13 of whom left at Nooevah. While person placed as Master of Seringapatam actually an American, using name of Belcher, from Essex. Lieut. Gamble of marines on Essex placed in command on Nooevah, having incurred displeasure of Capt. Porter of Essex, seemingly from having killed another lieut. in duel on Galipagos. Capt. Porter had apparently taken possession of Nooevah for U.S.

Essex, with Atlantic, one of her prizes, now called Young Essex, and made into sloop of war, left on 3 months cruise a few days before recapture of Seringapatam, leaving some Americans and a number of English prisoners who 'had entered' under Lieut. Gamble. Only ships remaining with Seringapatam were Greenwich and Sir Henry Hammond. Belcher, put in charge of Seringapatam, and Gamble quarrelled; Belcher shot & wounded G., invited English working in hold of S to rid themselves of oppresion.

Seringapatam succeeded in leaving Nooevah some days after Gamble had attempted to plunder the effects of Wilson, a resident Englishman, and, if possible, to seize his person. Did not succeed in latter but did collect Wilson's property. When the men sent by Gamble to do this tried to launch

their boat to return to the ship, they were attacked by the natives and killed. Lieut. Gamble and 5 men then escaped ~~to the~~ in Sir Henry Hammond, after Gamble had ordered that the Greenwich be set fire to.

.....

SANDALWOOD MARQUESAS

(1) SG Sat. June 5, 1819, 2b:-

Ship News

On Monday last, returned from Bay of Islands and Marquesas, with ~~sandalwood~~ sandal wood and pork, the colonial ship King George, Captain Beveridge.

(2) SG Sat. Jan. 9, 1819, 3a:-

The Active, Captain Thompson, left the King George, Captain Beveridge, at Bolabola bound to the Marquesas for sandal-wood.

(Active arrived in Sydney on Dec. 29, 1818. Not clear when she left the Society Islands. Visited the Bay of Islands on her way to Sydney - see S.G. Sat. Jan. 2, 2b: Ship News).

.....

Commissioner Bigge's Inquiry - Evidence taken by Commissioner Bigge (Bigge's Appendix, Vol.142) - HRNZ I:509-10.

... ...

Evidence of Captain Beveridge (9th February, 1821).

509 "Captain Beveridge came out chief officer in the ship Harriet four years ago. Has been engaged in a schooner Eliza and Mary, J. Underwood, 80 tons, to Macquarie Island ... .

510 Went in 1817 to the Society Islands, touching at N. Zealand and afterwards at the Marquesas. Went for a cargo of pork and sandalwood, and took one of Bengal prints, slates and pencils, gunpowder, muskets. Sold some muskets at all the islands. At the Marquesas they are so much supplied with muskets by the Americans that there is no sale for English ones. The Marquesas are a rendezvous for the Americans. The natives are black, but handsomer and lighter colour than those of the other islands; good tempered. Very little sandalwood now to be procured. Formerly a ton of sandalwood used to be got for a musket. There have been no English there since the King George. There are good harbours. That of Noohera is very capacious and naturally strong.

The sandalwood tree is sometimes two feet in circumference, grows on tops of mountains.

... ...

Visited the Society Islands in 1817 and 18. Saw the missionaries. They cultivate little and are indolent.

... ...

Evidence of Captain Beveridge, cont'd.

£3 per month are the usual wages for seamen in the colonial craft. It is frequently paid in property and it is very high.

Five guineas charged for a telescope that would be worth £2 in England.

Beef and pork 8d. and 9d. per lb.

The boarding and fitting out of vessels is very expensive. Rope is bought from ships that arrive.

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Hill, Samuel. "Journal and log of the Ophelia 1815-1817.

.....

To follow at end

88. 4.4.1816: the Ophelia is at Hawaii. "On the 4th arrived and anchored the brig Panther of Boston, Capt. Lewis, from the Marquesas Islands with part of a Cargo of Sandalwood purchased at Nooaheevah for Muskets and Powder, and cost about two & a half dollr. per Pecul according to the statement of Capt. Lewis, from whom I learned that the eagerness with which those People formerly had sought for whales teeth had almost entirely subsided and fire arms & ammunition were now the articles most in demand, that he had purchased about 200 tons of wood, and he believed he could have purchased 100 tons more, had he possessed a sufficient number of muskets, that he had spoken no American ships at the Marquesas Islands but had been informed ~~[illegible]~~ there was a Schooner called the Lydia from Canton at some one of the Islands though he could not be certain."

4. Instructions from the Owners of the ship Ophelia. To obtain a cargo of copper at Valparaiso and then proceed home to America via China. 5. "In proceeding to Canton you will visit the Gallapagos Islands for the Purpose of procuring whale teeth & we hand you a description of the place where they may be found, with a chart of the Islands, Bays &c where they are found. Collect all of them you can find to be used in the collection of Sandalwood. Should you be unsuccessful in getting permission to load copper at Valpayraiso, & having proceeded to the Gallapagos, should have succeeded in getting Whale teeth, [6] you will then go to Ingrahams Islands, where you will be enabled to load a cargo of Sandalwood in exchange for them. Should your views from any causes be frustrated at Chili & Ingraham's Islands, we trust finally upon your success in getting a load of Sandalwood at the Sandwich Islands, and which we presume will be readily procured with specie. As there is a spurious or bastard wood at the Sandwich Islands you must be careful to avoid it , that kind being of

little value in China, the residents in the Islands can furnish the necessary information to enable you to select the best kind we presume that for ten or fifteen thousand dollars a full load of the best wood could be obtained of the King of the Islands." ... Sandalwood from the Sandwich, Fejee, & other Islands in those seas varies from 12 to 16 dollars per Picul, the bastard wood is worth little or nothing.

8. In visiting Ingrahams Islands, or those of Sandwich, remember the safe side is to be on your guard. We have little doubt that much of the Treachery of the Indians is but retirbutive justice, but as they do not discriminate between the Innocent & the guilty the best way is not to put yourself in their power. ..... Should you procure a cargo of sandalwood or other articles from the Inhabitants of the Islands for traffic in Whale teeth &c we agree to allow you ten per cent of the wood thus procured, & indeed as wood would be much inferior in value to copper, we shall be willing to allow you five per cent on wood purchased with dollars. The sales in Canton are to be effected by Perkins & Co. who will pay you the commission on the sales, as above specified when made.

9. "We think best that you go to the Gallapagos Islands to get all the Whale teeth you can procure, even should you succeed in loading in S. America, & on your way to Canton you might stop at some of the Sandalwood Islands to ascertain the value of them and if possible make an arrangement to get a cargo purchased for your return. A cargo of Sandalwood Procured without funds, being all profit, would be equal to a load of copper, but in the Sandalwood voyage, no stock is employed other than the ship."

The instructions are signed by James F.H. Perkins, five eighths; Samuel G. Perkins & Co., two eighths; Bryant & Sturgis, one eighth.

.....

72. Hill spent 3 months in Valapraiso but was unsuccessful in obtaining a

cargo of copper. He therefor made for the Galapagos, arriving at the islands on the 24th February, 1816 [73].

79. "On the 26th we saw three other whaling ships and spoke one of them by whom I was informd. he had the evening before spoke the Sultan of Boston Capt. Reynolds near the North Point of Narborough, bound into Banks Bay. From these captains I was informed the currents and prevailing clams at this season of the year remdered it extremely difficult to get into the Lee Bay & they even doubted if I should effect it. With respect to whales teeth they would not be positive, but doubted if there were many to be found at this time as they were of Opinion that nearly all of them had been taken away some time since and they doubted if any whales had been killed lately to produce more. Added to this the demand for them in Nantucket previous to their sailing had been such that they were of opinion that most of them would be preserved by the whalers, instead of leaving them to drift ashore in the skeletons as formerly."

80. "While I had been drifting about the North and South points of Albemarle Island, or as the whalers term them, the North and South Heads of Albemarle, I had fallen in with and boarded several of the English and American whaling ships, the Commanders of these ships stated as their opinion, that if I should succeed in getting in to either Banks or Elizabeth Bays, or both, which they did not doubt I should whenever a favorable opportunity offered by the return of a fresh breeze, I might not after a fortnight or three weeks diligent search succeed in finding 100 whales teeth. They had often been on shore in all or most of the Bays or Coves but had never seen more than one or two in an hours excursion. When I reflected on the opinions of these captains, and that they certainly could have no interest in deceiving me, as they all offered to give me the teeth of any whales they might take while I should remain among them, I concluded it not worth the time I should be obliged to sacrifice ...". So

Captain Hill decided to proceed to Hawaii to endeavour to purchase sandalwood with the specie that he had on board - unsuccessfully, as it turned out.

.....

From: Hill, Samuel. "Journal and log of two voyages. The Ophelia, 1815-1817. The Packet, 1817-1822." New York Public Library MS.

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See also under Ophelia: Journal and log in File 18.

SANDALWOOD - MARQUESAS ISLANDS 1817-1819

From: Hill, Samuel. "Journal and log of two voyages. The Ophelia, 1815-1817. The Packet, 1817-1822." New York Public Library MS.

.....

See also excerpts under Log section in File 18.

[220] Arrived at Valparaiso on 26.2.1818 the American ship Indus, Vanderford, of and from Salem, with axes, hatchets, beads, looking glasses, knives, whales teeth, muskets and musket balls, &c., bound to the Marquesas Islands, put in for repairs being leaky.

[223] Departed from Valparaiso on 28.4.1818 the American ship Indus, Vanderford, for the Marquesas Islands.

[225] Arrived at Coquimbo in October, 1817 the American ship Sultan, Reynolds, from the Marquesas Islands. In April, 1818, the Sultan sailed for Canton via the Sandwich Islands.

[242] While off Honolulu from 27.10.1818-7.11.1818 Hill encountered the ship Borneo, Clark, just arrived from the Marquesas with about 40 tons of sandalwood, and also with an outward cargo for the N.W. Coast, whence she was bound.
Also the ship Sultan, Reynolds, late from the Marquesas with sandalwood, bound to Canton.
Sandalwood was plentiful in the Hawaiian Islands at a nominal price of 10 dollars per picul of 133 lbs.

[260] Sandalwood prices in Canton 1819

Sandwich Islands and Marquesas	Pecul 4 to 5 dollars	3.50 pecul
" best quality large and fair	Pecul 10 to 12 dollars.	

.....

Above from the journal and log of the Packet, 1817-1822.

.....

MARQUESAS ISLANDS

SANDALWOOD

Camille de Roquefeuil. "A Voyage round the World between the years 1816-1819". London, Sir Richard Phillips & Co., 1823. Pp 40-64.

.....

P.40 22.12.1817 arr Nukuhiva. P.41 Met by an American, from the US, of the name of Ross, who had resided for several years in this country, where he acted for the vessels which came for sandalwood. He offered me his services, as well as that of Captain Cornelius Sowle, of the Resource, of New York, which we saw at anchor.

42 Resource def for China to dispose of sandalwood; then to fishery.

43 at Atouona with Ross. Obtained 4,000 lbs S & are 80 days. Nukahiva S best also retries most trustworthy ∴ retd to Taio Hoy.

51 – by 25th had on board 420 quintals of S which occupied 80 tons of room. Ship filled – lower lockers and on deck.

52 – Nukahiva has best S. Captain ROGERS, an American, was 1st to take any, as an article of commerce, they dried it when passing a fire (by the smell of the burning wood).

In 1810 he obtd 260 tons in exchange for abt 1,000 fusiles of goods (hatchets & other utensils & one whale's teeth he had on board, one of which was worth 3-4 tons).

Marquesas, contd. His cargo sold by him in China at 20 piastres per picul,

P. 53 and he retd for 2nd cargo, with 3,000 piastres in goods for exchange. Had ivory which he made into whale's teeth. - Proved netted him large profit but others soon discovered it.

A few weeks did then obtain a cargo which did easily be sold with advantage on ac of quality & size of wood.

Now all changed - exportation of nearly 1,800 tons has almost exhausted resources of island (Nukuhiva). Small quantity still in interior crooked, stunted & very small, (rest not over 2" in diameter). 12-12 tons p. month can only be collected. Nothing taken in exchange but muskets, powder ~~and~~ & other ammunition

(List of necessary trade goods)

Musket once worth a ton of wood; now = 500 lbs.

2 1/4 lbs powder = 200 lbs; hatchet = 45 lbs, whale's tooth = 200 lbs (But only finest taken 3 fingers breadth in diameter).

Marquesas, cont'd.

Mr Ross sent to islands by Mr Wilcock, U S Consul at Canton, to facilitate S traffic to U S vessels. Other whites not to be trusted.

Hostilities (continued) keep up price of muskets. Whales teeth (ex. very large) not valued. Teeth of black fish & seals are also valued only when strong & well sorted.

Hatchets & some other utensils in request but iron in general not much esteemed.

Handkerchiefs, blue & white linen, in fashion, chiefly among women, who also like looking glasses.

Plumes of feathers (especially red ones) much sought after.

P. 63 Good account of cutting off of 'Matilda' (Capt Fowler) in April, 1815.

SANDLEWOOD MARQUISAS

(1) Vincendon-Dumoulin, and Desgraz, C. "Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva. Histoire, géographie, moeurs et considérations générales" Paris, Arthus Bertrand, 1843

Pp 45; 92-94; and 99 refer to the sandlewood trade. There is nothing original, however, the first passage being taken from Porter, the second from Camille de Roquefeuil and the third from Capt Finch (or Stewart)

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(2) Roquefeuil, Camille de. "A Voyage round the world, between the years 1816-1819 London, Sir Richard Phillips and Co., 1823 (bound in "New Voyages and Travels; consisting of Originals and Translations", vol. IX, no. LIV) Pp. 40-64.

I have had the pp on the Marquises photostated. It only means to say that the "Bordelais" was a three-masted vessel of 200 tons, owned by M. Balguerie, jun., of Bordeaux, who sent her on an expedition to the South Seas and the N-W. Coast of America "to procure those articles which are in request in China, where they were to be sold, and the produce

converted into merchandise of that country which is consumed in France, and with which our markets might thus be supplied, without the exportation of money, and by a useful employment of the produce of our soil, and of the French manufactures."

"The revolution, the wars, and the errors which have succeeded it" had practically put a stop to French maritime enterprises.

The 'Bordelais' was in the Marquesas from December 22, 1817, to February 28, 1818.

Delays in America and Hawaii resulted in the vessel being preceded to China by numbers of American vessels who "caused the value of imported goods to fall, and had exhausted, or raised the price of, the produce of the country". The ship also had to pay the same duties as a large Company's ship, and not the smaller duties paid by Americans from the N.W. Coast. There is nothing to say how the sandalwood was sold or what it fetched.

SANDALWOOD – SHIPPING[1] MARQUESAS

Sengafatan

Arr 4.7.14 L Ex Register Barlay were one Marquesas Islds
Retaken at the Marquesas Islands by 14 Englishmen prisoners
of war to the American frigate 'Essex' (Sydney 1.7.14)

Dep 28.8.14 Governor Macquarie[2] (William Campbell) Marquesas

Arr 23.2.15 Governor Macquarie So. Sea Islands
52 tons 19 cwt sandalwood

Dep 18.3.15 Governor Macquarie Otaheite Ballast

Dep 18.3.15 Queen Charlotte[3] Marquesas Islands Ballast

Dep 23.5.15 Trial[4] Marquesas Ballast

Arr 29.10.15 Governor Macquarie Marquesas 46 tons sandalwood
4 tons pork

Arr 13 (17?).11.15 Queen Charlotte (James Purcell – Master?)
Berrie & Co Marquesas 39 1/4 tons sandalwood

Arr 27.11.15 Endeavour[5] (Thomas Hammond) Isaac Nicholls
Marquesas 26 tons sandalwood

Arr 15.12.15 King George[6] (R. S. Walker) J Underwood
Marquesas 64 tons sandalwood 12 tons pork

SANDALWOOD - SHIPPING MARQUESAS

dep 21.11.15 Governor Macquarie for Otaheite with sundries

dep 4.1.16 Queen Charlotte for Otaheite Marquesas Sundries

dep 6.2.16 Endeavour Marquesas Ballast

dep 27 (28?).2.16 King George New Zealand Marquesas
Trade for Islanders

arr 28.5.16 Governor Macquarie[7] (R.S. Walker - William Campbell?) Campbell and Blaxcell Otaheite
60 tons pork, etc.

arr 9.8.16 Trial[8] (Wm. Bennett) Lord and Blaxcell
Eastern Islands 11 tons sandalwood.

arr 26.9.16 Ontario (Nathaniel Dorr) 222 4 19
Plymouth Boston Plympton Ho
Marquesas 27 tons sandalwood.

arr 3.10.16 Endeavour[9] (T. Hammond) I. Nicholas
Marquesas 21 tons sandalwood

arr 11.10.16 Queen Charlotte (Jno. Towell - John Powell?)
Jas. Binnie Marquesas 41 tons sandalwood.

