

BLACKBIRDING

A brief history of the South Sea Islands Labour Traffic and the vessels engaged in it.

(Paper by E. V. STEVENS read at the meeting of the Historical Society of Queensland, Inc., 23rd March 1950)

Old Wine in New Bottles! . . . An inadequate tribute to those ruffians whose salty tales, told in Martin's Ship Chandlery, spiced with the odour of tarred hemp, canvas and cordage, stirred the imagination of a small boy sixty years ago: specially to John Poro from whom came many a welcome sixpence for some small act of service rendered. To me John Poro was a nice old gentleman; I still think so despite the later knowledge, that he was indicted, though discharged for manslaughter.

This paper consists of two sections, one dealing with the subject from a different angle, I hope, from those previously presented. No stress has been laid upon the ethical, economic, or legislative implications. The object sought has been to give a general and objective view of this colourful period. The second section of this paper contains a brief record of some 130 vessels engaged in recruiting South Sea Island labour since its beginning in 1863 to its conclusion in 1902; this as a record of vessels, masters, incidents, and fates is of no immediate interest but, documented reasonably well, may prove of service to some more exhaustive future survey.

The task attempted would have been well nigh impossible had it not been for assistance rendered by our fellow-member, Mr. J. H. C. McClurg, and Capt. Krummell, Harbour Master, Maryborough, Miss Warham and Mr. J. L. Pring, Oxley Memorial Library, Mr. D. V. Ryan, Parliamentary Librarian, and Mr. W. H. Wildy, Collector of Customs. To these I tender my thanks. Acknowledgment is also made to the article by B. H. Molesworth, M.A., in Historical Society Journal, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 140.

Section I

This sketch is by no means comprehensive. It, and the accompanying list of vessels and incidents, is no

more than a key that may open a door to some future historian interested in a colourful period of the development of the Old Sugar Industry.

Sources of information are few; there being no files of country newspapers available, reliance has to be placed upon such items as appear in the early issues of the Brisbane "Courier."

There are few official records of value and, beyond Markham (*Cruise of the Rosario*), W. T. Wawn (*South Sea Islands*) and Rannie (*My Adventures Among South Sea Cannibals*) none has recorded very much from actual experience.

"Pageant of the Pacific" (Rhodes) is valuable and informative but he was not a participant and most of those engaged in the traffic have long since departed this life.

Black-birding, an euphemism for kidnapping, has, with the odium attached to it, always been associated with the sugar industry. Much of it is assuredly deserved but it should be remembered that as far back as 1842 the sandal-wood, copra and trepang traders were guilty of the worst offences.

Ungoverned by law, moral or civil, they established a tradition and laid the foundation for the "pay-back" code of a primitive people. There is no intention here of discussing the ethics of this traffic; much of the condemnation it called forth was based upon emotional rather than realistic views. It may be fairly said there was a measure of inevitability in it. Past history shows that, where there is a clash between primitives and more advanced peoples and the conflict has an economic basis, material ends subdue ethical standards. England's industrial greatness rested upon social conditions that would not for one moment now be tolerated; her maritime supremacy was built upon the great Elizabethan sea-captains who, to-day, would receive short shrift for piracy.

If the various Acts of Regulation be examined in detail, it may be said that, no matter by which political party introduced, all were designed to prevent abuses and punish offenders.

It is hoped to record the vessels engaged, the men who sailed them and the fate of both, before they pass entirely into oblivion.

As far as mainland labour is concerned the Islander was first brought to Queensland for work in

the cotton fields of Robert Towns and not in sugar cultivation. The American Civil War had so disorganized cotton production that a world shortage ensued. England was particularly hard hit; the great textile centre of Lancashire suffered a famine with resultant wide scale unemployment. Other sources of supply were small. India and Egypt, both capable of producing cotton, were also large consumers of it. Imperial policy had been to regard those countries as markets for the finished product rather than as producers of the raw material. The time was opportune for investment or so it appeared to Robert Towns, merchant, of Sydney with a partner, one Brooks, in London to keep him posted on current trends. But cotton is a cheap labour crop and labour at that time was neither cheap nor abundant. Previous experience as a trader in the Islands naturally turned Towns' thoughts in that direction as a source of labour.

He acquired 4,000 acres of land on the Logan River some forty miles from Brisbane; early Brisbane papers referred to it as Townsvale, fitted out the schooner "Don Juan" and, in August 1863, despatched her as the first recognized recruiter in our history.

In command was Captain Greuber whose sailing directions have been preserved to us. From them we are enabled to form some estimate of Towns's personality; an irritating, fussy, reiterative type, yet, despite the prolixity and woolliness of his instructions, plainly a man humane and just, desiring to afford his labour good conditions according to the standard of the times. In fact many of the obligations voluntarily accepted by Towns were embodied in the first Act of Regulation (1868).

Visiting from Sydney, 29th July 1863, he instructs Greuber to proceed to Leifoo, Ware, and Sandwich Islands or others, with a view of securing a useful class of men, lads, and native boys. He put aboard two shirts and two pairs of trousers for each of the 100 natives he hopes to get, expecting about 70 but would be content with 50 for field labour on his Queensland plantation.

He was emphatic that no force should be used, the natives must be kindly treated and assured of justice in all things. They would be provided on arrival with comfortable huts and a diet of rice, meat, pumpkin and potatoes with yams if they could grow them. He

undertook to return them within twelve months, perhaps even six and contemplated in the future bringing also wives and families. He concluded with "I will on no account allow them to be ill-used. They are a poor timid, inoffensive race and require all the kindness you can show them when you lead them to anything and I will not allow them to be driven."

History very considerably modifies those humanitarian beliefs. The Kanaka proved a menace to the peace of every northern town. He still indulged in inter-tribal feuds and was a ready absorber of all that was worst in his new environment.

Towns sent also, with Greuber, an open letter to all missionaries, a judicious mixture of business acumen and moral uplift. One catches more flies with honey than with vinegar.

To his second mate and recruiter, despite his inability to read or write, Towns sent two pages of instructions. Capt. Greuber would read them to him. Apart from routine orders the necessity for kind treatment was again stressed. Lewin's rate of pay, ashore or afloat, was to be £5 per month. Finally he added a word of caution, "You had better call at Leifoo before Hayes (Bully Hayes) gets there and leave before he may arrive."