SANDALWOOD - SHIPPING MARQUESAS

arr 2 (9?). 12. 16 King George (R. Walker)
J. Underwood Easter Islands Marquesas
20 tons pork 992 sq. ft timber & 8 spars
sandalwood

dep 9 (5?). 12. 16 Queen Charlotte Tahiti Marquesas

dep 15 (28?). 2. 17 King George So. Sea Islands
Marquesas Ballast

dep 14 (17?). 12. 16 Daphne Fiji Islands (Marquesas
and Ch. ?) Ballast

arr 8. 10. 17 Queen Charlotte (Jno. Powell) Jas. Bennie
Marquesas 49 tons sandalwood 5 tons pork

arr 7. 12. 17 King George (William Walker)
J. Underwood Marquesas 33 tons sandalwood
16 tons pork

arr 11. 12. 17 Daphne[10] Brig (W. Campbell)
127 4. 20 Java Calcutta W. Campbell
Marquesas 16 tons sandalwood 3 tons pork

SANDALWOOD - SHIPPING MARQUESAS

dep 2.4.18 King George (Josh Underwood) Marquesas
Ballast

arr 1.6.19 King George (John Beveridge) J. Underwood
Eastern Islands 50 tons Pork, 60 N.Z. Spars, 6 tons
Sandalwood. (Same as my 30.4.19?)

SANDALWOOD - SHIPPING MARQUESAS

Notes on Entries

1 All Entries are taken from Mr Carpster's draft Notes.

2 Guelma Marquane had arrd from Tahiti with pearlshell, etc. on 30.4.13; left again for Tahiti in ballast on 7.8.13; & retd for Tahiti on 16.6.14 with pearlshell, etc. On these trips R S Walker was master.

3 Queen Charlotte had arrd from Tahiti with 50 tons of pearlshell on 14.2.14. (What did she do till 18.3.15?)

4 Trial had dep. for Port Dalrymple in ballast on 11.9.13 (What did she do till 23.5.15?)

5 Endeavour had arrd from Tahiti with 40 tons of pearl on 15.10.12; the next note on her is that she left for the Society Islands in ballast on 14.4.15

6 King George (L. Jones) arrd from the sperm fishery with 35 tons of sperm oil on 16 (15?).2.13; left for the Derwent on 19.5.13; retd (L. Jones) from Derwent with 120 tons black oil; left for sperm fishery on 5.12.13;

Notes on Entries, cont'd.

retd from South Seas Fishery with 12½ tons of sperm oil on 4.3.15; and left for the South Sea Islands in ballast on 29.4.15.

7 Governor Macquarie then left for Hobart on 23.9.17 and may not have engaged in the Marquesas sandalwood trade again. (But did she bring any sandalwood this time: Cumpston's entry only says "fish, etc." — probably not?).

8 Was the Trial away on this one trip from 23.5.15 to 9.8.16?

9 Endeavour then left for Kangaroo Island with sundries 27.11.16.

10 There may be a gap in Mr Cumpston's records between this entry and the next.

SANDALWOOD - MARQUESAS

Strauss, Wallace Patrick. "Early American Interest and Activity in Polynesia, 1783-1842". Columbia University, Ph.D. thesis, Modern History, 1958.

.....

12 "Second in importance to Hawaii in the 1790's were the Marquesas which lay in the same track. These had been known since the sixteenth century, but it remained for several New Englanders to bring them to the attention of first traders and then whalers. The first Yankee at the [13] Marquesas was Captain Joseph Ingraham of the brig Hope who after procurung a supply of wood, water, fruit and pigs sailed toward Hawaii, thereby discovering the northeastern group of the Marquesas easily in 1791 [Footnote: Letter from Joseph Ingraham, Macao, December, 1791, in the Salem Gazette, August 28, 1792]. ..... Ingraham published his findings in both the Salem Gazette and the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1793 [Footnote: Salem Gazette, August 28, 1792; Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, II (Boston, 1793), 20-24 for Ingraham's log extracts]. Following Ingraham came Captain Josiah Roberts in the Jefferson. His stay at Tahuata lasted long enough in late 1792 and early 1793 to build a small schooner for which he had brought with him the frame and rigging. [Footnote: "Journals and Log-Book of the Ship Jefferson, of Boston," in Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections, IV (Boston, 1795), 242. At first Roberts maintained friendly relations with the Marquesans, but after a few of the ship's tools were pilfered, several of the crew fired upon some of the natives. A missionary who was present wrote that then: [then follows an excerpt from pp.145 and 146 of [William Pascoe Crooks]. "Account of the Marquesas Islands" ML MS].

[137] [14] Roberts wrote in 1794 that although he was not able to visit Nukuhiva, the largest of the group which Ingraham had discovered, he recomm-

mended that "they may be visited for refreshment in case of need. Several years later the Alexander of Boston anchored at the same place as Roberts and stayed three or four days [Footnote: Crooks, p.163]. During the ship's call there the captain, Asa Dodge, left behind the Hawaiian Islander who had sailed with Gray in 1789 [i.e. from Hawaii]. The native desired to remain and the missionary residing there noted that he readily acquired the Marquesan dialect and shortly thereafter was made a minor chief [Crooks, p.164]. The same missionary gave Dodge a journal of his experiences in the Marquesas to that date to be delivered in Boston and forwarded to the London Missionary Society in London, which was done by the captain [Footnote: Crooks, p.164. The same year the missionary asked the next American ship, the Betsey, under Edmund Fanning, to take him to Nukuhiva. This was done and Fanning later wrote that in performing this deed he had saved the missionary from harm, which was vociferously denied. Compare ibid., p.176, 211 with Edmund Fanning , Voyages round the World ... (New York, 1833), pp.128-44]. Other traders called during the decade, and in one incident in 1798 one of the Marquesans pilfered an axe for an American ship whereupon he was shot through both cheeks ..... [Footnote: Crooks, p.183].

[15] For the most part the visits to this group were harmonious during the decade of the 1790's, although provisions including fish, plantain and taro, which Roberts said could be purchased with a few nails in the early part of the decade, became more expensive by the turn of the century. In fact one trader complained in 1801 that the only thing the natives would take for a hog was a sperm whale's tooth which he had been obliged to obtain from a whaler [Footnote: Journal of Nathaniel Appleton (MS, Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.), October 10, 1801]. A decade later the price had risen to a musket, and this trade together with the growing number of dissolute seamen and

ex-convicts that resided there made the group a place of sudden violence for the next three or four decades. After 1800 sandalwood was found on several of the Marquesas including Nukuhiva, [Footnote: Fanning, op.cit., p.455 attributed the wood to "mountainous islands of the Pacific" in latitudes under twenty-five degrees] and the popularity of the group continued."

.....

9 "The mariners of the earlier period followed known tracks which in turn coincided with the trade winds. Thus a ship sailing round the Horn that picked up the trades sailed to the Marquesas or as far north as Hawaii, but seldom as far west as Tahiti. To reach the latter, a ship usually sailed south from Hawaii or due east from Sydney, or Port Jackson as it was called. Similarly, the Fijis and Tonga were reached by sailing north from Port Jackson. Finally, the most important trade of the era, the Spice trade with Salem, Boston and New York and the East Indies, did not affect Polynesia because the route followed a track around the Cape of Good Hope, up through the Indian Ocean to the west of Australia and then to the East Indies [Footnote: A search of fifty voyages of Salem ships verified this]. On one occasion a Salem trader did reach Polynesia by sailing around the Cape of Good Hope and then to Port Jackson and north to Tonga. This route proved impractical because it took more time and one captain called it "the eastenmost route to China" [Footnote: Quoted in Salem Register, August 4, 1800].

.....

[20] The final type of American voyager in Polynesia was the true trader. Although closer to the sealer than to the whaler, the trader was chiefly in the sea otter trade in the 1790's and after that time bartered for beche de

mer, sandalwood, edible birds' nests, and other items.

The traders originated from many ports from Salem to Philadelphia, but the two most important were Boston and Providence.

.....

[23] While the chief products of Hawaii sought by the traders continued to be provisions, other island groups supplied commodities of barter in demand in China. The most important of these in terms of value was sandalwood which had been found in the Marquesas, Fiji, several of the Society Islands and on Wallis Island [Footnote: Ralph S. Kuykendall, "Some Early Commercial Adventurers of Hawaii", in Hawaiian Historical Society, Thirty-Seventh Annual Report (Honolulu, 1929), 29]. The Marquesas continued to supply much of the wood gathered by American traders until the War of 1812. The traders obtained the product by bargaining with the principal chiefs who then sent crews to cut down the wood [Footnote: Fanning, op.cit., pp.445-446]. The profits were enormous, and in 1813 one report stated that ten whales teeth would buy enough sandalwood to fill a 300 ton ship and the cargo would be worth "near a million dollars" [Footnote: David Porter, Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean ... (2nd ed., New York, 1822), II, 22]. At the same time responsible ship's officers or crew members [24] were often left to supervise the operation, and the first American naval officer who entered the Marquesas in 1813 was astonished to find a furloughed midshipman there who was engaged in supervising the procurement of the wood [Footnote: Ibid., II, 17]. The Marquesas continued to supply sandalwood as late as the 1830's, long after the trade had ended elsewhere in Polynesia [Footnote: John Coulter, Adventures in the Pacific ..... (London, 1845), p.251].

.....

[43] "For the trader the most desirable cargo up to 1830 was sandalwood which was sold at Canton. The most important sources of the aromatic wood

up to the time of the War of 1812 had been the Marquesas and Fiji, but for a fifteen year period after the war the Hawaiian Islands all but dominated the trade. The Marquesas had been revisited as early as 1816 but as one captain pointed out: "the eagerness with which these People formerly had sought for Whales teeth had almost entirely subsided and fire arms & ammunition were now the ~~at~~ articles most in demand [Footnote: Samuel Hill. Journal and log of the ships Packet and Ophelia, 1812-1821. MS, New York Public Library, New York], p.88].

[45] The total value of the product taken from Hawaii, or from other Polynesian Islands for that matter, cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy. On the other hand, where the Fijian sandalwood was worth twenty dollars a picul, the Hawaiian and Marquesan wood was valued at ten dollars a picul with much worth even less [Footnote: Lockerby, p.82; Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii, pp.66-68; MS Captain Samuel Hill Log, pp.260-1]. The total Hawaiian product was worth more than the total of that from either the Marquesas or Fiji because of the far greater number of ships employed.

SANDALWOOD MARQUESAS

From Handy, Mrs Willowdean C. "Ironwood" (a novel based on ethnological and historical records of the natives of Nuku Hiva, one of the islands of the Marquesas ...). Unpublished ms. Note following Book V, chapter 4.

The Englishman, Wilson, who caused Lt. Gamble so much trouble, was described by Captain Porter as "a white man tattooed and in loin cloth, who had lived on various islands of the group for many years, spoke the language fluently," was "innofensive, honest, good-hearted," and "had a strong attachment for rum".

Captain Porter left Taiohae on the "Essex" on January 15, 1814. Lieutenant of Marines, John Gamble, remained with twenty-one men, his own ship, ~~"Seringapatam"~~ "Greenwich," a store ship, "Sir Andrew Hammond," and a prison ship, "Seringapatam". Four months later, Gamble's stay came to a tragic end when thirteen mutineers and six prisoners, all ~~British~~ English, sailed away on the "Seringapatam", under the British flag, and Gamble had to set fire to the "Greenwich" and escape on the "Hammond" with a single seaman.

Ross, an American sent to NukuHiva by Mr Wilcock, consul of the United States to Canton, to facilitate the traffic in sandal wood to vessels of his country, was supposed by Lt. Gamble to have perished with other Americans stoned to death by the Teiis at the time of his departure, but he survived and continued his work for several years. Camille de Roquefeuil, who visited Taiohae in a merchant ship, "Bordelais", in December, 1817, describes Ross as "a good influence, unlike the deserters," and quotes him as saying that the character of the natives had completely changed since their contact with the whites.

In August, 1814, Captain Sir Thomas Staines, commanding H.M. frigates, "Briton," and "Tagus", came to Taiohae, ...

.....
.....
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Honolulu, Hawaii
October 21, 1957

Dear Mr. Maude:

It was a pleasure to receive your letter of October 7th. I am surprised that you had not received my manuscript, "Ironwood", by that date, since I mailed it on September 12th in time for one of the "Big O" boats which was to sail the following day. It may be traipsing about on a freighter, but will reach you eventually.

I know of only one account of the sandal wood trade in the Marquesas. It appears in Camille de Roquefeuille's "A voyage around the world between the years 1816-1819 in the ship Bordelais." London, Printed for Sir Richard Phillips & co., 1823,

This is an excellent account of the manner of the trade, terms of barter, and individuals who were in residence to collect the sandal wood. It also gives a brief history of the trade from the time Captain Rodgers discovered the wood there in 1810.

Several other voyagers mention the sandal wood trade but always quote Roquefeuille's account. They are Vincendon-Dumoulin et Desgraz, "Iles Marquises ou Nouka Hiva", Paris, 1843, p.92-93; John Coulter's "Adventures in the Pacific," Dublin, 1845 (he was there on a whaler between 1832 & 1838 and also tells of Captain Lock's ship "Mary" of London, which had collected sandal wood about 1827-28).

Somewhere I picked up that Lieut. Lewis was in Taiohae on the Pennsylvania Packet and left John Maury, a midshipman, to collect sandal wood. It was he who returned with faked whale's teeth, carved from ivory, to barter (the teeth being the most prized exchange.

M. de Cintre on the sloop-of-war Thisbe, at the time of the change from the French military occupation to the military administration under Commandant Lt. de Kermel as Resident, mentions that sandal wood was about exhausted. (1860).

I am sorry not to be able to give you definite references to these sources, but perhaps the names will indicate where you could look for them.

If you can find the Roquefeuille's volume, you will have a full account. We do not have it in the Hawaiian Historical Society's library, of which I am the librarian.

Sincerely yours,

Willowdean C. Handy

SANDALWOOD - MARQUESAS REFERENCES

For Checking:-

(1) Porter, David. "Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean ... in the years 1812, 1813 and 1814" 2 vols. New York, 1815. 2nd ed., New York, 1822. [Porter was there in 1812]. 2nd ed., II: 17, 22.

(2) Paulding, Hiram. "Journal of a Cruise of the U.S. Schooner Dolphin among the islands of the Pacific Ocean ...". New York, 1831. [Paulding visited the Marquesas in 1825]. Pl. 33-71.

(3) Thomas ap Catesby Jones, USS Peacock, 1826. See United States. Congress. House Reports. 28th Congress, 2nd Session, No.92. Washington, D.C., 1845. [Jones only stayed at the Marquesas "long enough to bestow presents on the chiefs of the various tribes"].

(4) Captain C.B. Finch of the Vincennes, July 1829 (Nukuhiva). See: Stewart, Charles S. "A Visit to the South Seas, in the U.S. ship Vincennes during the years 1829 & 1830 ...". 2 vols. New York, 1831. 2nd ed., New York, 1833. I:207-357.
Vincendon-Dumoulin, C.A. Les Iles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva". Paris, 1843, pp.96-104.

(5) Commander J.H. Aulick of the Vincennes, August 1835 (for several weeks). P[aullin,] C[harles] O. "Early Voyages of American Naval Vessels to the Orient". United States Naval Institute Proceedings, XXXVI (1910) (Sept. 1910), 726.

(6) Belcher, Edward. "Narrative of a Voyage Round the World ... 1836-42". 2 vols. London, 1843. II:357.

(7) Reynolds, Jeremiah N. "Voyage of the U.S. frigate Potomac ... during the circumnavigation of the globe, in the years 1831, 1832, 1833, & 1834 ...". New York, 1835. And
Warriner, Francis. "Cruise of the U.S. frigate Potomac around the world, during the years 1831-34 ...". New York and Boston, 1833. [Visit of Downes].

(8) Ruschenberger, W.S.W. "A Voyage round the World; including an embassy to Muscat and Siam, in 1835, 1836, and 1837". Philadelphia, 1938. [Visit of Commodore Edmund Kennedy].

nothing

(9) Thunder, ship. "Narrative, remarks and statistics &c in Marquesas, Sandwich, Pitcairn and Tahiti Islands." c.1836. MS in Turnbull Library.

Sandalwood

Memorial of Isaac Nichols

Col. Sec. In-letters, Bundle 10 (1816).

MS. 4/1735

(no. 78, p. 215-17).

To His Ex. Governor Macquarie,

The Memorial of Isaac Nichols -

Most respectfully sheweth -

That Your Excellency's Memorialist is owner of the Colonial Brig Endeavour, which Brig your Memorialist fitted out at a heavy Expence in February last for a Voyage to the Marquesas Islands in pursuit of a Cargo of Sandalewood.

That the said Brig arrived there on the 4th day of May, and while laying at anchor in Nohawa Bay, on the night of the 30th of May, about 11 p.m., was piratically taken possession of by five of the King George's Crew, & one of her own, By securing the Master with a rope and placing one of the Mutineers with a Loaded Pistol over him and his Mate, Threatening their lives if they attempted to make the smallest resistance or alarm - While they Plundered the Brig of a Compass, six Muskets, a brass Blunderbuss, a great part of his Trade which the Master depended upon Bartering with the Natives for her Cargo of Sandalwood. A Watch, Quadrant, Sextor, Books, some of the Brig's Sails, The Whale Boat, Oars, & Sails, which was the only boat he had to

depend upon to procure his Cargo with, besides a great quantity of Provisions, & other Articles, with all which things they effected their escape.

Your Memorialist humbly begs leave to state to your Excellency that in consequence of the Vessell being plundered as before stated, the Master was obliged to return to this Port with very little more than half a Cargo, as he had neither Trade to Barter with the Natives, nor a boat fit to visit their Shores.

Memorialist therefore most Humbly solicits your Excellency will be pleased to take into your gracious consideration the heavy expence of fiting a Vessell out of this Port, the loss your Memorialist must have sustained by the Brig returning with about half a Cargo (Twenty Tons) and be therefore pleased to authorise the Naval Officer to remit the Duty on the said half Cargo of Sandal Wood.

And as in duty bound your Excellency's Memorialist will ever pray.

Isaac Nichols

Sydney, 25th Nov.
1816

Reply

(Col. Sec. Letter Book, Miscellaneous Persons, no. 6). MS. 4/3495.

Secretary's Office
26th November 1816

Sir,

Having laid your Memorial of yesterday's date before the Governor, I am directed to convey to you His Excellency's expressions of regret at the loss sustained by your Vessel the Endeavour in her late Voyage, and at her ill success in procuring a cargo of Sandal Wood.

His Excellency is also sorry that he cannot comply with your solicitation to get the Sandal Wood exempted from the payment of the regular Duty.

I am, Sir,
Your Obt. Servt.
(signed) Jno. Thos. Campbell
Secy.

Mr Isaac Nichols
Sydney.

Notes on

SANDALWOOD

NEW HEBRIDES

SANDALWOOD NEW HEBRIDES

Gardiner, J. Stanley. "The Natives of Rotuma". Journal of the Anthropological Institute, Vol.XXVII (1898), pp.396-435; 457-524.

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406 "Shortly afterwards [i.e. after 1815] came two canoes from Tonga and shipped 100 men, under Konou of Matusa, to go to Erromango, in the New Hebrides, for sandal-wood. Most of the men caught fever there and died, but both canoes returned in safety with full cargoes. This was the first sandal-wood which came to Rotuma. The date is given by Marasea, a man of about seventy, whose father went there when he was a boy; the date would be hence about 1820."

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For Tanyan sandalwood getters on Efate (Naafu's people) see in Deniek.

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SANDALWOOD NEW HEBRIDES

Bennett, George "A Recent Visit to Several of the Polynesian Islands" The US Journal, 1831.

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(1) Visit of Boki to Rotuma, p. 475 (Pt II)

(2) Rotumans taken to Erromanga to get sandalwood, pp 478-80 (Part II).

(3) Rotumans and Tahitians on Aneityum collecting sandalwood, pp 189-91 (Part III).

SANDALWOOD NEW HEBRIDES

(1) See biographical note on George Bennett in:-

O'Reilly, Patrick, "Hebridais", p. 14.

(2) Bennett, George, "An account of the sandal wood tree (Santalum) with Observations on some of the botanical productions of the Sandwich Islands" in the Magazine of Natural History, vol 5, 1832, pp 255-61.

(3) Bennett lived in Australia, where he presumably died (in 1892). See if his ancestor is in the Mitchell.

(4) Bennett, George, "Gatherings of a Naturalist in Australasia", pp 374-85.

(5) Bennett's article in the Asiatic Journal, reproduced (in French) in the Revue Britannique, vol 9 (1831) under the title "The New Hebrides in 1830", pp 72-96.

Sandalwood - New Hebrides 1830

Williams, John, and Barff, (?). "A journal of a voyage undertaken chiefly for the purpose of introducing Christianity among the Fegees and Faamoas ~~//~~/ - by Messrs Williams and Barff". (1830). TS with Niel Gunson.

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P.12 "Agreeable to the Plan we had Proposed made enquiry of our Friends at Tongataboo relative to the remaining Part of our voyage as to what Places they thought it might be most favourable to make an attempt to settle teachers, and we received from them the most shocking information relative to some of the Islands we had proposed visiting, viz. the New Hebrides and the Feegee groups. On one of the New Hebrides sandal wood abounds and a number of /p.13/ gentlemen had Placed natives there from many Islands in the South Seas to cut it for them. The natives cutting the Sandalwood were attacked with a disease which raged among them like the Plague and carried off several.

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Some vessels also came from the Sandwich Islands to the Sandalwood Islands in one of which was Roki the Principle Chief and a number of other chiefs and about four hundred men, who it is believed have all perished. Several Pieces of the vessel having been picked up on the shores of the Sandlewood Island scorched with fire. It is thought they were blown up. Another Sandwich Island vessel which reached the Sandlewood Island had upwards of two hundred men on board and they all Perished with the exception of eight, making the whole number who died from disease and other causes near one thousand souls. We were further informed that on /no?/ period had Proved so fatal to shipping in that part of the world.

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SANDALWOOD

(1) See Bennett, George. "A Recent Visit to Several of the Polynesian Islands". The U.S. Journal, 1831, pp.475-191; to see if it should be photostated in connexion with New Hebrides sandalwood.

(2) ~~Capt. S.P. Henry was the first to exploit the New Hebrides sandalwood, according to Bennett. He was then master of the~~ According to Bennett's article in the Asiatic Journal, footnote to p.128, Capt. Hardy of the Snapper was the first to exploit the New Hebrides sandalwood deposits, followed by Capt. S.P. Henry of the Minerva (p.127) from Tahiti. On the 29th Nov., 1829, Capt. Bancroft on the Dhaule, sailed from Oahu to Erromanga on a private speculation; The Temeamea, with Boki, left on the 3rd Dec. and the Becket two days later (p.126).

Check up names in the MSS cat. index.

BENNETT, GEORGE SANDALWOOD

"A Recent Visit to Several of the Polynesian Islands". The U.S. Journal (1831).

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(1) Part I - June, 1831, pp.194-202.

New importance of coconut oil, since it is now capable of being made into candles.

Sugar made by Bicknell and S.P. Henry on Tahiti.

Account of Niulakita, pp.197-8. Rotuma, pp.198-202. (Rotuma was visited in February and March, 1830).

(2) Part II - August, 1831, pp.473-482.

Rotuma, cont'd. Extensive knowledge of the English language.

"They are particularly cleanly in their meals, and expressed great disgust at the dirty habits of the Sandwich islanders, who touched here in the unfortunate brig Temeamea, under the command of Governor Boki." - p.475.

Visit of canoe from Tonga; Rotumans on Tikopia - p.477.

Visits to Erromanga to get sandalwood, pp.478-80.

(3) Part III - [?], 189-93.

Aneityum in March, 1830. Landed Tahitians and Rotumans to cut sandalwood, pp.189-91. Inmer Island, n. of Tanna.

(4) Part IV - [?], pp.89-96.

Monteverdison's Islands. Tikopia. Tongatabu.

(5) Part V - 1832, pp.217-9.

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SANDALWOOD NEW HEBRIDES

Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, N.S. Vol.VIII, No.8 (Aug., 1830), pp.361-2.

Visit of Capt. S. Henry to Fiji and New Hebrides in 1829 [?].

Sandalwood discovered in New Hebrides by Capt. S. Henry in 1829 [?].

Visit of Capt. S. Henry to Fiji with 2 ships in January, 1830.

Extracts from letter from Rev. John Davies, dated Haweis Town, in Papara, Feb. 17, 1830, to Foreign Secretaries.

Since the last report "Captain S. Henry had been to New South Wales and the New Hebrides islands, in one of which he discovered much sandal-wood. Returning to Tahiti through the Fiji group, he called at Lageba....."

"As Captain Henry, on his return to the Fiji islands, was ready to give this teacher a free passage, we agreed....." He "sailed with Captain Henry in January last for his new destination". 2 small vessels comprised this expedition, one being expected back in 4-5 months.

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SANDALWOOD

Gunson, W.N. "Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas 1797-1860". Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U.

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P.331. "Captains Henry and Ebrill of Tahiti engaged in the rum trade, and their depredations in the sandalwood islands were hardly in accordance with the gospel preached by William Henry.[6] Although Captain Henry openly assisted the L.M.S., many of his ventures, before he professed an Evangelical conversion in 1836, were carried out in contravention to the policies of the mission, and some regarded the killing of John Williams at Eromanga as the direct consequence of the slaughter made by Henry's crew in earlier years.[1]"

[6]See Armitage, November 1826, 50, S.S.L.

[1]e.g. Orton, 1 December 1839, Journal, I, 328.
(Orton, Joseph, Journal 1832-1841, 2 vols. M.L. A 1714, A 1715.)

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P.410. "The missionaries first appeared as champions of the rights and liberties of the South Sea islanders, against the occasional cruelties of sea captains or European residents. They also protested against the depredations of various captains and crew engaged in the sandalwood trade." [1]

[1]See George McLean to Murray, 27 December 1843, S.S.L.

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Robert Towns to Robert Brooks 10 July 1846

"The Avon has arrived bringing 170 x 180 Tons Sandalwood (very superior) - this voyage will pay me well - by last accounts from China it was worth $12 per piul. I mentioned in a former letter having sent the Elizabeth's cargo 111 tons on to China some time since - these two Cargoes have cost me very little - the great object in such voyages is the first outlay on the vessels - mine cost me trifling - we dispatched another last week, the Isabella Anna - Capt. Fotheringham has half and manages her - one great drawback to our old ships is we cannot send the wood on in them - as we cannot get the return cargoes insured. If I am fortunate in the market with these two cargoes I will have two North American built vessels for the purpose.

In my letter of 2nd I mentioned certain articles of trade suitable for the Islands which I will thank you to send me out by first ship leaving after you receive this - Viz.

100	Dozen	tomahawks - commencing no. 1 x 3 (common)
20	"	" Bright, without handles
100	"	" falling axes (common)
10	"	Clearing axes (good for use)
50	"	Adzes (common)
5	cwt.	glass beads, assorted sizes and colours.
20	doz.	common small scissors
20	"	sailors' knives
12	pieces	bright cold. scarlet cloth, coarse fabric broad
10	doz.	drawing knives
10	"	Butchers' knives
20.000		fish hooks, assorted
20	doz.	saw files, cut x hand saw
20	"	musket flints
20	"	pistol "
5	"	good adzes for use.

The above are our chief articles of Trade in the sandalwood voyages and for which we are often obliged to pay very high."

At the end of this letter, referring to whaling, Towns says "Friend Fotheringham has been fortunate in one or two instances - he talks of returning to England in another year".

Ross, Angus. "New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century". Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 1949. (Xerox copy in the A.N.U.).

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P.39. That New Zealand traders engaged in the sandal-wood trade to a limited degree is known but such people, like those later engaged in the labour traffic, left few records behind ~~him~~ them. The second number of the Samoan Reporter, in describing the visit of the missionary ship John Williams to the New Hebrides mentions that "A sandal wood company, connected at New Zealand and China, has opened a store here [near Aneityum]. They have purchased and occupy a small island about two miles from the mainland -- and contemplate extensive intercourse with all the adjacent islands." ~~[Footnote: C.O. 209/36. Addington to Stephen, 15 October 1847, enclosing despatch from J.N. Warren, dated Manila~~ [Footnote: F.O. 58/45 enclosing the Samoan Reporter of September 1845]. On his first visit to these islands in 1848, Bishop Selwyn was pleasantly surprised at the degree of civilization to be found on this island where a library had been established for the residents. He recorded "This place was settled from New Zealand by Messrs Paddon and Murphy" [Footnote: Selwyn, G.A., MS. letter, 17 June 1848. Tucker, I, 257-9, quotes, in part only, from this letter but not the section concerning Paddon and Murphy. Cf. footnote (12) in chap. IV infra. Paddon had been for a time engaged in the Chinese opium-trade and had begun his sandalwood trading in 1843. By 1849 his station employed some fifty white persons and was served by several small vessels which conducted a lucrative trade. Erskine, J.E., Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific ..., 300 and 486.] and on several occasions, he paid tribute to Paddon's fair dealings with the natives. He learned

so much from Paddon as to the treatment of the natives that he frequently mentioned him as "My Tutor".

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Copies of Correspondence

in the

Jardine, Matheson and Company

Papers

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Abstracted by Mrs G.K. Roth

for

Dorothy Shineberg

Filed: 11.5.64.

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Section IIB. Letter Books. (8) Press Copy Letter Books. Hong Kong to Australasia, 1883-1885. 1 vol. Alomost undecypherable without photographing, but the letters seem mostly to be instructions about the tranfer of money from banks to firms.

Section IIA. (5) 3. Private Letters. Australasia, 1837-1882. 31 letters.

1st. June 1849. P18. Letter from Honolulu to Hong Kong appointing the firm of Jardine and Matheson as Consul for King Mamehameha.

24th. Feb. 1852. P22. At sea off San Franscioe on board "Mazeppa" reporting that the Captain (Patty) sold his own cargo at the Sandwitch Islands.

Now comes the 31 Australasian letters

Section IIA. (5) 3. P17.

23rd. July 1845 P17. Sandalwood to Hong Kong from Sydney.

23rd. Sep. 1845. P20. "Nimrod" to load available sandalwood in Sydney for Shanghi but to call at Annataw, "friend Heeyebhoy's Island" and then to Tongataboo. (for more sandalwood)

13th. Oct. 1845. P21. "Nimrod" with sandalwood not now calling Tongataboo but at Annataw and Heeyebhoy's island

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Section IIA. (1) 3. Australasian, 1824-1898. 4,827 letters plus 47 letters.