Towns little knew the viper he was taking to his bosom in this same Lewin; charcoal would have left a white mark on his character. So bad was his reputation that some biographical note of him is appropriate. He commenced life as a seaman in the Royal Navy and served in China during the first war. His services being dispensed with in a rather summary manner, he then came to seek his fortune in Australia. The natives here (Tanna) all unite in one opinion, that "Ross Lewin, who has a plantation on the west side of the island, would long ago have been killed but that he is protected by a force of 100 natives from other islands who are all well armed." (Markham, "Cruise of the Rosario," 1871). Commodore Wilson (Votes and Proc. Qld. Parlt., 1882) is equally uncomplimentary on Lewin "who had the unenviable reputation of being the most successful manstealer in the Pacific."

"On 26th April 1867, Lewin, then living opposite Donovan's Hotel, Stanley Street, South Brisbane, advertised his willingness to recruit natives at £7 per head and, with his partner, Pritchard, and the

schooner "Spunkie" engaged in kidnapping and illegal practice on a grand scale" (Cummins and Campbell's magazine, December 1946).

"Daphne," a fifty-six ton schooner of beauty unsurpassed, built in Bombay of the finest material, first saw service as a Government ship at Adelaide and passed into the hands of Lewin and Pritchard in 1866. She was the first vessel to operate under the Act of 1868. Lewin was recruiter whose licence was revoked when "Daphne" was seized by "Rosario" ("Courier," 12th June 1869); action against "Daphne" was, however, voided. "Daphne's" fate is uncertain. "Spunkie" was sunk in a collision with S.S. "Ranelagh" off Cape Moreton, July 1888, "Ranelagh" being held to blame.

Lewin prospered, took up pearling, made money and went, as stated, to Tanna where for ten years, safe in the protection of his guard and a specially constructed stone fortress, he tyrannized over the Tanna population. Eventually caught unaware, he was shot by a Tanna native in revenge for the killing by Lewin of this boy's cousin for stealing a bunch of bananas. Deprived of their leader the guard was demoralized but the Tanna men made no attack. Mrs. Lewin, her infant, and her brother, were not molested and escaped to Townsville in safety. (Cummins and Campbell, December 1946.)

To return, however, to Towns. He executed an "Agreement." Beginning in truly legal style "Witnesseth" he, inter alia, engages to pay as wages in such trade as the native may desire ten shillings per month and to return him home within twelve months should he so desire, to provide huts, good and sufficient food, cooking utensils and in every way watch and protect him. Then follows the nature of the work to be performed—light field labour or what may be required of them.

Witness my hand this 30th day of May 1863.

R. TOWNS.

As a legal document this "Agreement" is unique; as evidence of just intention it is well worthy of regard.

Faith, Hope and Charity were well rewarded for on 17th August 1863 "Don Juan" returned with sixty-seven recruits. One only died on the voyage and was buried on Mud Island, Moreton Bay.

In addition, Towns had a small fleet engaged in his numerous ventures. Some recruited and returned to trading. "Black Dog," an ex-opium runner, recruited in 1864-5, was wrecked while trading in 1871 at Hope Island, Endeavour River. "Uncle Tom" brought the timber for Townsville's first buildings. (Black and Towers, July 1875). "Don Juan" was lost with all hands off Newcastle, May 1869. "Woodlark" was mainly used in repatriating time-expired natives.

It is generally thought that Captain the Hon. Louis Hope was the immediate follower of Towns in the employment of Island labour but a despatch from Sir Geo. Bowen (13th July 1867) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Duke of Buckingham reads, "The principal employer after Captain Towns is Captain Whish, formerly an officer in H.M. Light Dragoons and now the owner of a plantation near Brisbane." (Cummins and Campbell, November 1939). Hope, however, was the father of the sugar industry and applied Island labour to his twenty acres of cane at Ormiston. In recognition of his efforts he was granted, in fee simple, 2,560 acres of land anywhere within thirty miles of the coast. The site selected was on the Coomera River. Hope, it is said, arrived in Sydney by the "Euphrates" during the winter of 1843. He obtained his cane from Aldridge of Maryborough ("Courier," 9th November 1893) according to Nehemiah Bartley. Missionary Backhouse found cane growing in Brisbane Town in March 1836 ("Courier," 11th September 1893) and Meston ("Courier," 13th November 1893) states the first cane plants came from Port Macquarie in August 1825 and were planted on the river flats below Government House.

By 1868 the cultivation of cane exceeded that of cotton; this called for more labour and more vessels to recruit it. Licences for them were being issued by New South Wales, Victoria and Fiji as well as Queensland (see Com. Wilson's Report Votes and Proceedings Queensland Parliament, vols. 2 1882 and 1884). The first Queensland Act of Regulation was passed in March 1868 but had many deficiencies and by the early seventies much occurred to disturb public opinion. The unscrupulous were ignoring the small protection the Act afforded the Islander and, worse, retaliatory attacks on vessels and crews were frequent. Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) states the first attack made

on any ship was that on "Marion Rennie" at the Solomons, January 1868, when seven whites, including Rennie, the master, and four seamen were killed. This, however, could hardly have been the first as it was press reported as "another outrage."

Among those killed was a Danish seaman, Vgesk, who, for saving life at Newcastle, had been presented with a gold watch by Sydney citizens and a medal by the Royal Humane Society. Two years later, January, 1870, both were recovered in good condition by Macfarlane of "Rose and Thistle." "Marion Rennie" was again attacked at Cherry Island, in December 1870, and at San Christoval in October 1877, in each case with loss of life. She was eventually lost at sea, June 1880.

In the seventies Royal Navy vessels were policing the recruiting areas. Among the vessels seized were "Melanie," "Woodbine," "Challenge" and "Daphne." All escaped forfeiture through defects in the Act and in most cases the Navy was cast in heavy damages. Caution then guided policy. "Rosario" contented herself by obtaining from "Donald McLean" and "Helen," to mention two only, signed declarations by the master of illegal practice.

But the Navy cannot for long be flouted with impunity. In June 1872 was passed an Imperial Statute commonly known as the "Kidnapping Act." This Act, amended in 1875, bore directly upon kidnapping by British vessels upon the high seas and effectively brushed aside a defence, actually advanced, that the native, as a barbarian had, under an old Roman law, no legal protection. It provided "the highest penalty, other than capital punishment, awarded by the laws of the Colony in which the offence shall be tried."