3rd. Jan. 1830. 14. Letter from Hobart to say that "Ephemina" will carry sugar to Isle of France.

12th. March 1833. 60. Report of arrival of "Denmark Hill" in Sydney from Sandwitch Islands with cargo of sperm oil.

2nd. May 1843. 213. (Slump in Australia) Reporting arrival of Sandalwood by "Dawson".

26th. Sep. 1843. 216. Letter from Auckland, timber and tortoisshell for Kong Hong but complains that Heeyebhoy sent down a vessel of rubbish.

27th. Aug. 1844. 221 No sandalwood but a cheap cargo of cedar. Heeyebhoy's Captain Paddon has taken the "Brigend", and armed cruiser of ten guns, and founded a settlement on the island called Annatow from which he is sending cargo of sandalwood

on his own account, by an accomplice that commands the Brig.

2nd. Aug. 1845.246. Sandalwood from Heejebhoy Rustomjee.

23rd. Sep. 1945. 255. Sandalwood from Sydney to Hong Kong.

8th. Nov. 1845. 262. Bech de Mere and Sandalwood from Annataw, New Hebrides for Hong Kong.

9th. June 1846. 295. Sandalwood arrived at Sydney from Annataw from Captain Paddon.

13th. June 1846.296. Sandalwood from Annataw to Sydney.

10th. July, 1846. 300. Sandalwood and bech de mere to Hong Kong, from Annataw

15th. Feb. 1847. 327. From Sydney, The "Regia" to be dispatched to Hong Kong via Anataw.

8th. March 1847. 331. Further to No.327. The "Alfred" is now to call at Anatam to collect Capt. Paddon's Sandalwood and then to Minilla if nessary before Hong Kong.

4th. Sep. 1847. 348 The "Terror" to call at Anatam for Sandalwood for China.

16th. Oct. 1847. "Regia" to Anatam to Capt. Paddon for sandalwood and then on to Minilla.

27th. Oct. 1847. 357. "Depressed tea market caused by the increase in the sandalwood trade - the parties engaged in it make so much by the wood and are so anxious to realize, that they sell the tea purchased by proceeds of the wood for whatever it will fetch."

23rd. Dec.1847.361. Letter from Sydney to J.& M. at Shanghai. The "William Wilson" and the "Angelina" will both take sandalwood .

23rd. Jan. 1848. 369. "Alfred" and"Regia" to Anatow for Sandalwood.

8th. Feb. 1850. 379. Sandalwood is low in price on Hong Kong. In future the wood is to be sent to Sydney where the price is almost the same as in Hong Kong. Captain Paddon has been notified accordingly.

6th. Feb. 1850. 382. Sandalwood from Anatam to Hong Kong in"Vanguard".

23rd. Feb. 1850. 386. "Arabia" Capt. Davis, to call at Anatam for Sandalwood.

29th. April 1850. 400. Capt. Paddon very ill and owes money to Thacker (the writer). Paddons sandalwood establishment and that of Capt. Town on the Isle of Pines are the only two in the Pacific.

24th. Oct. 1850. 424. Capt. Paddon better. Vessel being sent to Anatam to collect Sandalwood.

22nd. Feb. 1851. 440. The "Flash" to collect sandalwood at Anatam and then to Hong Kong.

20th. March 1851. 442. Letter from Capt. Paddon, Anatam enclosing Bill of Lading for sandalwood shipped in "Flash". States he and Towns are the only people collecting sandalwood in the islands.

14th. May 1851. 456. Thacker &Co. barque "Lady Sale" about to leave for Anatam and Hong Kong.

14th. June 1851. 462. From Capt. Paddon at Anatam enclosing Bill of Lading for sandalwood shipped in the "Lady Sale for Hong Kong.

16th. Sep. 1851. 467 From Capt. Paddon at Anatam, sandalwood shipped per "Elenor".

19th. Oct. 1851. 472. The Barque "Ruby" to proceed to Anatam to deliver stores to Capt. Paddon and load sandalwood to be delivered at Shanghai.

17th. June 1852. 504 From H. Moore advising a cargo of sandalwood from Anatam to Hong Kong per "Sydney".

22nd. June 1852. 506. From Thacker & Co. The "Sydney"to call at Anatam for sandalwood and then to Hong Kong.

6th. Jan. 1853. 551. Capt. Paddon is in Sydney and returning to the islands per "STatesman". The "Statesman" to pick up sandalwood and then sail for Hong Kong.

1st. July 1853. 555. The "Frances Barclay" to the islands for sandalwood for China.

4th. July 1853. 597. The Brig "William and Mary" to sail for the islands for sandalwood from Capt Paddon.

8th. July 1853. 599. The "Arabia" just purchased by Mr. Thacker, Commanded by Capt. Garthon.."we now dispatch her with stores for Capt. Paddon at Isle of Pines and will take on to you such sto you such sandalwood as is available.

9th. July 1853. 603. "Arabia" with sandalwood from Sydney but will call for Capt. Paddon's wood .

30th. Sep. 1853. 637. The "Early Bird" to the islands for Capt. Paddon's sandalwood.

2nd. Nov. 1853. 646. Report that the "Arabia " ran aground at Port Ressolution. (Tanna).

20th. Nov. 1853. 647. Thatcher advising Capt. Paddon to "desist from procuring sandalwood for the present and to turn his attention to Bech de mere.

9th. March 1854. 689. A years contract with Capt. Paddon for sandalwood for China.

10th. March 1854. 690. Beche de mere for Hong Kong per "Strathfieldsaye".

16th. March 1854. 694. "Frances Barclay" shipped sandalwood from Isle of Pines and Tanna to Hong Kong.

20th. March 1854. 696. From Thacker. First shipment of sandalwood under contract with Capt Paddon from Isle of Pines and Tanna per "Nina" also bech de mere.

20th. July 1854. 732. The Brig "Vulture" to proceed to Tanna and Enomanga for Sandalwood for Hong Kong.

17th. Nov. 1854. 760. From Thacker informing J.&M that the Barque "Melanie" is to proceed to Enomanga for sandalwood for Hong Kong or Wrampoa.

8th. Dec. 1854. 770. Confirming that the "Melanie" collected the sandalwood as reported in number 760 and asking "is there a market for rough sulphur as Capt. Paddon has collected a good deal and would be glad to send it to you".

Now there is a drop in the number of letters and I can find no reference until 1856. In 1854 there were 99 letters, in 1855 only 28 and in 1856 only twenty. I found only one reference in 1856.

26th. March 1856. 807. From H. Moore. The French Brig "Uni" sailed for New Caladonia and Tanna yesterday for sandalwood for China.

There are no letters for 1857. The next reference I found was,

4th. August 1859. 934: Reference to sale of beche de mere and sandalwood in Hong Kong but no other details, the letter is from H.Moore.

I carried on for another hundred or so letters and then tried the outward letter books SectionII B. I started with the letters from Hong Kong Vols. 44, and 45, from July 1844 to June 1845 without any success.

Mr. Maude's copy.

Section II B India Letter Books stated to contain letters to Australia.

Vol. 37. July 1845 to 31st. December 1845, nothing.

Vol. 38 Jan. 1846 to June 1846.
Page 138. 24th. Feb. Letter to P. Narrain Chitty refers to South seas sandalwood being preferred to Malabar.

Vol. 39. July 1846 to June 1847.
Page 57. 23rd. July 1846. Letter to Arbuthnot & Co. Madras quoting price of South Seas sandalwood at 7 to 10 dollars and Malabar at 11 to 14 dollars.
Page 58. 23rd. July as above to Mr Chitty.
Page 513. To Barretto, Minila. Reference to the "Statesman" being nine days at Annatam northward bound from Sydney to Hong Kong.

Vol. 40. July 1847 to June 1848.
Page 202. 4th. Nov. 1847. To Barretto, Minila, stating that "Terror" will bring up a cargo of sandalwood for Thacker & Co. the proceeds to be used to pay for the sugar from Minila.

Page 247. 9th. Dec. 1847. To Barretto, Minila. Reporting the arrival of "Terror" from Annatam with sandalwood. Thacker & Co. have requested the proceeds of the sandalwood to be used to buy sugar for R. & E. Tooth of Sydney.

Page 303. 10th. Jan 1848. To Barretto, Minila, reporting arrival of "Regia" with eighty five tons of sandalwood from Annatam; proceeds to be used to buy sugar.

Page 376. 26th. Feb. 1848. To B.A. Barretto & Co. the "Alfred" has brought sandalwood valued at about 9,000 dollars.

Page 599. 7th. March 1848. To Barretto. Thacker has dispatched "Winscales" to Annatam and China.

Vol. 41. July 1848 to June 1849, nothing.

Vol. 42. July 1849 to June 1850.
Page 455. 6th. Feb. 1850. The Brig "Sophia" Capt. Deverell, chartered by Thacker, has brought up a cargo of sandalwood to Whampoa.

Vol. 43. nothing, also nothing in Vols. 44 qnd 45.

Section II B Europe Letter Books stated to contain letters to Australia.

Vol. 6. April 1844 to February 1845.
Page 7. 6th. April 1844 to Dudly Sinclair, New Zealand stating that they have sold their tortoise shell ex "Osprey" for 223 dollars.

Page 415. 6th. Jan 1845. To Mr. George Pelby, Oahu, Sandwitch

Islands regarding the difficulty of selling pickled salmon in Hong Kong.

Vol. 7. March 1845 to December 1845.

Page 461. 15th. Nov. 1845 to Thacker & Co. reporting that "Peruvian" arrived 2nd. August with sandalwood from Capt. Paddon and draft by him on Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee for £799.

Page 462. 16th. Nov. 1845 to Thacker. Regrets that the exchange of commerce with Australia has been so disappointing, the only exception has been sandalwood. N.Z. gum and varnish made from it is unsaleable.

Page 463. 17th. Nov. 1845 to Thacker again stresses that sandalwood is the "only article which can be shipped to this quarter with a fair prospect of good". The "Peruvian" sandalwood sold for 9.50 dollars per pecul.

Page 465. 18th. Nov. 1845. to Capt. Larkin, Sydney. Notes that 168 tons of sandalwood are to be covered by insurance and that if not already shipped should by sent to Canton instead of Shanghae as demand at the latter is limited.

Vol. 8. January 1846 to December 1846.

Page 21. 20th. Jan. 1846. To Thacker, Sydney, So far no sale for sulphur from N.Z. and New Hebrides.

Page 22. To Capt. Paddon Annatam, New Hebrides. 9 casks of Bicho de Mar received per "Alfred" also some sandalwood. They "are sorry to understand that you have had difficulties to contend with during your past career, the more so as Mr. Heenjeebhoy Rustomjee's affairs are now so much involved as to render it impossible for him to aid you further in the undertaking". They suggest that Paddon comes to an agreement with Thacker & Co.

Page 217 1st June 1846. To Thacker. Sulphur still unsold.

Page 312. 14th. August 1846. To Thacker reporting arrival of 74½ tons of sandalwood from Annatam. It will be sent on to Shanghae because a large import has just arrived from India.

Page 489. 1st Dec. 1846 to Thacker acknowledging their letter of 31st. July stating that 31 tons of sandalwood would be consigned in "Brankenmoor".

Page 490. 2nd. Dec. 1846. to Thacker. Sandalwood ex "Alfred" sold for 8,003 dollars and ex "Brankenmoor" for 3,586. The gum is still unsold but they have been offered a small amount for the sulphur. The value of South Seas sandalwood has dropped to 7 dollars a pecul because of large quantities arriving.

European Letter Books.

Vol. 9. 1847.

Page 1. To Thacker & Co. Sydney. 2nd. January. Sulphur ex."Alfred" sold for $88.

Page 54. To George Pelby, Honolulu. 20th. February Reports the arrival of letter of 17th. Nov. consigning sheet lead and sandalwood per "Brooklyn" for sale in Hong Kong.

Page 77. To Thacker, 2nd. March, reporting arrival of "Statesman" from Annatam with 103 tons of sandalwood from Capt. Paddon. Sandalwood sold for $9.25 per percul.

Page 143. To Thacker 29th. April noteing that "Alfred" will be dispatched to Hong Kong via Annatam . The sandalwood ex"Statesman" has been sold for $ 14, 342.

Page 235. To Thacker 10th. July announcing arrival of "Alfred" from Annatam. No sandalwood on Thacker's account "but Capt. Paddon has transmitted to us a bill of lading for 75½ tons for sale on his own account, the proceeds of which he directs us to carry to your credit, after the payment of a bill for £400 which he has passed upon us of which please take note."

Page 235. To Captain Paddon repeating the details of the above letter.

Page 239. To Thacker 15th. July referring to "Alfred" sandalwood prices and the supply positions in different ports in China.

Page 395. To Capt Paddon, they have sold his sandalwood ex"Alfred" for $ 10,216 deducted the £400 and paid the balence to Thacker's account, that is Spanish Dollars 8,276.80.

Page 403. To C.& C.F. Beck, Adelaide, 4th. Nov. advising the arrival of "Swallow" with South Seas sandalwood.

Page. 404. To Thacker 5th. Nov. repeating information in Capt. Paddon's letter on page 395.

Page 457. To Thacker 9th. Dec. The "Terror" has arrived from Annatam with 63½ tons of sandalwood.

Vol. 10. 1848.

Page 1. To Thacker 10th. Jan. Acknowledging their letter of 16th. Oct. informing them that "Regia" has been dispatched via "Annatam" the proceeds of the sandalwood to be used to pay Barretto & Co. of Manila for sugar.

Page 46. To Pelby. Honolulu, 1st. Feb. advising him that his sandalwood ex "Brooklyn" has arrived in Hong Konk and that proceeds will be used to pay for the cigars he has ordered.

Most letters, in this volume up to this date comment on the murder of six Englishmen near Canton early in December and the effect this has had on trade because of the strained relationship between the Governments.

Page 50. To Thacker, 18th. Feb. The sandalwood ex "Terror" and "Regia" to be forwarded to Canton where conditions are favourable for sale.

Page 52. To Pelby, Honolulu 21st. Feb. Sheet lead has arrived by "Toulon" to meet in part the cost of cigars.

Page 74. To Thacker 6th. Feb. Have received 78½ tons of sandalwood from Capt. Paddon by "Alfred." Proceeds to pay for sugar.

Page 135. To Thackers 12th. April. Your letter 10th. Jan. It is noted that you have chartered "Winscales" to bring sandalwood from Annatam and to load sugar on the return trip, also your arrangements with Capt. Paddon.

Page 142. To Thacker 14th. April the "Winscales" Capt. Sprul, has arrived with 51 tons of sandalwood from Annatam.

Page 192. To Thacker 5th. June. Long letter of prices and the supply position of sandalwood in China.

Page 195. To Pelby, Honolulu, 6th. June. His shipment of flour was weavily and unsalable but there may be a sale for the

Page 2a

15th. March 1847. 332. "Alfred " to Anatam for Sandalwood from Capt. Paddon.

15th. June, 1847. 341. The "Statesman" to call at Anatam to collect Capt. Paddon's sandalwood and then to Minilla if necessary before Hong Kong.

15th. Aug. 1847 345. The "Statesman's" sandalwood sold for $14,342.

Page 46. To Pelby. Honolulu, 1st. Feb. advising him that his sandalwood ex "Brooklyn" has arrived in Hong Konk and that proceeds will be used to pay for the cigars he has ordered.

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Page 195. To Pelby, Honolulu, 6th. June. His shipment of flour was weavily and unsalable but there may be a sale for the copper.

Page 323. To Thacker 2nd. Sep. details of quality and prices of sandalwood and names of vessels.

Page 435. To Thacker 20th. Nov. Long letter giving state of the sandalwood market.

Page 500. To Thacker 15th. Dec. "Regia" has arrived with 110 tons of sandalwood at Shanghai.

LETTERS FROM THACKER & CO.
AUSTRALIAN SECTION. There are also letters indexed under John Thacker; Thacker, Mason & Co. and Thacker, Daniell & Co. I have checked these at the same time as I have done the Thacker and Co. letters and include them under this heading.

217, 228 from John telling of his quarrell with his parteners.
246 2nd August, 1845. Enclosing Capt. Paddon's draft on Herjeebhoy Rustomje for £790 for sandalwood per "Peruvian".
234 Retirement of Mason from the firm
257. 25th September 1845. The "Alfed" taking sulphur from the New Hebrides.
261. Nearly illegible. 28th October 1845. There seems to be trouble with Capt. Larkins who has bought the "Nimrod" and taken a cargo of sandalwood to Shanghai to bring back Hyson Skin teas.
267. 15th January, 1846. ~~Acknowledges~~ Mentions $500 for freight on sandalwood per "Dawson". The sandalwood was consigned by Lamb and Parbury.
285 14th April, 1846. ~~Mentions~~ Acknowledges letter of 24th January 1846 which reports sale of 13,191 billets of sandalwood received from Paddon netting $7,382 to their credit. "We are daily expecting Capt. Paddon up from Anatam when we shall endeavour to make some arrangement with him as advised by you."
291. 24th April 1846. The "Alfed" to go to New Zealand then to Anatam for sandalwood from Paddon. The money for the sandalwood to pay for the teas ordered. (Thacker's writing is very difficult to read but now he seems to have acquired a clerk, thank goodness!)
292. 9th June, 1846. Capt. Paddon has just arrived from Anatam he has left 60 or 70 tons of sandalwood on the island for the "Alfed" to call for and has brought 35 tons on here which we shall send by the first opportunity."
300. 10th July 1846. Capt. Jeremiah Davis late of the Bargue "Fanny Connell" appears to owe Paddon for the half of the value of 51½ tons of sandalwood. It sold for $9 per pecule and Paddon's share should be £750. Davis seems to have cleared out and Thackers are trying to get the money from J.& M. for Paddon.
303. 31st July 1846. 31 tons of Sandalwood sold to their credit for £623.
305. 1st September, 1846. As requested they are searching for the register of the "Lady Hayes".
308. 6th November, 1846. The "Alfred" to go to China but will touch at Anatam for sandalwood. They can not find the "Lady Hayes" register.
331. 8th March, 1847. "Alfred" to call at Anatam to take supplies to Paddon and to take on sandalwood to China. They have just received two letters from Paddon dated 22nd November at which time he had 90 tons of sandalwood ready and which would be brought on to J.& M. by "Statesman".
339. 11th May, 1847. They are looking for a suitable vessel to collect Paddon's sandalwood in November and bring back teas.

LETTERS FROM HEERJEEBHOY RUSTOMJEE TO JARDINE MATHESON & CO. LTD.

From Hong Kong

18th October, 1839 to James Ryan at Canton. (Heerjeebhoy's English is not very good and it is sometimes rather difficult to get his menaing.) He wants to buy Sugar Candy, Mace and Silk. There is a long involved story of transactions over money to pay for the goods and the proceeds of the sale of his cottonis to be used. He goes on :- "the report says that the Thomas Couts" is gone up to Whampoa and when the Bill of Lading for 350 Bales of cotton

345. 5th August, 1847. Sales of sandalwood per "Statesman" $14, 342.
348. 4th September, 1847. The "Terror" to call for sandalwood.
352 13th September, 1847. The "Terror's" sandalwood to be used to pay for sugar from Barretto. It brought about £2,100.
354. 16th October 1847The same arrangement for the sandalwood ex "Regia".
361. 23rd December, 1847. The tea market has been low in Australia for some time. The "William Wilson" will take 107 tons of sandalwood but they do not thing the return will be made in teas at present. The "Angelina" will take up 50 tons to Hong Kong in a fortnight's time.
379. 8th February ~~1848~~.1850. "We are exceedingly anxious for the sale of the sandalwood and we have written to Paddon not to send any more on, for the present, to China, but to send it here, where we can make as good ~~price~~ a sale as in China, this putting us earlier in funds and relieving your market for a time.
389. 24th February, 1850. Requesting J.& M. to sell Paddon's sandalwood to meet the advances they have made to him.
397. 27th April, 1850. Long and complicated letter about a shipment of sandalwood per "Angelina," the proceeds of which was to pay Thackers for Paddon's purchase of "Alfred". The sale of the sandalwood didn't meet the cost of the "Alfred".
"We sold the "Alfred"to Paddon for £1,500
and we took in exchange 79 tons of sandalwood ex "Angelina" which ~~xxx~~ we estimated would yeild that sum if sold rather under $7 taking the exchange at 4/- as agreed with Paddon, and deducting your ordinary charges. Our share of the net proceeds of the "Angelina" cargo is but $2,442 which at the exchange of even 4/6 gives but £550
Leaving a loss of £950."
There were very heavy charges ~~for xxxxxxxxxx~~ which included $1,104 for godown rent.
400. 29th April, 1850. "Capt.Paddon's Brig "Governor" has arrived from Anatam and by her we had letters from Capt. Davis of the "Angelina" informing us of Paddon's illness and possible death." They are very worried about the amount of money Paddon owes them and go on:- " Up to this date Capt. Paddon is indebited to us in open account £7600
Against which we hold as under.
His share of the "Alfred" to be recovered from the underwriters in England. 700
Brig "Governor" sent up to us for sale, estimated at .. 800
90 tons of sandalwood sent up in her, to us, for sale here say 810
£2310
Balance still due to us £5,290
Against which we have the following sandalwood in your hands for sale irrespective of that which belongs to oursleves ~~and~~

individually and Capt. Somerville.

Regia's at Shanghae 81½ tons arrived 4th December, 1848.
Terror's at Hong Kong 54½ tons arrived 3rd November, 1849
Sophia's at Hong Kong 102 tons arrived 3rd February, 1850
Making 238 tons upon which no freight is payable in China or say 3980 peculs at $4.50 less duty and charges and exchange at 4/3 would yeild net proceeds, about £2,988.

Mary Ann's at Hong Kong 75 tons arrived 26th August, 1849
Arabia at Hong Kong 27 tons supposed to arrive about 25th May. 1850
Making 102 tons on which freight is payable in China or say 1705 peculs at $4.50 less charges etc. about £ £1,071 leaving a deficit of £1,242.

....."For your information and guidance we beg to state there are but two sandalwood esta blishments in the Pacific namely Paddon's and Towns, and Paddon's may considered virtually at an end, or at all events suspended for a length of time for he has not now the means to prosecute the trade to any extent, and what little wood he may collect will be sent to us here, while Capt Towns informs us t hat he has given positive direction to his party to retain the wood at the Isle of Pines and that he does not intent to ship it to China till the market is relieved of its pres ent large stocks. We think therefore that a rise in price may be anticipated.

422. 23rd September 1850. Very anxious that the sandalwood market should improve and that J.& M. should sell their sandalwood as soon as possible.

424. "Terror's" sandalwood sold for $2,415. Paddon better and has 120 tons ready for shipment

428. Informing J.& M. that the above 120 tons has been sold to Towns who will send it up to Shanghae.

437. They are s ending the "Flash" to Hong Kong to be sold they want $8,500.

440. 22nd Mar ch 1851. They note that J.&.M. have sold the sandalwood ex "Diana" and "Albion" $3,977.

453. 8th May 1851. "~~Lady Sale~~ Introducing Capt. Jackson of the "Lady Sale" of which he is part owner and is under charter to J.& M.

454. 9th May 1851 "Lady Sale" to collect sandalwood from Paddon.

458. 29th May, 1851. Gold discovered in Australia. Some of crew of ships have deserted so may be a delay in getting vessels off.

459. They want 20 Chinese labour. They also want 3 more as porters at $5 a month.

488. 21st February 1852. Paddon is in Sydney and earnestly begs J.& M. to sell the sandalwood ex "Lady Sale" and "Ruby" as soon as it is unloaded.

 Copy for H E Maude

Thacker Letters continued.

491. 13th March, 1852. The "Lady Sale's" sandalwood fetched $6,437 for 1247.26 peculs. Rate of exchange 5/1.

540 12th November 1852. Exchange rate is4/4½.

544 23rd December 1852. They hope the sandalwood ex. Sydney (?) and"Arabia" will pay for their tea orders.

545. The "Statesman" to take 200 tons of sandalwood on our account from Paddon's agent at the Isle of Pines, Annatam and Tanna.

551. 6th January, 1853. "Capt. Paddon is here and returns with the "Statesman" to the Islands: he says there will be 500 tons of sandalwood for the "Stetesman", if she can take so much; and he is most anxious that you should sell it for the best price that can be obtained the instant it arrives; as there is a good deal of wood collected by other parties and he dreads a glut: to this we beg your kind attention."

557. 2nd February, 1853. Exchange rate 5/0½ per dollar.

599. 8th July 1853. "Our Mr. Thacker has purchased the above vessel ("Arabia") from Capt. Davis, and we now dispatch her under the commandof Capt. William Quales Garthon with stores for Capt. Paddon at the Islae of Pines, and to take on to you such sandalwood as he may havecollected, which you will please dispose of and account to us for the proceeds as usual. The "Arabia" also takes on about 80 tons of sandalwood to your consignment for account of Mr. Henry Moore."

634. 19th September, 1853. Acknowledging J.& M's letter of 5th July advising the arrival of "Statesman" on"2nd July with about 243 tons of sandalwood and 23 casks of Beche de Mere and that there had been no enquiry for sandalwood and the holders had not been able to obtain even an offer.

"We trust you will have the goodness to bear in mind our particular desire to dispose of all the sandalwood if possible on arrival at the best price that can be obtained for it. We dread accumilated charges for godown rent besides which we are always anxious to reduce Capt. Paddon's debit balance. We note that money was very scarce and that exchange advanced to 5/4."

637. 30th September, 1853. "Early Bird" being dispatched to Hong Kong to touch at the Islands to take in such sandalwood as Paddon may have ready and also about 100 tons from Sydney on account of Messrs. Flower Salting & Co.

641. 4th October, 1853. "We feel particularly anxious about the prompt sale of Capt. Paddon's sandalwood; to us it is of

the utmost importance, for we are heavily in advance and still of necessity becoming more so, and we beg you will give this subject your earnest attention, whilst the exchange is so high as it is now, even $3 per pecul will be a paying price, but our arrangement with Paddon is a prompt sale for the best price that can be obtained on arrival - an arrangement equally advantageous to him and to us, for he is by no means desirous of upholding very high prices as he can undersell all his competitors."

646. 2nd November, 1853. Had heard from Capt. Edwards, who was employed by Paddon that the "Arabia" went aground at Port Resolution, Tanna. Has she arrived safely in Hong Kong?

647. See page4 of notes for Mr. Maude.

658. 24th November, 1853. Exchange rate, Shanghae 7/8 to 6/6. Hong Kong 5/8 to 5/2.

689. 9th March, 1854. Year's contract with Capt. Paddon for sandalwood for China, they would like J.& M's opinion on the "...effect likely to be produced upon the consumption of sandalwood in China by the successful progress of the rebels and at how many tons per annum you estimate the consumption of sandalwood, the produce of the Islands of the Pacific."

694. 16th March, 1954. Paddon has entered into a contract to supply Toens with sandalwood at a fixed rate, the profits to be devided equally between them.

Paddon shipped from Isle of Pines	2 tons	12 cwt.	3 qrs.
and from Tanna	58 tons	14 cwtt	0 qrs.
Total	61 "	6 "	3 "

Account for 5th November 1853 net proceeds $4,350. Paddon is willing to settle but Towns refuses as freight was charged on 59tons 1 cwt. 2 qrs.

696. 20th March, 1854. The agreement with Paddon is for 800 tons per annum, 200 tons to be shipped quarterly. "We were rather compelled to make this contract to prevent the wood going into other hands as Paddon was determined to sell rather than to continue his consignments to the China market." Thacker repeats his request for J.& M's opinion of the stability of sandalwood in the future. The "Nina" to take 60 or 80 tons of sandalwood from Isle of Pines and Tanna, the first of the sandalwood under contract.

732. 20th July, 1854. The "Vulture" to take 150 tons. Paddon has requested a reduction from 800 tons to 600 in his contract.

This they have agreed to on the understanding that the balance is not sold to others.

760. 17th November 1854. They note that the cessation of trade in Canton has prevented the sale of sandalwood ex "Nina". They are surprised that the "Vulture" did not call at the Isle of Pines to land Paddon's stores and pick up sandalwood. It is very serious as Paddon has had no stores nor have they heard from him.

770. See page 4 of notes for Mr. Maude. This is the time when there is a gap in the letters until 1859. During this year there are five letters from Thacker Daniell & Co. but none of them contain any reference to sandalwood.

EUROPEAN LETTER BOOKS.

Vol. 11. January 1849 to December 1849.
Letters addressed to Messrs. Thacker & Co., Sydney.

Page 2. 8th January. Acknowledging several of Thacker's letters. Of 18th Oct. Stating that "Angelina" will bring sandalwood, 140 tons. 20th. Oct. Thacker's estimate of the proceeds are optimistic.

Page 203. 1st May. Exchange 4/2.

Page 206. 2nd May. They take note of Paddon's wishes for a quick sale, but the market is over supplied and sales are very difficult to effect.

Page 291. 27th, June. Acknowledging several of Thacker's letters. 27th January. They note instructions for sale of Paddon's sandalwood but for months past sales have been very difficult. 6th March Note their intention to send the "Julia Percy" to Annatam for sandalwood and again note the arrangements with Paddon. The "Julia Percy" arrived on the 6th inst. with 4 tons of sandalwood from Paddon and 51 tons from Capt. Somerville. 4th March. They note the "Terror" will bring snadalwood from Annatam. The exchange on Carlos dollars remained all last year at 4/4 but later advanced to ~~4/5~~ and 4/6. 23rd April. The "Terror's" sandalwood brought $6,128.25.

Page 296. 2nd July. "Enclosed we beg to hand you an account sale of sandalwood by "Winscales" netting $4,493".... The market for this article is in a most depressed state while stocks are excessive, and quotations are nominal at $6 to $6.40 per pecule. Exclusive of the large supplies of South Seas Wood on hand, there is a considerable quantity of Sydney and New South Wales sandalwood in the market for which holders would gladly accept $4 per pecul."

Page 388. 6th September. Answering Thacker's letter of 9th June advising that the "Mary Anne" will collect sandalwood at Annatam. Again stressing the low market. They point out "the balence against you is $26,000 to meet which we had on hand the sandalwood per "Winscales", "Regia" and "Angelia" or about 300 tons in all but owing to the state of our market for the article we could not count on being in funds from this source at an early date."

394. 7th September. The "Mary Ann" has arrived from Annatam with about 75 tons of sandalwood from Paddon. "We have now to wait on you with the account sales of the "Julia Percy's" sandalwood viz:-

Pls. 67.20 of Capt. Paddon netting $ 304.
" 851.14 " Somerville " 3,807.

It is impossible to say what sum the sandalwood by the "Regia" "Angelina" and "Mary Ann" will fetch but not much hope of more than $4½ per pecul.

Page 523. 15th December. They have sold about 750 peculs of "Angelina's" sandalwood at Canton for $4.40 per pecul, duty paid. They point out that at this low price there will not be enough funds to pay for the teas and sugar they have ordered. So what are they going to do about it!

LETTERS TO ROBERT TOWNS.
Page 204. 2nd May. "Statesman" arrived on 16th March with 170 tons of sandalwood and 12 peculs of Beche de Mer. They have not sold the sandalwood. It is nominally quoted at $6½ to $7 per pecul for good South Seas wood. They may perhaps get that for good wood but a large proportion consisting of large hollow pieces of which the Chinese can make little use will not command that figure.