The first vessel to be charged under this Act was "Krishna" seized by "Basilisk" in 1873. The Admiralty Court, sitting in Brisbane condemned both ship and cargo to be sold without appraisalment. Sale was effected by Arthur Martin and realized £3,900 ("Courier," 7th July 1873) purchaser's name not stated. The master (a probable owner) was not further punished.

Another dramatic case was that of the forty-four ton schooner "Albert" seized, under orders, by the Collector of Customs at Cooktown in 1885. Under an Imperial Merchant Shipping Act of 1854 the master was

charged with piracy. The master, N. P. Sorrensen, charged the crew with mutiny; the crew accused him of kidnapping and worse.

As the case developed it appeared that she was owned by F. G. Leslie of Melbourne, who had fraudulently transferred her to one Carlos Strauss, a Portuguese, changing her name to "Duro," and placing her under the Portuguese flag to avoid possible capture by Russian warships during the Russian War scare.

Sorrensen received sentences of ten years and five years concurrent for kidnapping and manslaughter. One of the crew was sent to an Asylum for the Insane. The vessel was condemned in Brisbane by the Court and sold in absentia as she lay at Cooktown, by Arthur Martin for £280 to J. Davis, Mayor of Cooktown. Court proceedings were threatened against Leslie but no record of the case (in Melbourne) has been seen.

The 1868 Act provided for inspection of recruits by land based magistrates which had no preventive value. On 1st February 1871 (Government Gazette, vol. 12 p. 202) Government Agents were to accompany the vessels and in 1880 McIlwraith repealed the Act of 1868. His new Act was in most respects more stringent, the duties and obligations of Government Agents were more clearly defined. Griffith in 1884 further tightened the Regulations so that "Heron" the first to recruit under them was in doubt whether to make the attempt. "Heron" was wrecked at Anciteum, New Hebrides, in December of that year. The position of Government Agents was no sinecure. To strictly adhere to the Regulations might incur enmity from Master and Recruiter; laxity could land him in very hot water with the authorities. Most were conscientious, some drank to excess. Lewis of "Ariel" was relieved of command for permitting his Government Agent to indulge too freely in alcoholic drink. There was risk of personal danger; many Government Agents were killed in execution of their duty.

When recruiting the master usually did not leave the ship. Two boats were lowered and manned, one carried the recruiter—generally the mate—one white and three native seamen, all armed with rifle and ten rounds. This boat backed in stern first to the shore that there would be a clear run out in case of attack. The second boat with the Government Agent, second mate, one white and three native seamen, also armed,

stood off a little to cover the first. The life was hard and dangerous, many men, white and black, were killed and shipwreck accounted for a large number of vessels.

Up to 1884 no recruiting had been carried on in New Guinea waters and "Hopeful," the first to visit the Bismarks, came back a full ship. She was followed by "Ceara," "Lizzie," "Heath," "Sybil," "Forest King," and, again, "Hopeful." On their return grave charges were laid and out of a Commission of Inquiry came evidence that justified the growing demand for abolition of the trade. Bernays (Queensland Politics Over Sixty Years) deals leniently with the case. He says little more than that none of the recruits understood the nature of their engagement and, therefore, were illegally recruited, in plain words, kidnapped. Reaction by the Griffith Administration was prompt. Return of all recruits by those vessels was ordered and in June 1885 s.s. "Victoria" (Ballastier, master, W. T. Wawn, pilot) chartered from the A.S.N. Coy., left Townsville with 400 repatriates. The charge was £6 per head but the wind was tempered to the shorn lamb, as a year later an Act was passed whereby employers whose employees were returned by order of the Government could obtain compensation.

This, however, was only the prelude. The Bismarks, Louisades and all New Guinea waters were again closed against recruiting. No fire arms were to be carried except those for the ship's use and these to be checked before sailing and again on return. The duties of Government Agents were widened and they were given more authority (Government Gazette, vol. 4, 1884).

Meanwhile proceedings were instituted against the "Hopeful's" crew charged with murder. McNeill, recruiter, and Williams, bosun, were sentenced to death but commuted to life imprisonment; Shaw, master, and Scholefield, G. A., to life, the first three years in irons; Freeman, mate, to ten years, the first two in irons; Preston and Rogers, seamen, to seven years, the first in irons. These very severe sentences shocked public opinion perhaps more than the crimes of which they were guilty. There was much agitation for their release but it was not until 1890 that they were released by the Morehead Administration. On the finding of the Court of Review, the then Minister for Justice (A.

J. Thyne) gave it as his opinion that had all the later facts been previously known the verdict would have been different.

This, with the case of Captain Coath of "Jason," causes one to wonder just how far, if at all, emotional repugnance to the trade influenced judicial findings. Coath, who certainly had a bad reputation as a black-birder, was in January 1871 sentenced to five years plus a fine of £50. This was the first kidnapping trial in Queensland. In January 1874 the case, on Coath's petition, was reopened and Coath pardoned on the ground of wrongful conviction. There is no record of any recompense being made to him. A despatch from our then Governor, the Marquis of Normanby, to Kimberly, Secretary of State, says, "Have pardoned him and will send full report." Kimberly replies, "I concur with you in regretting that the evidence of the Polynesians proving that Captain Coath was not guilty of the offence for which he was convicted was not obtained at an earlier date." (Votes and Proceedings, Queensland Vol. 2, 1874).

In 1885, Griffiths, always opposed to the trade, had succeeded in passing an Act by which the importation of South Sea Labour was to cease after 31st December 1890. In 1892, to the dismay of friends and jubilation of opponents, he repealed his Act of 1885. Of this reversal not only of politics but of morality Bernays writes: "When looking back and thinking how he attained the very pinnacle of his political fame largely by the high stand he took in his effort to prevent the good name of Queensland being besmirched by the dirty, sordid surroundings of a trade in black human skins, one wonders what malign influences were brought to bear to make so great a man recant such great ideals after expending the best years of his political life in cleansing an Augean stable."

Though no longer a major political issue the demand for abolition persisted and accepting the report of a Royal Commission the Commonwealth Parliament by an Act of 1901 decreed there should be no entry of Islanders after 31st March 1904. The Act limited the importation under licence in 1902 to a number not more than three-quarters of those repatriated in 1901; in 1903 to not more than half of those returned in 1902 but no more to be imported after 31st March 1904. To avoid injustices, certain exemptions

against the deportation to follow after 1904 were granted.