298. 2nd July. "Statesman's" sandalwood still not sold. The present nominal price in Canton is $6 to $6.40 for good South Sea Island wood, but they can not get any offers.

Page. 393. 7th September. "Statesman's" sandalwood sold for $13,931. They are sorry the price is so low.

Page 475. 16th November. Rest of "Statesman's" sandalwood still not sold, the price is now $4½ and $5.

Page 532. 15th December. Rest of sandalwood sold for $658.

There is nothing about sandalwood in the very few letters to Henry Moore and Charles Swanston.

Vol. 12. January 1850 to December 1850.
Letters addressed to Messrs. Thacker and Co., Sydney.

Page 41. 2nd February. The "Angelina's" sandalwood was sold for $4,575 at $4.40 and $4.50 per pecul. Thackers debt to J.& M. is now $62,000! They "propose valuing on our London friends during the present month to the extent of £8,000 which we will thank you to reimburse them for as early as ~~xxxxxxx~~ practicable." The tea market in Sydney is very low.

Page 82. 1st March. "Sophia" brought two parcels of sandalwood, 33tons 9 cwt. 3qrs. 21 lbs and 87 tons 9 cwt. 1qr. 21 lbs. These amounts were less than the Bill of Lading and Capt. Deverell says it is not his responsibility. The sandalwood ex "Mary Ann" brought $2,670, not a good price but the market is still depressed and over stocked; exchange is 4/6.

Page 130. 3rd April. Stocks of sandalwood still high. Best South Sea Isalnd wood $4 and $4.05 per pecul.

164. 4th May. Sales of sandalwood ex "Sophia":-
87 tons 16cwt. netting $4,558) not enough to pay off
33 " 9 " 3qrs. 21lbs 1, 738) his debts.

Page 201. 25th May. They note that the "Arabia will call at Annatam for Paddon's sandalwood. The "Josephine" having abandoned her charter, Referring to Thacker's letter of 24th Februay, they note their instructions to sell Paddon's sandalwood on arrival but point out that this is sometimes difficult as for the past two years stocks have been heavy and only a certain amount can be absorbed. They announce the arrival of the "Arabia" on the 16th inst. bringing from Capt. Rodd, acting for Capt. Paddon, about 27 tons of sandalwood and a second lot of about 62 tons the ownership of which is in dispute. But they understand that it belongs to the owners of the "Vanguard". They have lately sold the sandalwood ex "Sophia" in Canton; 34tons 13 cwt. at $4.50 and the remainder at $4.25 per pecul, duty paid. For the sandalwood ex "Regia" at Shanghae they cannot get more than $3.50.

234. 24th June. The "Terror's" sandalwood brought $2,415.

Page 238. 16th July. "Imortations of sandalwood crowded in with such rapidity towards the end of 1848 and the first six months of 1849 that the existing demand could not take off the supply at any price," "Regia's" wood was inferior. 50 peculs of picked wood fetched $6, and 80 peculs of ~~picked~~ somewhat better than the worst fetched $4.80. In reply to Thacker's letter of 29th April they say they are sorry to observe that in the event of anything happening to Paddon Thacker is likley to be considerable loser. They are holding "Regia's" sandalwood in the hope of an improvement.

Page 244. 18th July. Sales of sandalwood ex "Arabia":-
Pecls. 454.92 of Capt Paddon $1218
" 1054.34 of Concerned 2800 at your credit.
This wood was sold by us in Hong Kong, the purchaser paying the duty, this is equal to about $4.50 duty paid. The latter parcel was the one formerly alluded to as belonging to the owners of the "Vanguard".

Page 315. 28th August. They note that in Thacker's letter of 3rd June there is an improvement in the Sydney tea market.

318. 29th August. Quotations for South Sea Island sandalwood are nominal at $3.70 and $4.30 per pecul.

365. 23rd October. They are doing all they can to sell Paddon's sandalwood but cannot get an improved price while Malabar wood comes in at such a low figure. They have just sold "Regia's" sandalwood for $4.50.

Page 405. 8th November. A small parcel of sandalwood has arrived by the "Diana."

EUROPEAN LETTER BOOKS.
Vol. 12. There are eight letters to Henry Moore but they deal with the settlement of the estate of the late Capt. Larkins.

Vol. 13. January 1851 to December 1851.

Page 1. 7th January. Capt Richards has shipped for China from Annatam about 50 tons of sandalwood. They are happy to hear that Capt. Paddon's health is better and note that he has 120 tons of sandalwood, in readiness for shipment. They have recently sold about 6 tons ex "Diana" wood in Canton at $5 per pecul, duty paid. They will try to sell the rest of "Diana" wood and the whole of "Albions" at the same price. They are hopeful of doing so because there is not much remaining in first hands, The wood ex "Regia" is unsaleable in Shanghae so it has been sent to Hong Kong.

Page 7. 15th January. They enclose account of sales of sandalwood as follows:-
"Diana" netting $ 361
"Albion" " 3979 total $4,340.

Page 38. 28th January. Account Sales for sandalwood ex "Regia" 1848 netting $4,483.

Page 88. 24th March. They observe that Thackers have sold to Towns the sandalwood waiting shipment but note that more is ready. Because of sandalwood being in short supply they hope to sell at a better price.

209 29th May. The rate of exchange on London has recede materially to 4/8 and 4/8½.

Page 213. 5th June. The "Flash" has brought 90 tons of sandalwood from Annatam. They quote $4½ and $5 per pecul as Malabar is preferred and continues to be imported at a low cost.

Page 252. 3rd July. The "Flash's" sandalwood was sold for $6300.

Page 345. 27th August. The "Lady Sale" has arrived with 77½ tons of sandalwood from Annatam. It will be shipped to Canton for sale and they hope to get as good a price as for the "Flash's".

Page 407. 30th September. Price of sandalwood is $4.70 and $5 per pecul. Some importation of Australian wood via Singapore has been sold as low as $2.20 and $2.50.

Page 508. 22nd December. 1247.26 peculs ex "Lady Sale" brought $6,437.

LETTERS TO HENRY MOORE. There are nine letters mostly dealing with the Larkins estate.

Page 167. 7th May. Mentions the possibility of a small shipment of sandalwood which should fetch about $5 per pecul, and discusses the trade in copper, teas and sugar.

A LETTER TO R. CAMPBELL, CIRCULAR QUAY, SYDNEY.
Page 5. 8th January. Informing him that the impression he has that Capt. Richards had run away with the "Vanguard" and pinched the sandalwood was quite incorrect. The wood was sent on to them to be sold and the amount realized had been accounted to the proper party.

VOLL 14. January 1852 to November 1852.

Page 3. 10th January. They have sold the sandalwood ex "Eleanor" at the"Lady Sale's" netting $3003.

Page 93. 20th March. The "Ruby" brought from Annatam 94 tons of sandalwood. It has been sold at $5.50 per pecul. Exchange rate4/4 and 4/3.

Page 435. 2nd October. Acknowledging Thacker's letter of 22nd June informing them that the "Sydney" will collect sandalwood at Annatam. The schooner arrived on the 12 with 100 (tons?) from Paddon, a prtion of which Thacker says belongs to H. Moore. Paddon makes no mention of this so they do not know how much belongs to Moore, They will pass the whole proceeds to Thacker.

495. 13th November. "Sidney's" sandalwood brought $8,914.

LETTERS TO HENRY MOORE.
95. 20th March. His sandalwood from Sydney has arrived per "Pedlar".

Page 120. 8th April. The above brought $3,645. They regret that this low figure has meant a loss to him.

Page 386. 7th September. They note that the "Sidney" will bring 25 or 30 tons of sandalwood from Annatam. The money earned will be spent on teas. They are glad to learn that the sandalwood ex "Pedlar" was not on Moore's own account.

Vol. 15. November 1852 to July 1853.

79. 3rd January. "Arabia" Capt. Davis, has arrived from the Isle of Pines with 72½ tons of sandalwood. Good South Sea Island

sandalwood is quoted at $6.20 and $7 per pecul.

103. 18th January. Sale of "Arabia's" sandalwood
1143.50 peculs netting $6,799.
Rate of exchange 4/11½ and 5/0½.

Page 346. 11th May. Notes that Capt. Paddon will have 300 tons of sandalwood to ship on the "Statesman".

Page 349. 16th May. The "Statesman" has not arrived and unless she comes in the next month they will have to draw on London to cover Thacker's debt to them. The "Frances Barclay" arrived recently with 160 tons of sandalwood. The present price for good South Seas Island wodd is $6.30 to $6.90. The stock is moderate.

Page 411. 10th June. They fear the "Statesman" is so overdue that something may have happened to her. They are going to "value on their London Friend for $17,300." Exchange is 5/2.

Page 447. 5th July. "Statesman" arrived on 2nd with 243 tons 16cwt. of sandalwood from Paddon and 23 casks of Beche de Mer. The proceeds of this ..."he instructs us to send to you in Blue American Drills or Nankeens on his account which shall be cared for if we can procure the articles".

LETTERS TO HENRY MOORE.
Page 9. 27th November. Sandalwood per "General Palmer" fetched $761.

Page 360. 21st May. They note that Moore has a parcel of 80 tons of sandalwood on hand waiting shipment.

Page 485. 21st July. They regret there is no demand for sandalwood at present in Canton and during the continuance of the disturbances in the interior the article is likely to suffer considerably. The price of South Sea Island sandalwood has receded to $4 and $4.20 and this rate is quite nominal.

Letter to John Kettle Esq., Sydney.
Page 79. 3rd January, 1853. "The "Arabia" arrived with 72½ tons of sandalwood from the Isle of Pines on your account." They hope to sell for $6.20 to $7 per pecul.

Page 104. ~~xxxxxxxx~~ 18th January. Sandalwood ex "Arabia" delivered from the ship's side was 1175½ pecules netting $7,611. The proceeds to go to pay for teas.

Letters to ROBERT TOWNS.
Page 347. 14th May. Ackhowledging his letter of 7th January informing them that Thacker has chartered the "Statesman" to bring up sandal-

wood. They note that he is despatching the "Francis Barclay" to the Isle of Pines. They have received Bills of Lading for 54.4 tons from his agent on the Isle of Pines and 61.6.3 from Capt. Paddon. This is exclusive of the sandalwood shipped by Towns at Sydney.

Page 446. "Statesman" has arrived, has sustained considerable damage due to segvere weather. She has brought 243 tons 16 cwt. of sandalwood on the Charterer'S account.

Vol. 16. August 1853 to May 1854.
Letters to Thacker

Page 216. 26th November. They announce the arrival ofthe "Aarabia" on the 16th bringing from Capt. Paddon 119½ tons of sandalwood and about 4½ tons of Beche de Mer. They will sell the wood in Hong Kong and hope to get a better price than that ruling in Canton where the price is down to $4 and $3.75. The "Arabia" arrived in a leaky state as she had been aground during the voyage. She will have to go on the slip for repairs.

Pge 287. 13th January, 1854. The "Early Bird" arrived on 16th ~~market is dull and prices nominal~~ with 129 tons 16cwt. of sandalwood from Paddon.

Page. 320. 25th January. Sandalwood ex "Early Bird" not sold, the market is dull and prices nominal at $3.50 and $3.80.

Page 397. 27th February. Still have not sold Paddon's sandalwood but Capt. Park of the "Early Bird" have paid them $66.50 for some coconuts and sulphur from Capt. Paddon.

Page 438. 24th March. Exchange 5/- They have accepted $4 per pecul for the sandalwood :-
Ex "Arabia" netting $6,120
"Early Bird" " 6,257 = $12,377.

LETTERS TO CAPT. PADDON.
Page 186. 22nd. November, 1853. They acknowledge Bills of Lading per "Statesman" for
92 tons of sandalwood at Messrs. Thacker & Co.
152 tons " at Mr. Robert Towns.
23 casks of Beche de Mere on your own account. The latter has been sold for $211. They have also shipped documents for 119½ tons of sandalwood by the "Arabia". Capt. Garth of the "Arabia" also brought samples of sulphur and shell and bracelets to be copied in porcelain. This would take about 3 or 4 months and doesn't seem very practicable. The "William and Mary" arrived on 29th October with 119 tons of sandalwood on account of Mr. Towns.

236. 26th December. "Early bird brought 129 tons 7 cwt. of sandalwood to account of Thacker less the cost of a boat to be furnished ~~you Paddon~~ to Capt. Park to replace one left by him for you.

Page 236. 12th December. They have shipped the Blue American Drills per "Arabia", cost $217.

Page 269. 26th December. "Early Bird" brought 129 tons 7 cwt. of sandalwood to account of Thacker, less tje cost of a boat to be furnished to Capt. Park to replace one left by him for you. The large log of wood will be reported on and half the proceeds of the sulphur and coconuts will be paid to Park for freight.

Page 340. 9th February 1854. The large log will not fetch a better price than the wood ordinarily imported. The boat cost $60.

LETTERS TO ROBERT TOWNS.
Page 105. 24th September, 1853. Acknowledging his letter of 9th july regarding the "William and Mary" coming up to China with a full cargo of sandalwood from the Islands which Towns wants sold on arrival. The market is bad but they note that Paddon has an interest in the wood and they will attend to the seperate accounts sales of the various parcels. They note that the ~~xxxxxx~~ vessel will be consigned to Messrs. Turner & Co. and that the freights are payable to them.

Page 188. 22nd November. Account sales of sandalwood ex. "FRAncis Barclay":-

Tons 61.6.3 received from Capt. Paddon netting $4350.
" 99.5.2.11 " " your agent at the Isle Of Pines. $5359.

Prices have revived a little lately but are still low at $3.75 and $4 per pecul for good South Sea Isalnd wood. The "William and Mary" arrived on the 29th Ulto. bringing 119 tons from Capt. Paddon and 62 tons from Mr. J.C. Lewis which turned out short weight.

321 25th January 1854. Account sales for sandalwood ex. "William and Mary":-

Tons 62 received from Mr. J.C. Lewis netting $3485.
" 111.15.2.3. " Mr. W. Underwood " 5677.

The price is nominal or nearly so at $3.50 to $3.80

339. 9th February . Exchange rate 5/- to 4/11½.

Page 398 25th February. "Statesman" sold in her present state for $16,500, this good price is because of shortage of shipping.

LETTERS TO HENRY MOORE.
24th September, 1853. ~~The "Statesman" brought~~ The "Arabia" has brought 77tons of sandalwood which they will try to sell.

Page 193. 24th November. They note that his negotiations for sandalwood has fallen through and prices are low at $4 and $3.75 although the demand has recently been fair.

Page 437. 24th March. They have sold his sandalwood ex "Arabia" for $4 netting $4,311. This shows a heavy loss on the invoice cost but they do not think they would have gained anything by delay.

Vol. 17. May 1854 to February 1855.

LETTERS TO THACKER.

Page 17. 19th May. Acknowledging thacker's letter of 16th March about sandalwood ex "Frances Barclay". The correct proceeds of Paddon's ..?.. $4,355. "We take note of your arrangement with Paddon for a year's supply of sandalwood and have written to Canton for information on the extent of consumption of the article. The market for sandalwood in Canton has been firmer at $4 and $4.50 but a large parcel imported a few days ago may depress the market.

Page 154. 20th July 1854. They note that the "Nina" has been chartered to bring up sandalwood from the Isle of Pines and Tanna. She arrived on 5th Instant with 69 tons and 6 tons 14 Cwt. of Bech de Mer.

Page 166. 21st July. They are informed that under ordinary circumstances 2,500 to 3,000 peculs of sandalwood might be disposed of monthly at an average price of $4.50 to $5. The knowledge of conditions due to the revolutionary activities in the interior is limited, so they cannot say what effect this will have on the market.

Page 270. 22nd September. They note that the "Vulture" will bring sandalwood from Paddon.. The sandalwood ex "Nina" has not been sold because of the cessation of trade in imports in Canton.

Page 297. 25th September. ~~They note that the "Vulture" will bring sandalwood from Paddon~~ The "Vulture" has arrived without the sandalwood, because of bad weather she could not call at the Island. (Poor Paddon hasn't any stores.)

LETTERS TO CAPT. PADDON.

140. 20th July 1854. The "Nina" has arrived with 48 tons 12 cwt. of sandalwood and 6½ tons of Beche de Mer. They have received the sample of coals and will report on them in due course.

LETTER TO ROBERT TOWNS.

Page 19. 19th May, 1854. Sandalwood ex "Frances Barclay". Long explaination for the differences in prices obtained and appologies for changing the freight to the wrong account. Amended charges now:-

Tons 61.6.3. netting $4,355
" 99.5.2.11. " $5,374.

There are no letters to Henry More about sandalwood. Exchange rates:- August 1854, 4/11, November 4/7½, February 1855 4/8

New Hebrides Sandalwood Trade

Shipping

Dorothy Shineberg

August 1841 - November 1842

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
DIANA brig, 204, (Watson, Cheyne supercargo)	6 Aug. 41	24 June 42	New Guinea	Pines, Manila, China, Batavia	h, hi, a, b	150 tons (Manila)	Dacre, Jones and Elgar, (o & c)
ORWELL bque, 305 (Hughes)	6 Aug. 41	9 April 42	Guam Kamschatka	Pines, China	hi, h, a, b	'at least' 150 tons (China)	" " " " "
ACHILLES bque, 384 (Veale)	29 Oct. 41	23 July 42	Guam	Pines, Maré, Manila	i,d,h, m	(Manila)	Dacre, Jones, Elgar (c)
JANE bque		26 July 42		Pines,Singapore Newcastle			" " " " "
JEAN bque, 282 (Richards)	11 Nov. 41	25 March 42	Guam		x	320+ tons (Sydney)	'order'
HIND brig, 141 (Jones)	15 Nov. 41	5 Feb. 42	Guam	Pines, Lifu	x	'sandalwood' (Sydney)	14 steerage passengers
MARTHA brig, 121 (Nicholls)	9 Dec. 41	4 March 42	Guam	Maré	x	35 tons (Sydney)	J. Wood (o)
ALFRED brig, 123 (Fox)	12 Dec. 41	14 Dec. 42	S.S. Is.		s	(China or Singapore)	Dacre (o)

August 1841 - November 1842 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
PISCATOR, 111, (Walker)	31 Jan. 42	30 Sept. 42	Guam	Pines, Batavia	s	(Batavia)	
EXPORTER bque (Davidson)	6 Feb. 42	23 May 42	Guam	Pines	s	160+ tons (Sydney)	Lamb & Parbury (c)
MUNFORD schr, 168 (Northwood)	15 Feb. 42	30 Jan. 43	S.S. Is.	Pines, Lifu, Tana, China		100 tons (China)	I. Simmons (o)
MAGNET bque, 148 (McFarlane)	1 March 42	4 Oct. 42	S.S. Is.	Pines,'adjacent' islands', Tana	x	100 tons (Sydney)	John Jones (o & c), 20 steerage passengers.
JUNO bque, 212 (Banks)	15 March 42	8 Oct. 42	Navigators	Pines, Lifu, Uvéa	o	240 tons (Sydney)	
TYRIAN bque (Clarkestone)	15 March 42	23 May 42	New Guinea	Pines	x	150 tons (Sydney)	R. Jones (c)
STAR brig, 135 (Ebrill)	16 March 42	7 Oct. 42	Tahiti	Tana, Pines, New Caledonia	s	70 tons (Sydney)	
MARTHA brig, 121 (Nicholls)	20 March 42	24 June 42	Guam	Maré, Pines	gl,n		Boat taken, crew killed, Maré
HIND brig, 141 (Jones - Maughan)	28 March 42	24 Aug. 42	New Guinea	Pines, Loyalties	x	90 tons (Sydney)	
QUEEN VICTORIA (Brend)	3 April 42	(lost)	Singapore	Pines, Maré	h,d,i		Wrecked, Torres Strait, crew saved.

August 1841 - November 1842 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
SALUS brig, (Wilkinson)	9 April 42		Pines	Pines	x		
CAROLINE brig, 157 (Woodin)	H'Town 16 April 42	H'Town 10 Oct. 42	'cruise'	Pines, New Caledonia	x	170 tons & tortoise-shell (H'Town)	Dr John Wright Baker (o)
WHITBY bque (Lacey)	17 April 42		Pines		s		
LUNAR brig (Munro)	25 June 42	18 Sept. 42	Norfolk Is. S.S. Is.	Pines	o, s	70 tons (Sydney)	Has also loaded the Magnet
O.C.RAYMOND (Dennison)	Tahiti, early July		New Hebrides	Tongatapu, Lakemba, Eromanga, Efate			
SULTANA schr (Scott)	" "		"	" " "			
SOPHIA (S. Henry)	" "		"	" " "			
BULL (Werngren, Cheyne supercargo)	26 July 42		Guam	Pines, New Cal. Uvéa, Lifu China	x	'full cargo' (China)	D.L. Burn, for McVicar & Co., China (o)
DAWSON brig 227 (Price)	17 Oct. 42	7 April 43	Guam	China	x	(China)	Thacker & Mason (c)

August 1841 - November 1842 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
STAR brig, 135 (Ebrill)	20 Oct. 42	(cut off)	Tahiti	Pines	d, gl, p, a		Ship taken, crew killed (Pines)
JUNO bque, 212 (Banks)	9 Nov. 42	19 April 43	New Guinea	Uvéa	hi,h, d,p,b	80 tons (Sydney)	
			1843				
MARIANNE brig, 286 (Lindsay)	H'Town Jan. 43		S. Seas	Pines, Loyalties	x		Wm. Orr - Lindsay (o)
REGIA bque, 188 (Thompson)	9 Jan. 43	15 Sept. 43	Pt. Nicholson	Pines, Lifu, Uvéa, Batavia	h, n, gl		J. Jones (o)
CATHERINE schr, 164 (Bannatyne)	12 Jan. 43	3 May 43	Auckland	Auckland, Pines	h, d, l, o	(Sydney)	
WILLIAM IV bque, 199 (Woodin)	H'Town 16 Jan. 43	22 Sept. 44	Pines	Pines, Loyalties China	x	(China)	Wm. Orr - Woodin (o)
ALFRED brig, 121 (Robinson)	31 Jan. 43	13 Aug. 44	S.S. Is.	Lifu, Pines, N. Uvéa, Manila	h, l, t, o	(Manila)	R. Dacre (o)
ORWELL bque, 304 (Tinley)	25 Feb. 43	2 June 43	S.S. Is.	N. Uvéa	x	35 tons (Sydney)	R. Jones (o)

1843 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
MUNFORD schr, 168 (Morrison)	14 March 43	30 Nov. 43	Pines	Pines, Manila	x	100 tons (Manila)	J. Jones (o)
ELIZABETH bque, (Jones)	28 March 43	28 Sept. 43	S.S. Is.	Pines, Uvéa	h	80 tons (Sydney)	Peacock - J. Jones (o)
MAGNET bque, 148 (Lewis)	13 July 43	17 March 44	N.Z.	Lifu, Maré, E. New Caledonia	o	90 tons (Sydney)	J. Jones (o), Lewis (c)
BRIGAND brig, 188 (Paddon)	Auckland 5 Oct. 43	Newcastle 4 Dec. 43	Bay of Isl. New Hebrides	Maré			Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee (o)
PORTENIA brig, 221 (Richards)	5 Nov. 43	25 Oct. 44	Pines	E. New Cal., Batavia	i,h,p, t,l	50+ tons (Batavia)	Lewis Leon (o), s-wood cargo report at early stage of voyage.
ALLIGATOR schr, 198 (Cook)	28 Nov. 43		H'Kong via Two-fold Bay	Two-fold Bay, S.S. Is., H'Kong	o	(China)	17 passengers
SISTERS cutter, 48 (Brend)	30 Nov. 43	(cut off)	S.S. Is.	Maré	h,t,o		Cut off at Maré, crew killed

1844

STRATHISLA bque, 387 (Simpson)	3 June 44		Auckland, S.S. Is.	Auckland, Lifu, 'coast of New Cal' H'Kong, Palau	o	170 tons (H'Kong)	Solomon (o)

1844 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
ROVER'S BRIDE cutter, 49	Auckland 12 June 44	19 April 45	Aneityum	Aneityum, Uvéa		32 tons (Sydney)	Thacker & Mason (c)
NAIAD brig (Cheyne)	China - circ 5 July 44			Uvéa, Lifu, Tana Eromanga, Aneityum			D.L. Burns, for McVicar & Co. (o)
ELIZABETH (Jones)	18 Nov 44	29 June 45	S.S. Is.	Eromanga, Aneityum, Tana	hi, a, i, o	100 tons (Sydney)	R. Towns (o & c)
PORTENIA brig, 221 (Richards)	21 Nov. 44	1 July 45	Pines	Eromanga, Aneityum, New Caledonia	i, a, b, d	70 tons (Sydney)	Lewis Leon (o)
ARIEL schr, 104 (Lewis)	Two-fold Bay 29 Nov. 44	8 July 45	Two-fold Bay & N.Z.	N.Z., Eromanga, New Cal., Tana	hi, p, h	100 tons (Sydney)	Tertius Campbell (o & c)
WILLIAM IV bque, 199 (Woodin)	H'Town 28 Dec. 44	(condemned at Amoy)	Pines	Aneityum, China		'Full cargo' (China)	Wm. Orr - Woodin

1845

CHALLENGER brig (Archibald)	23 April 45	(London)	H'Kong	Aneityum, H'Kong		(H'Kong)	Thacker & Mason (c) Carrier only

1845 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
ROVER'S BRIDE cutter, 49 (Paddon)	3 May 45	24 Aug. 45	Aneityum	Aneityum, Pines Uvéa	h, o	21 tons, and b-d-mer (Sydney)	Paddon (o & c)
CASTLEREAGH schr, 72 (Clark)	14 May 45	14 July 45	Aneityum	Aneityum	p,bi,hi h,d,o	79 tons (Sydney)	Thacker & Mason (c)
ELIZABETH bque, 175 (W.E. Jones)	19 July 45	29 Sept. 45	Wellington via Jervis Bay	Eromanga	h, o	5 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o & c)
SIR JOHN BYNG brig, 168 (Forbes, W.H. Jones supercargo)	7 Sept. 45	28 Oct. 46	S.S. Is.	Eromanga, New Cal., Aneityum, H'Kong	h, d	100+ tons (H'Kong)	Forbes (o)
ROVER'S BRIDE 49 (Paddon)	17 Sept. 45	8 June 46	Aneityum	Aneityum, Pines, Newcastle	i,h,o	34 tons (Sydney)	Paddon (o)
NIMROD bque, 234 (Simpson)	6 Oct. 45	12 July 46	Shanghai	Lifu, Shanghai	o,l,m	(Shanghai)	Larkins (o) H. Moore (c)
ELIZABETH bque, 175 (W.E. Jones)	7 Oct. 45	9 June 46	New Hebrides	Eromanga, Efate		110 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)
AVON bque, 254 (Lewis)	5 Nov. 45	6 July 46	New Cal.	Eromanga, Tana	o	170-180 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)

1846

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
DANIEL WATSON brig (Watson)	10 Feb. 46	24 May 46	Auckland	H'Kong, Manila			
SPY brig, 116 (Smith - White)	H'Town 3 March 46	H'Town 8 Jan. 47	Calcutta	Pines, New Cal. Eromanga, Aneityum, China	b,l,o	's-wood'	Nathan & Co. (o)
STARLING (Cheyne)	(circ.27 April 46) fr. H'Kong	Aneityum					
ALFRED brig, 123 (Napper)	28 April 46	3 March 47	Pt. Nicholson	Pt. Nicholson, Aneityum, China	o	74 1/2 tons (China)	Thacker & Co. (o) Probably carrier only
MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Richards)	11 May 46	7 Aug. 46	S.S. Is.	New Caledonia	hi, h, t	20 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o) (Brought back large crew of wreck of Fr. corvette Seine.) Tobacco apparently unsold: goes out again next trip.
VANGUARD schr, 61 (Swany)	15 May 46	24 Sept. 46	S.S. Is.	Eromanga	t, l	(Sydney)	Kettle (o)
REGIA bque (Johnson)	17 May 46	27 Dec. 46	Aneityum	Aneityum,Manila	o		Thacker & Co. (c) (Carrier)

1846 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
NIMROD bque, 234 (Seagrove)	7 Oct. 46	13 Sept. 47	S.S. Is.	New Cal., Eromanga, China Manila	h, d	100 tons (China)	T. Larkins (o)
ORWELL bque (Tinley)	25 Oct. 46	24 Nov. 47	Pt. Nicholson *via* Boyd Town	New Cal., Lifu, Aneityum, Shanghai	x	135 tons (China)	Towns (o)
VANGUARD schr, 61 (Harper) (Day on return voyage)	29 Oct. 46	18 Feb. 47	S.S. Is.	New Caledonia	x	16 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o). Capt. Harper died on voyage: crew refused to carry on.
ELIZABETH bque, 175 (Pearce)	1 Nov. 46	14 Apr. 47	S.S. Is.	Tana, Efate			Towns (o). Voyage broken up owing to mutiny.
HARRIET				Aneityum, Maré			Paddon (o). Lost off Maré, crew drowned.
STATESMAN bque, 345 (Rowett)	15 Dec. 46	26 May 47	H'Kong	Aneityum, H'Kong	h, d, gl, o	103 tons (China)	Thacker (o)

1847

BRITISH SOVEREIGN bque, (W.H. Jones)	8 Jan. 47	lost	Pt. Nicholson *via* Boyd Town	Efate	bi, h, o		Wreck, massacre, April 1847 off Efate. B. Boyd (o)

1847 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
ELIZABETH bque, 175 (Rule)	7 May 47		S.S. Is.	New Caledonia, Eromanga	x	110 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o & c)
SPEC schr 169 (Burns)	9 May 47	30 Oct. 47	Auckland, S.S. Is.	Balade, New Cal., Batavia	bi,hi, t, l		
AVENGER cutter, 15 (Lewis - Sommerville)	11 May 47	2 April 48	Aneityum	Aneityum, Eromanga	h, o		Paddon, later Sommerville (o)
STATESMAN bque, 345 (Dewar)	3 July 47	8 March 48	Aneityum & H'Kong	Aneityum, H'Kong	hi,bi, o	146 tons (China)	Carrier only. Thacker & Co. (o)
ROVER'S BRIDE cutter, 49 (Lewis)	10 Sept. 47	7 Dec. 48	Aneityum	Aneityum, Pines	o		Paddon (o)
TERROR schr, 95 (Dunning)	15 Sept. 47	12 March 48	Auckland & Russell	Aneityum, H'Kong Manila	l, o	$63^1/_2$ tons (China)	Thacker & Co. (o) (carrier)
VANGUARD schr, 61 (Cunningham outward, Bunker inward)	15 Sept. 47	9 Nov. 47	S.S. Is.	New Caledonia	h, d	15 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o). Boat's crew killed.
GEORGIANA cutter	(H'Town)			New Caledonia			Wrecked New Cal. Feb. 1848. Tender to Eleanor and Spy.