Exemption from deportation extended to—

- (a) Those introduced into Australia prior to 1879.
- (b) Those of extreme old age or infirmity.
- (c) Those married (dejure or defacto) to partners born in different islands.
- (d) Those married to, or living with a female not Pacific Island born.
- (e) Those whose children were being educated in State schools.
- (f) Freeholders.
- (g) Holders of unexpired leaseholds.
- (h) Those continuously in residence in Queensland or Australia for not less than twenty years prior to 31st December 1906.

It was estimated some 4,500 would be deported. Exit the Islander; he constituted an economic and social danger, unwittingly perhaps, for while efforts were made by well-meaning people to Christianize him little appears to have been done to improve him and less to understand him. He has been described as blood-thirsty, treacherous and cannibalistic, so perhaps he may have been from our standard but not so from his. We are apt to overlook "that what is vice in Clapham may be chaste in Martaban." Moreover justice compels us to admit that most of the white massacres were due to revenge, a pay-back, an unchristian fault which, however, is not confined to savages.

Elibank Castle, schooner of 100 tons, Howie, master, set out from Cooktown, November 1884, on what the local press described as a purely kidnapping voyage, to the Solomons. Howie and most of the crew were killed. The vessel was brought to Port Douglas by Mate H. C. Banks. Filled, doubtless, with a spirit of forbearance and charity, her owner, F. A. W. Rutch, immediately took her back! She was again attacked, Rutch and all but two of his crew being killed. These two attempted to sail the vessel home but in bad weather one went overboard. The other, D. Brown, drifted forty-four days before being picked up by a Danish brig. "Elibank Castle" was abandoned and Brown later transferred to a British patrol vessel which after a roundabout voyage, landed at Singapore from whence he was given passage to Australia. Thir-

teen men and a schooner were lost in all. ("Queenslander," 5th December 1885 and 7th December 1885.)

Captain D. Murray of "Bob-tailed Nag"—she leaked like a crab-pot and steered like a dray—rescued J. Renton, a deserter from U.S. "Renard," at Malaita in 1875 where he had lived in security for seven years. Renton afterward became a Government Agent and while on "Mystery" was killed at Aoba, November 1878. Captain Murray also was killed and "Bob-tailed Nag" wrecked at Vila in January of that year 1878.

The crew of "Trelevan Family," wrecked Solomons, January 1880, lived on Malan Mea for nineteen days before rescue by "Gazette" and were well treated.

Latour, Government Agent, on "Jessie Kelly," condemned at Noumea, June 1884, was taken by McDougall of "Emily" to Aoba where he lived for two months in security until taken off by "Roderick Dhu." Latour and his son when trading at Aoba were killed, September 1890.

There is also the case of Mr. Lewin, already mentioned. Was it mere coincidence that those who had lived unmolested among natives should have been killed when recruiting?

On the other side one case, that of the brig "Carl," the blackest in our history will be cited. Part owned by Dr. J. P. Murray of Melbourne, who accompanied her, "Carl" was under Fiji licence, discarding a legitimate trading venture for the more profitable black-birding. She had sixty natives in the hold and, on being overhauled by H.M.S. "Cossack," these were shot, most by Murray, and thrown overboard. At the trial in Sydney (1872) Murray, a highly educated man but quite evidently a homicidal maniac, turned Queen's evidence. Armstrong, master, Dowden, mate, were reprieved on a death sentence and given life with three years in irons. Two seamen had death sentences were reprieved and one was sentenced for manslaughter.

Of the vessels few, if any, of the older ones survive. Indispensable Reef and other shores are littered with their wrecks. The "Juventa" built in the Channel Islands (Jersey) in 1865 ended her days as a coal hulk in the Fitzroy River, sold to the Queensland Government in April 1885 after an unsuccessful voyage of six

months for one recruit only. "Roderick Dhu" was beached at Bishop Island.

"Imperial Caesar—dead and turned to clay
Blocking a hole to keep the wind away."

"Flora" appropriately, lies at the bottom of the Brisbane River near the Morgue, where she filled up and swamped 22nd August 1890. "Para" sunk at her mooring in Shafston Reach 14th December 1897.

One venerable dame, "Lady Norman" is still making money for her owners, Wm. Collin and Sons, as a lighter in the Brisbane River. Originally "Seahorse," a paddle wheel tug owned by the Department of Harbours and Marine, Collin bought her early in 1895 ("Courier," 15th February 1895). She was remodelled as a ketch with a propeller that could be raised clear of the water when the vessel was under sail. Engines of "Dicky" beached at Caloundra, January-February 1893 were put in and she was recruiting in March 1904, J. Anderson, master, and mate John Palmer, who in later years was wharfinger for Thos. Brown and Sons, Short Street Wharf. Her log, in the possession of Collin and Sons, shows an uneventful but rough weather passage.

With the end of the trade approaching fewer vessels were engaged in it. "Owing to the provisions of the Pacific Island Labour Act of 1901 no licences to recruit were issued in the year ending 31st December 1903 and four vessels withdrew from the trade, three only being at sea—"Lady Norman" arrive 20th January 1904, "Clansman" 14th March 1904, "Sydney Belle" 14th December 1904, each to Bundaberg, having made a previous voyage to Maryborough 31st November 1904. "Clansman" brought recruits to Brisbane 12th October 1884. The last to repatriate was "Lady Norman" 8th December 1904. (Votes and Proceedings Queensland Parliament 1905, page 741.)

So ended an era of considerable historical importance, during the period 1867 to 1903 12,000 importations came to Maryborough alone and there were many to other centres. On the whole it was objectionable from every viewpoint.

Legislation Dealing With Pacific Island Labour

There is in the Oxley Memorial Library a typed summary of all Acts dealing with Pacific Island Labour

that should be consulted as the following precis is very brief—

First Act, 4th March 1868. Dealt with licences to import. Guarantee of natives' return. Number to be recruited. Scale of provisions. Prohibition of liquor.

Imperial (Kidnapping) Act, 27th June 1872. Amended 1875. Prevention and punishment for criminal outrages, an offence committed anywhere within His Majesty's Dominions. Detention, seizure, and condemnation of vessels. No claim for damage by seized vessel. Labour, other than that for cane-fields also covered.

Amending Act. Covered places in the Pacific outside His Majesty's Dominions.

Act of 1880 (McIlwraith's). Repealed the Act of 1868. Limited the age of recruits. Return to proper Islands. Provision of medical comforts. Revision of ration and dress allowance. Limitation of passengers.

Act of 1884 (Griffith's). Confined labour to agricultural pursuits. Masters and mates to be approved by the Minister. Abolition of per capita fee, crew to be paid wages. No fire arms to be supplied to natives.

Act of 1885, August. Compensation to employers whose employees had been returned by order of Government.

Act of 1885, November. Importation to cease after 31st December 1890.

Act of 1886. Amending definition of Pacific Islands.

Act of 1892. Repeal of prohibition.

Act of 1901-6. Commonwealth Act of prohibition.

Section II

Agnes Macdonald. Schooner. Master and three men killed Brag Island, 13/7/79 (Pageant of the Pacific by Rhodes). Vessel trading to Brisbane 1880.

Albert. Schooner, 44 tons, built at Government Yards, Victoria 1862. Was at Cooktown in 1884, Grosse, master, trading New Guinea waters. Owned by T. G. Leslie, secretary of the Brighton (Victoria) Gas Coy. During Russian war scare (1885) to avoid risk of capture by Russian vessels, Leslie fraudulently transferred her to a Portuguese, Carlos Straus and

Portuguese registration as "Duro" under command of N. P. Sorrenson, a Swede. On arrival at Cooktown she was seized by the Collector of Customs and proceeded against under the Imperial Merchant Shipping Act of 1854. The master charged the crew with mutiny, they charged him with murder, kidnapping, and gross immorality. One of the crew went insane and was sent to an asylum. Tried in Brisbane, April 1886, Sorrenson was given 10 years for piracy and 5 for manslaughter, sentences concurrent. Vessel condemned by Admiralty Court and sold (in absentia) by Arthur Martin, Brisbane, to John Davis, Mayor of Cooktown, for £280 ("Courier," 15/4/86). Lost Louisades June 1888, Robinson, master ("Courier," 18/6/88).

Alfred Vittery. Schooner, 122 tons, built by Dew-day, Brixholme, England, for Vittery and Co., 1860. Rescued Bernard Gilfoyle out from San Francisco in an 18x6 boat, January 1883 (Pageant of the Pacific by Rhodes). Boore, master, and four of crew charged with murder. Robert Grimes found guilty of manslaughter and bound over in bond of £20. His plea was that he shot one Islander badly injured in a fight on board, to save him further suffering. All others acquitted. Vessel wrecked Kanns Reef, New Ireland, March 1884, master Rasmussen. Crew rescued by "Lochiel" (W 333) (Aust. Encyclopaedia, under Wrecks).

Amy Robsart. Brigantine. 72 tons. Under Q'd Licence 1873. First fitted out for recruiting May 1870. Took 58 repatriates 18/6/70, and returned to Mackay with 43, 29/10/70. G. Anderson, master ("Courier," 30/10/70). Vessel trading 1869. Corbett, master. Vessel trading 1872, G. Anderson, master. Recruiting, 1873, W. H. Champion, master, and trading 1875, Foster Burrowes. Lost Pieman Reef, February 1883.

Annie Brookes. Beche de mer schooner. Foreman, master, and crew killed Louisades 8/9/70 (Wawn 210) (Aust. Encyclopaedia says Nov. 1870). Vessel looted and burned.

Archimedes. Schooner. 164 tons, built Cowes, England 1877, by J. White for Blyth and Co. Owner, 1890, J. O'Dwyer, Maryborough. Name said to have been changed to "Foam." Date cannot be fixed, approximately end of 1892 or early 1893. Master in 1880 was Rothwell, in 1883, Chaffer, 1888, Callendar, Ballantyne, 1889, Ross, Svensen 1890 and 1892 G. Norman. In 1892 Norman was on "Foam" and again in

1900. Vessel appears as "Archimedes" in 1888 when she brought 81 recruits to Mackay after a four months' cruise ("Courier," 20/4/88). Collander died in the Islands from fever January 1889 ("Courier" 18/2/89). Australian Encyclopaedia lists "Foam, labour schooner wrecked Myrmidon Reef, February 1890." Rhodes Pageant of the Pacific lists "164 ton labour schooner lost Myrmidon Reef, February 1893." No record of "Archimedes" fate seen.

Ariel. Brigantine, 133 tons, probably built at Whitehaven 1862 for T. Kelly. Under N.S.W. Licence 1877 to 1880. Owners 1890, Johnson, Gladstock and others. Gregg registered owner. (Lloyds Reg.). More probably built by J. Brodie, Sunderland, 1855, as Neill Brodie was master 1875-1880, when she mingled trading with recruiting. Ollivier master in 1880, 1886, 1890 and 1889. S. Finlay and Howie in 1883/84 when she brought 103 recruits to Cairns and discovered a new passage through the Barrier Reef abreast of Cape Grafton ("Queenslander," 29/12/83). Refitted in accordance with new Regulations August 1884. Masters were H. Scowcroft 1884, A. Turner, 1886, W. T. Wacon and Lewis 1888, Connell 1892, 93, 94. Damaged in Cyclone January 1887, returned to port (Bundaberg) Turner, master, died of peritonitis on return ("Courier," 25/1/87). W. J. Murray (Government Agent) suffering from fever and excessive drinking committed suicide at sea June 1888. Government debarred Lewis (master) from further employment in the trade for permitting Government Agent to drink to excess. He was succeeded by W. T. Wacon ("Courier," 25/7/88). Dismasted Dec. 1889, Master (Ollivier) censured for condition of standing gear ("Courier," 8/1/90). Wrecked Bougainville April 1894 (Aust. Encyclopaedia) no loss of life. Crew taken to Bundaberg by "Thistle" ("Courier" 18/6/94). Capt. Collin, Snr., in his book says "Ariel" was chartered by a son of Missionary Williams from Jas. Malcolm, Sydney, owner 1855, as an Island trader. See date of building.

Atlantic. Schooner, 72 tons. Under N.S.W. Licence 1880. Appears to have been a trepang fisher and trader. Master, 1864, Kelly. Stolen by Bully Hayes and used kidnapping in Fijian waters 1869. Hayes found guilty in Apia, paroled but broke it and escaped to Shanghai. Lubbock (Bully Hayes, Bucaneer) says Hayes bought her from owners, Beetham and Moore

(see book p. 153). Trading in 1880-4, J. Stephen, master. Lost Louisades, October 1890 (Aust. Encyclopaedia).

Black Swan. De Largie, master, charged with kidnapping March 1873, discharged. De Largie was trader in New Guinea waters.