1847 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
VANGUARD schr, 61 (Richards - Verney)	2 Dec. 47	10 Aug. 48	S.S. Is.	Tana	h,t,d	50 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o)
CASTLEREAGH schr, 96 (Silver)	19 Dec. 47		S.S. Is.	New Cal., Lifu			Fotheringham (Wrecked off Lifu, Feb. 1848)
DANIEL WATSON brig, 163 (Watson)	24 Dec. 47	20 Jan. 50	Auckland	Aneityum, New Cal., Eromanga, Tana, China, Manila		100 tons (China)	Watson (o) (Damaged nr. China)

1848

ANGELINA bque, 434 (Morgan)	14 Jan. 48		H'Kong	Aneityum, China	o	50 tons (China)	Towns (c), Fotheringham (c) Carrier
ELIZABETH bque, 175 (Brown)	17 Jan. 48	lost	S.S. Is.	Eromanga	x		Towns (o). Wrecked off Eromanga.
ISABELLA ANNA (Bradley)	2 Feb. 48	lost	S.S. Is.	New Caledonia	x		Towns & Fotheringham (o). Wrecked, New Cal.
WINSCALES bque 351 (Sproul)	8 Feb. 48	19 Aug. 48	H'Kong via Aneityum	Aneityum, H'Kong	bi,hi, i,h,gl d,o	51 tons (China)	Thacker (c) Carrier
MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Rule)	2 March 48	26 July 48	S.S. Is.	Eromanga, Aneityum, Efate		90 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o & c)

1848 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Rule)	16 Aug. 48	21 Oct. 48	S.S. Is.	Eromanga		25 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o) Voyage broken up, mutiny of crew.
GIRAFFE brig, 260 (Robinson)	24 Aug. 48	25 March 49	China via New Cal.	Pines, New Cal. China	t	(China)	Fotheringham (o)
ELEANOR bque, 153 (Woodin)	H'Town 25 Aug. 48	H'Town 11 Nov. 50	Pines	Pines, Lifu, E. New Cal. Moreton Bay, Aneityum, 'Wellington's Is.' 'St. Andrew's Is.', H'Kong, Amoy	x	(China)	Nathan & Moses
VANGUARD schr, 61 (Redmond)	26 Sept. 48	16 Feb. 49	S.S. Is.	Eromanga, Tana		50 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o) Capt. Richards passenger in.
CAERNARVON bque, 222 (Cooney)	17 Oct. 48	11 Nov. 49	S.S. Is.	Pines, China, Manila	x	115 tons (China)	Towns (o)
ANGELINA bque 434 (Morgan)	21 Oct. 48		Shanghai via Aneityum	Aneityum, China	h,d,o	140 tons (China)	Thacker (c)
MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Johnston)	3 Nov. 48	22 March 49		Pines, Tana		60 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o)

1848 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
HARRIET cutter, 30 (Stevens)	7 Nov. 48		S.S. Is.	Aneityum, Eromanga			
LUCY ANN cutter, 37 (Lewis)	31 Dec. 48	12 March 49	S.S. Is.	Pines			Towns (o) Capt. Silver passenger out
				1849			
ROSETTA schr, 73 (Winchester)	7 Jan. 49	(wrecked)	Aneityum	Aneityum	t, o		Paddon - Thacker (o); no. of Eur. and Mel. passengers.
SCAMANDER brig, 192 (Rule)	27 Jan. 49	(wrecked)	S.S. Is.		t		Towns (o & c) Snuff, cigars, with t (perhaps intended for R.C. mission)
ALFRED brig, 123 (Edwards)	30 Jan 49	(wrecked)	S.S. Is.	Aneityum	o		Paddon - Thacker (o)
ROVER'S BRIDE cutter, 49 (Bell - Paddon)	7 Feb. 49	12 Feb. 52	Aneityum	Aneityum, Tana, Rotuma, Pines	o		Paddon (o)
GOVERNOR brig, 143 (Davidson - Rodd)	27 Feb. 49	25 April 50	Aneityum, Pines	Pines, W.New Cal., Eromanga			Paddon - Thacker (o)
AVON bque, 264 (Hawkes)	4 March 49	18 Sept. 49	S.S. Is.	Pines, W. New Caledonia	d	40 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o) Another 50 tons transhipped to Royal Sovereign

1849 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
LYNHER (Strachan)	5 March 49		S.S. Is.	Loyalties	x		
MARY ANN schr, 59 (Wilson)	7 March 49	23 Jan. 50	S.S. Is.	Aneityum, Woodlark Is., New Cal., Pines	t,h,o	9 1/2 tons (Sydney)	Paddon (c) Transports R.C. Mission to New Cal.
VANGUARD schr, 61 (Richards - Soper)	8 March 49	18 Dec. 50	S.S. Is.	Aneityum, Efate, Tana, China, Ascension, Sikaiana, Pines	x	50 tons (China)	Kettle (o), Richards (c)
JULIA PERCY brig, 101 (M'Arthur)	9 March 49	11 Oct. 49	S.S. Is.	Aneityum, China		55 tons (China)	Thacker (o), Sommerville (c)
CORNUBIA schr, 94 (Paddon)	10 March 49		Aneityum	Aneityum			Paddon - Thacker (o) Many passengers out.
WILL O' WISP cutter 12 (Philp)	9 April 49	13 July 54	Pines	Pines	x		Towns (o)
LUCY ANN cutter 37 (Silver)	9 April 49	20 Aug. 49	S.S. Is.	New Cal., Pines		3 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o) Parts of wrecked vessels also brought down.
PHANTOM cutter, 13 (Oliver)	14 April 49	21 Oct. 49	S.S. Is.	Tana	h, d	(Sydney)	G. Pyke (o) Many Eur. passengers inward.

1849 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Johnstone)	25 April 49	31 Aug. 49	S.S. Is.	Pines	t,h,d	80 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o)
CHALCO bque, 236 (Brown)	30 April 49		Guam	Pines, China	x	110 tons (China)	Towns (c). Carrier only
ROYAL SOVEREIGN schr, 159 (Cadell - Hawkes)	4 June 49	11 Nov. 49	Singapore	Pines, Singapore	x	70 tons (Singapore)	Towns (o). Wood loaded from Avon.
MARY ANN ship, 500 (Darby)	20 June 49		Aneityum, China	Aneityum, China	h,d,o	75 tons (China)	Thacker (c)
TERROR schr, (Dunning)	20 Aug. 49	22 Feb. 50	Aneityum	Aneityum, China	h, o	75 tons (China)	Thacker (o)
LUCY ANN cutter, 37 (Lewis)	17 Sept. 49	18 Jan. 50	S.S. Is.	Pines	x		Towns (o)
SOPHIA brig, 150 (Deverell)	17 Oct. 49	19 June 50	Aneityum	Aneityum, China	h,d,o	120 tons (China)	Thacker (c) (Carrier)
ROYAL SOVEREIGN schr, 159 (Hawkes)	1 Dec. 49	16 May 50	Pines	Pines, H'Kong	x	$47^1/_2$ tons (China)	Towns (o)

1850

ELIZABETH schr, 38 (Prout)	13 Feb. 50	14 June 50	S.S. Is.	Aneityum, Pines	x	7 tons (Sydney)	Thacker (c)

1851 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
ELEANOR brig, 153 (Woodin)	H'Town 1 March 51	H'Town 1 Aug. 53	Aneityum	Lifu, Uvéa, New Cal., Aneityum, China		(China)	
MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Abby)	16 May 51	15 Nov. 51	S.S. Is.	Pines, New Cal.	t, l	90 tons (Sydney)	Kettle (o)
LADY SALE bque, 388 (Jackson)	17 May 51	27 Jan. 52	Guam	Aneityum	t,h,o	77 1/2 tons (China)	Thacker (c) (chartered carrier)
ROYAL SOVEREIGN schr, 160 (Johnstone)	8 July 51	14 June 52	S.S. Is.	Aneityum, Shanghai	x	(China)	Towns (o)
JULIA PERCY brig, 101 (Lewis)	22 July 51	16 Nov. 51	S.S. Is.	Pines, Lifu	x		Towns (o)
RUBY bque, 443 (Ellerby)	14 Oct. 51		Aneityum	Aneityum, China	t,tp,hd,o	94 tons (China)	Thacker (c) (chartered carrier)
DEBORAH schr, 121 (White)	25 Oct. 51	Lost	S.S. Is.	Aneityum, Tana, Eromanga, Lifu, New Caledonia	t		Wrecked Aneityum, early 1852

1852

MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Abby)	1 Jan. 52	23 Feb. 53	S.S. Is.	Eromanga	t, l	90 tons (Sydney) t-shell, b-d-mer	Kettle (o)

1852 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
TERROR schr, 95 (Rodd)	27 Jan. 52	5 March 52	S.S. Is.	Aneityum	t,d,o		Paddon - Thacker (o)
JULIA PERCY brig, 101 (Oliver)	6 March 52	19, July 52	S. Seas	Pines, Aneityum		75 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)
XANTIPPE cutter, 25 (Edwards)		2 Jan. 53		Pines			Thacker (c)
TERROR schr, 95 (Rodd)	23 March 52	24 Feb. 54	Pines	Tana, Eromanga, Aneityum, Maré, Pines, New Cal.		(t-shell, b-d-mer)	Paddon - Thacker (o)
ROVER'S BRIDE cutter, 49 (Prout)	24 March 52		S.S. Is.		x		Paddon (o)
FREAK brig, 235 (Burns)	6 April 52	9 May 53	S.S. Is.	New Caledonia, Eromanga, China		'full cargo' (China)	Burns (c)
SIDNEY schr (Thornell)	5 June 52		Shanghai	Aneityum, Shanghai		100 tons (China)	Moore) Thacker) (c) (chartered carrier)
ROYAL SOVEREIGN schr, 154 (Oliver)	9 Aug. 52	18 Jan. 53	S.S. Is.	E. New Caledonia Eromanga	t	50 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)
JULIA PERCY brig, 101 (Orton - Smith)	2 Sept. 52	18 Sept. 53	S.S. Is.	E.New Cal.,Pines Eromanga, Maré	t	24 tons (Sydney) 1 ton b-d-mer	Towns (o)

1852 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
ARABIAN bque, 362 (Davis)	7 Oct. 52	17 May 53	H'Kong via Pines	Pines, H'Kong	t, l	72 1/2 tons (China)	Kettle (c) (chartered carrier)
LOUISA bque, 306 (Ross)	6 Dec. 52	27 July 53	S.S. Is.	E. New Cal., Eromanga	t	150 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)
			1853				
STATESMAN bque, 345 (Hodge)	8 Jan. 53		China via S.S. Is.	Pines, Aneityum China	t,l,o	243+ tons (China)	Towns & de Salis (o)
XANTIPPE cutter, 25 (Edwards)	31 Jan. 53	(lost)	Pines		h, o		Thacker - Underwood (o)
FRANCIS BARCLAY (Connibeer)	6 Feb. 53		Norfolk Is.	Pines	Govt. stores	161 tons (China)	62 tons - Paddon (c) 99 tons - Towns (c) (chartered carrier)
SPEC brig, 168 (Oliver)	23 Feb. 53	27 Aug. 53	S.S. Is.	Eromanga, New Cal., Pines		100 tons (Sydney)	C. Smith (c)
ROYAL SOVEREIGN schr, 140 (Cooney)	21 March 53	8 Feb. 54	S.S. Is.	Lifu	t	110 tons (Sydney)	
MARIAN WATSON schr, 146 (Abby)	21 April 53		Pines	Eromanga	t,l,h, o		Paddon - Thacker (o)

1853 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
JUNO bque, 212 (Love)	18 June 53	8 Feb. 54	Pines	Eromanga, Pines	t, a	80 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)
ARABIA bque, 362 (Garthon)	13 July 53		Aneityum	Pines, Tana, China	l,t,o	119 1/2 tons (China)	Thacker (o)
WILLIAM & MARY brig, 215 (Reid)	13 July 53		S.S. Is.	Pines	x	119 tons (China)	Towns (c) (chartered carrier)
BLACK DOG (Ross)	28 Aug. 53	20 June 54	S.S. Is.	Eromanga, New Cal., Loyalties Aneityum	t	50 tons (Sydney) b-d-mer	Towns (o)
LOUISA bque, 307 (Beresford)	1 Oct. 53	22 March 54	S.S. Is.	Pines, New Cal.	t		Towns (o)
EARLY BIRD bque, 363 (Parke)	8 Oct. 53		H'Kong	Pines, Tana	d,i,o	129+ tons (China)	Flower Salting) Paddon - Thacker) (c) (chartered carrier)
JULIA PERCY brig, 101 (Lewis)	29 Oct. 53	21 Aug. 54	S.S. Is.	Pines, Eromanga	t	24 tons (Sydney) b-d-mer	Towns (o)
POCKLINGTON brig, 168 (Oliver)	15 Dec. 53	27 Jan. 54	New Cal.	New Caledonia	d,h,o		Smith (o)

1854 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
POCKLINGTON brig, 168 (Lewis)	7 Nov. 54	22 Sept. 55		Santo		100 tons (Sydney)	Smith - Lewis (o)
JANE bque, 225 (Johnstone)	5 Dec. 54	6 Nov. 55	South Seas	Santo, Tana, Aneityum	x	40 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)

1855

CORSAIR brig, 127 (Barnett)	13 Jan. 55		S.S. Is.	Tana, China	t,tp,d l, o	81 tons (China)	Thacker (c)
JUNO bque, 212 (Abby - Arnold)	18 Feb. 55	27 Oct. 55	S.S. Is.	Santo, Pines	t	140 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)
JULIA PERCY brig 101 (Royall)	14 March 55	24 Jan. 56	S.S. Is.	Santo, Aniwa, Maré	t		Towns (o)
SPEC brig, 161 (Barrack)	15 March 55	(lost)	S.S. Is.	New Caledonia	h,l,o		Smith (o) Wrecked off New Caledonia.
BLUE BELL schr, 65 (Coutts)	1 June 55	14 Aug. 55	S.S. Is.	Pines, Tana, Santo	t,tp,h gl,d,l,o		Burns (o), Thacker (c)
JESSIE schr, 99 (Saunders)	9 June 55	18 Feb. 57	S.S. Is.	Pines, Eromanga Tana, Santo	t	75 tons (Sydney)	Underwood (o)

1855 (cont.)

Vessel etc.	Departure	Arrival	Stated destination	Places known to have visited	Export cargo	S-wood cargo	Owner (o), S-wood consignee (c), comments
PETRONELLA bque, 244 (de Ferrari)	6 July 55		Tana, China	Tana, Eromanga, China	x	$99^1/_2$ tons (China)	Paddon (c)
BLACK DOG schr, 143 (Arnold - Abby)	13 Sept. 55	27 Aug. 56	S.S. Is.	Santo, Pines	x		Towns (o)
MELANIE bque, (Roberts)	27 Sept. 55		China via Pines	Pines, China	x		Towns (c)
HIRONDELLE schr, 123 (Rees)	29 Sept. 55	6 Aug. 56	S.S. Is.	Pines, China	t		Towns (c)
BLUE BELL schr, 65 (Paddon)	17 Oct. 55		New Cal.	Eromanga, New Cal.	t,l		Paddon (o)
JUNO bque, 212 (Brown)	3 Dec. 55	9 Oct. 56	S.S. Is.	Pines, Eromanga Lifu, New Cal., Santo	t	110 tons (Sydney)	Towns (o)

Notes on

SANDALWOOD

OTHER LOCALITIES

SANDALWOOD

From: Kotzebue, Otto von "Voyage of Discovery in the South Sea, and to Behring's Straits: in the Ship Rurick" (abridged ed). London, 1821.

P. 191 (Hawaiian Islands, October 8, 1817) "On the 8th the captain of an American schooner struck a bargain with Kaeunohu about a cargo of sandal, for which he gave him a ship lined with copper; a circumstance which shows how dearly the Americans sell this wood in China. Several ships that buy here, paid for this wood with goods & feasties, which it is delivered to them by the weight in the governor's presence.

Since the introduction of spirituous liquors and tobacco, together with several diseases, by the Europeans the population of these islands has perceptibly decreased; many fields, too, are lying uncultivated, as the natives are compelled to cut sandalwood."

Note: see if there is more on this subject in the text of the 3 volume edition published the same year