Black Dog. Schooner, 142 tons. An ex-opium runner, dates back to 1863-64 when she recruited for Robert Towns and was probably owned by him. Master 1865, Linklater and 1871, Brown. Wrecked Hope Islands, Endeavour River. "Rosario" brought survivors to Cooktown (Mackay "Mercury," 13/5/71).

Blanche. Brigantine. Lost at Mallicolo 1877 with 43 recruits aboard for Cooktown.

Bob-tailed Nag. Schooner, 170 tons. Built Ipswich, England, 1862 by Read for Bradley and Co. Under Q'd. Licence 1875-6-7. Masters, Levens, D. Murray, 1875, W. Rosengren, 1876, D. Murray, W. A. Inman, 1879, and W. T. Wawn, 1878. Murray rescued J. Renton, deserter from U.S. "Renard," at Malaita in 1875 (W.62) Renton deserted 1867; in later years he was a Government Agent and was killed at Aoba, November 1878 (Cummins and Campbell, Dec. 1935). Murray killed at Aoba 1878. Vessel wrecked Vila 9/1/78. Wawn and crew rescued by "Stanley."

Borough Belle. Barquentine, 210 tons. Under Q'd Licence 1880. Masters, Williams 1887-1890, 1892, 1894, Belbin, 1881, Adrian, 1884, W. T. Wawn 1890-91, Williams 1894. Entered labour trade about 1880 from Maryborough. Owned by Paxton & Co., Mackay, 1884, when she brought 62 recruits to Mackay (Jubilee of Mackay, August 1912). Sydney owned 1892, copra trading ("Courier," 21/12/92). Wawn (425) says she went out of the labour trade about 1891. A boat crew was killed Banks Island 1881 (Pageant of the Pacific) Belbin killed Ambryn 1883 (Rannic 87). Wrecked Bellona Reef, 31/1/94 ("Courier," 24/2/94). Williams, master and part owner, commended for beaching vessel to avoid broadside strike ("Courier," 13/3/94).

Borealis. Brigantine, 131 tons. Fiji Licence 1880. Looted at Malaita, October 1880 (Aust. Encyclopaedia) all but three killed. Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) says there were six survivors. Vessel recaptured by Capt. Lynch of "Stanley." Wrecked Salamander Reef 21/8/88. Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) says Octo-

ber 1888. She was then trading to Townsville. Marine Board first found loss due to culpable negligence on the part of master (Mackenzie) and Mate ("Courier," 7/11/88), but on subsequent evidence largely exonerated them. No action ("Courier," 13/11/88).

Carl. Brigantine, 167 tons. Melbourne owned, traded to and recruited for Fiji. Part owner was Dr. J. P. Murray of high scholastic attainments in a University career but plainly a homicidal maniac. Prior to crime below related a letter from Fiji 22/7/72 described Murray as being in a hopeless state of insanity. Kidnapping was evidently premeditated as previous to leaving Melbourne on a trading venture, one master, Hardie, was paid off, another Flynn was discharged and former mate, F. Armstrong, appointed. A legitimate trading voyage was abandoned for the more lucrative one of black-birding. On being overhauled by H.M.S. "Cossack" for inspection it was sought to dispose of evidence by shooting and throwing overboard the bodies of 60 natives. Seized by "Cossack" and taken to Sydney, Armstrong and Dowden, mate, were sentenced to death but reprieved to life with three years in irons. Death sentences on seamen, Spencer and Clancy also commuted. Mount and Morris sentenced to 15 years for manslaughter but later released on a legal point ("Courier" 16/4/73 and 18/9/73). Murray, worst offender, turned Queen's evidence and so escaped punishment. See "Cruise of Rosario" Cumming and Campbell Mag. August 1945 and "Courier" files, March 1873 and on. Vessel lost Bluff Harbour, New Zealand, July 1874 (Aust. Encyclopaedia).

Captain Cook. Schooner, 12 tons. First record to Brisbane with 17 recruits 1871. A. Fergusson, master. In September 1869 she rescued master and crew of "Delhi." Wrecked Indispensable Reef.

Ceara. Three masted schooner, 193 tons. Built at Alloa, Scotland, 1866, by Adamson. Under Q'ld Licence 1879-80. Master, A. Davidson, 1878, R. Keen, 1879, C. Satini and C. Potts 1880-1882, W. A. Inman and D. Murray 1884, Downes, 1885. Put into Brisbane 1880 for repairs, badly damaged in gale. Involved in notorious kidnapping cases in 1884 with Hopeful, Lizzie, Forest King and others. Ceara's recruits were included in the 400 repatriated by s.s. "Victoria." Vessel held up at Townsville for three weeks in 1885 as repatriates

had firearms which were confiscated and sold ("Queenslander," 25/7/85). Lost at Santa Maria, Banks Group November 1885 (Aust. Encyclopaedia). Crew brought to Townsville by "Eliza and Mary" ("Queenslander" 26/12/85).

Chance. Iron Schooner, 68 tons. Under Queensland Licence 1873-80. Masters, McGregor 1868, J. Taylor, 1873, C. Smith 1873, 4 and 5, C. Satini, 1875, 6, 7, 8, J. Harwood, 1878, 9, 80, E. Evans, W. A. Inman, 1880, Brier, H. A. Wigmore 1881, McPhie, D. Connell 1882. Brought news to Brisbane of "Marion Rennie" massacre at Solomons January 1868. Her mate, W. Allen, brought "Marion Rennie" to Sydney. Convoyed disabled "Jason" from Solomons to Maryborough February 1873. Repatriates found to have fire arms, January 1878, which were confiscated but returned (Bundaberg "Star," January 1878). Schooner "Chance" appointed a lazaret for smallpox patients ex R.M.S. "Somerset" at the 4 fathom hole 1/3rd of a mile west from Green Island, Moreton Bay ("Courier," 28/1/79). Wrecked New Hebrides August 1882 (Wawn 265).

Challenge. Masters Linklater, 1870, Longmuir 1871. Seized by H.M.S. "Blanche" in 1871 and sent to Sydney, released and "Blanche" cast for damages (Cruise of Rosario). Seized by "Basilisk" 1873 for kidnapping 33 natives, condemned but released as offence was committed prior to "Kidnapping Act" of 1872 (Aust. Encyclopaedia).

Clansman. Schooner, 157 tons, probably built at Prince Edward Island for McMillan. Masters, W. Lamb, 1882, G. Greenwood, 1886, Matheson 1888, Cooper, T. H. Switzer 1901, 2, R. Pearn, P. Tonaros, T. Palmer 1903, R. Pearn, 1904, W. Russell, 1905. Seems to have entered labour trade about 1901 when owned by E. T. Broad. Traded formerly between Queensland and New Zealand largely in timber trade. In February 1905 fined for neglect and ill-treatment of repatriates, one of whom was killed as soon as he set foot on Guadalcanal. Vessel then owned by Q.N. Bank ("Courier," February 1905). Said to be last vessel to bring recruits to Bundaberg in December 1902 or January 1903, licence being for 36 but 19 only obtained. The position, however, is by no means clear. "Owing to the provisions of the Pacific Islanders Act of 1901 no licences to recruit were issued during the year (ending

31/12/03) and four vessels withdrew from the trade, three only being at sea, viz. "Lady Norman" (T. Anderson, master) arrived Bundaberg 20/1/04, "Clansman" (R. Pearn, arrived Bundaberg 14/3/04, "Sydney Belle" (W. R. Reynolds) arrived Bundaberg 14/12/04, "Sydney Belle" (W. R. Reynolds) arrived Maryborough 31/3/04, "Clansman" (W. Russell) arrived Brisbane 12/10/04, "Lady Norman" (T. Palmer) left with returns 8/12/04, the last repatriated (Votes and Proceedings, Queensland Parliament 1905, p. 741). "Lady Norman's" log now in possession of Wm. Collin and Son, Brisbane, shows she left Bundaberg for Solomons and Fiji 31/3/04 recruiting. The last recruits were obtained in the Solomons September 1904 and landed at Suva 20/9/04. Vessel paid off in Brisbane 8/10/04. Vessel converted to a hulk 1918.

Coquette. Three masted schooner, 214 tons. Masters, W. H. McConnell 1894, 1895 (Connell), J. P. Doig 1899, J. Mackay 1900, 1, 2 and 3. A coast trader. Vessel came from Sydney 27/4/99 to engage in labour trade. First voyage May 1899, A. Cecil, Government Agent, died on voyage, and vessel with only 13 recruits had to return ("Courier," 8/2/1900). Stranded Beuna Vista, New Hebrides, but refloated March-April 1895. Two 30 h.p. oil engines installed September 1901 ("Courier," 18/9/01). Vessel destroyed by fire at Townsville December 1903. Benzine had leaked into bilge and a Customs Inspector lit a match. She was ready to leave with repatriates (Pageant of the Pacific).

Daphne. Schooner, 56 tons. Built at Bombay of finest material for Government service at Port Adelaide, South Australia, but was sold 1866 to a private firm. With her was associated Daggett, Ross Lewin and his partner, Pritchard, these, all ill-omened, probably were the owners. She was the first to operate under the Regulations of 1868 and Ross Lewin's licence, for 50 natives, was revoked for illegal practice ("Courier," 12/6/69). Seized by "Rosario" about this period but action negatived (Cruise of "Rosario"). Fate uncertain. A "Daphne" capsized in Wide Bay 10/2/93, one survivor only, but tonnage is given by Rhodes as 95 (Pageant of the Pacific and "Courier," 22/2/93).

Dancing Wave. Schooner, 67 tons, built in England 1864. Under N.S.W. Licence 1876, 1881. Masters, A.

Harrison 1875-76. McKenzie 1878, J. Leeman, 1881. Boarded by "Rosario" at Vera Cruz, November 1871, no action. Vessel was pearling in April 1876 when Harrison and all but one of his crew (Broad) was killed at Gaba. Ship taken by natives but recaptured by "Sydney," Capt. Woodhouse, at Gaudalcanar (Wawn 97) taken to Savo and thence by "Ripple" to Sydney. Wrecked between Townsville and Cairns, January 1913.

Donald McLean. Schooner. Not much available about this unsavoury vessel. D. McLeod master in 1871. Boarded by "Rosario" January 1872. She had no papers, McLeod made a signed confession of illegality and no further action was taken (Cruise of "Rosario"). McKenzie of this vessel abducted an albino woman at Havannah Harbour and the attack on "Fanny" July 1871 (Aust. Encyclopaedia) is said to have been due to this.

Don Juan. Schooner, 130 tons. Masters, Greuber 1863, Sykes and Griffin, 1865, Sykes, Jackson 1868. First vessel to recruit for Queensland R. Towns owner, Ross Lewin, second mate and recruiter. Vessel also arded and loaded timber in Bribie Passage March 1868 ("Courier"). Lost with all hands off Newcastle, N.S.W. May 1869 (Pageant of the Pacific).

Elibank Castle. Schooner, 100 tons. N.S.W. Licence. Thirteen lives lost and a vessel in a kidnaping raid was the obituary given this vessel by a northern newspaper. In November 1884 Howie, master, and a boat crew were killed in the Solomons ("Queenslander" 7/2/85). H. C. Banks, mate brought the vessel back to Port Douglas. Under A. O. W. Rutch, owner, she returned to the scene to be attacked again. Rutch and all but two of the crew were killed. These attempted to sail the vessel home but, in heavy weather one, Gildie, went overboard. The other, D. Brown, drifted 48 days before being picked up by a Danish brig which later transferred him to a British patrol vessel, taken to Singapore, and from there to Cooktown by "Kildare" ("Queenslander," 28/11/85). "Elibank Castle" abandoned and derelict.

Eliza Mary. Schooner, 161 tons. Masters Coath, 1880, H. Blaxell 1883, Hillman, 1885 (Milman), McDougall, Blaxell 1887, W. Lovelace 1888, N. Campbell 188, 89, 90. Owned by P. Graham, Maryborough in 1885. Vessel had lain idle for 10 months and leaked

badly. Overhauled in Brisbane ("Queenslander," 26/9/85). Arrived in Townsville December 1885 with crew of wrecked "Ceara." On Moar's slip, Kangaroo Point, January 1887. Blaxwell and his son barred by Government from the trade on complaint of Major Howitt, Government Agent for drunkenness and defiance, vessel also unseaworthy ("Courier," 20/1/87, 2/2/87). In 1888 she returned to Brisbane with A. Cecil, Government Agent, wounded Paama ("Courier," 26/11/88). Wrecked Mallicolo, New Hebrides, March 1890 (Wawn 424). Thirty-two lives lost; those who reached shore were killed and eaten. Wreck, then owned by Miss Kate Russell, Brisbane, was sold to Hutton and Whitford, local traders for £20.

Empreza. Barque, 236 tons, built at Glasgow 1865 by Hardwick for J. Bickers and D. Bower, Port Adelaide. Masters, J. B. Robertson, 1892, F. Malcolm, 1892-4, Gray, 1896. Did little recruiting. Brought recruits, 119, to Brisbane 1892. Dismasted New Hebrides 4/3/93 ("Courier," 27/3/93). Owner 1894 by Capt. E. F. Sandeman. In coastal trade 1896, took material for Lucinda Point Jetty, 30/4/96 ("Courier," 1/5/96). Sold to Capt. H. Douglas, Auckland, for New Zealand Trade ("Courier," 18/12/96). Brought timber from New Zealand to Gladstone, March 1899.

Emily. Brigantine, 190 tons, built Aberdeen 1862 by Hall for C. Abbott, Dunedin. Masters, McQuaker 1880 and 1884, R. Pearn 1882, 3, McDougall 1884. McQuaker died Santa Maria (fever) 18/12/84. E. Dee, mate, brought vessel home. McDougall took Latour, Government Agent, from "Jessie Kelly" condemned in Noumea to Aoba, where he lived for two months unmolested. He was brought from there by "Roderick Dhu." Lalour and his son killed at Aure Island September 1890 ("Courier," 20/11/90, 28/11/90). Lost Malo Pass March 1885 when trepang fishing (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Esperanza. F. and A. Schooner. N.S.W. Licence 1879. Masters, R. A. Cable 1878-9, McIntosh 1880. Crew all killed Kulombangra, Edystone Island, Solomons, June 1880 (Wawn 211), Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) adds vessel looted and burnt.

Ethel. 180 tons. Master, Loutitt. Mate, Barton. Government Agent imprisoned for kidnapping 1884. Released pardoned 1890. Vessel illegally recruiting

August 1884, ordered home "Courier," 15/8/84). Vessel owned by Nellerfield and Palmer. The last vessel on which repatriates were allowed to take fire arms ("Queenslander," 16/2/84). Labour schooner "Ethel" arrived in Maryborough from Cooktown to take the place of pilot vessel wrecked in Sandy Straits ("Courier," 17/6/87).

Fanny. Schooner. Masters, Bartlett 1871, Mann, 1880, W. T. Wawn 1882. Mate, Witherington 1883, W. H. Lawrence 1884. Looted Havannah Harbour, July 1871, (Australian Encyclopaedia). Master escaped, ship recovered. Attack said to be due to abduction of an albino woman by McKenzie, mate of "Donald McLean" and 2 women by Irving of "Jason." Owned by Rawson Bros., Mackay, in 1880 (Jubilee of Mackay, 7/8/1912). Wawn left her 1882 to go to hospital due to wounds received at Wottam Island. Vessel sold 1884 on her return to Mackay with 19 recruits only, did not re-enter trade (Wawn).

Fanny Campbell. Schooner, 100 tons. Under Queensland Licence 1872. Master, J. Loutitt, 1871-72. Lost Gamia 18/3/72. Ship plundered but no violence offered to crew of five who returned by "Isabella" (Pageant of the Pacific).

Fanny Nicholson. Barque, 285 tons. Master, Carphim 1867. Brought probably the first recruits to Bowen, 97 in 1867. Lost King George Sound, December 1872 (Pageant of the Pacific). Vessel then engaged in whaling.

Fearless. Schooner Master, Newman 1880, Roche 1883, G. McArthur 1886, Norman 1888-90, G. McArthur, 1894-8, Malcolm 1899-01. First owner, Swallow (Townsville) who later became Swallow and Ariel. 29th August 1884, vessel had to return to Cairns owing to illness of Smith, Government Agent. Left again 14th September. Wrecked San Christoval, April 1902. Owners then were Thos. Brown and Sons.

Fredericka Wilhelmina. Barquentine, 212 tons, built in Sweden 1872. Masters, Williams 1880, Rouch 1883-4. Rouch owned and fitted out the vessel for recruiting July 1883. See "Elibank Castle" for fate of Rouch. Wrecked Empress Bay, Bougainville, March 1884. Several of crew were killed (Wawn 333).

Flirt. Schooner, 30 tons, under Fiji Licence. Masters, Carpenter 1873, O'Connell 1875. Fate uncer-

tain. A "Flirt" wrecked Samoa March 1885, another sank in Brisbane River during flood March 1889 (Australian Encyclopaedia and Pageant of the Pacific).

Flora. Schooner, 130 tons. Under Queensland Licence 1875. Masters, T. W. Wawn, 1875, T. Mackay, 1875, Robertson, 1883-6, D. McDougall 1885-6. Brought recruits to Townsville (88) and Cairns (84) in 1884. Owned 1885 by Parbury, Lamb, Brisbane, E. B. Forrest, J. Hamilton, M.L.A. and J. Hemming. Condemned, moored opposite old Commercial Rowing Club shed near Victoria Bridge (downstream), swamped ("Courier," 14/12/88) dismantled but allowed to settle on the mud off which she eventually rolled into deep water ("Courier," 28/2/90).

Foam. Schooner, 164 tons. Master, Norman 1892. See also "Archimedes," both Maryborough owned (O'Dwyer and Co.). On the list compiled from Custom House records kindly sent me by Mr. J. H. C. McClurg of Historical Society and Capt. Krummel, Harbour Master, Maryborough, the last record of "Archimedes" is dated 4/12/89. First record of "Foam" is 29/12/92 (see above). No further record though she may have been in other ports. This alleged change of Archimedes' name is highly improbable. "Foam's" history is as follows: Under Charter she brought 42 recruits to Maryborough ("Courier," 30-31/12/92). Her Government Agent, Roger North, shot himself in Maryborough 11/1/93 ("Courier," 12/1/93). Wrecked Myrmidon Reef, February 1893 ("Courier," 15/2/93). This could not have been "Archimedes" as "Owned by O'Dwyer and Co. of Maryborough she (the wreck) was one of the newest and smartest schooners in the South Sea Islands trade ("Courier," 22/2/93)." Crew rescued by "Christina Gollan" chartered for the purpose by the Queensland Government. Yet "Archimedes" drops out of history in December 1889 and she was by no means an old ship, being built in 1877 only to reappear in 1900 with Norman as master and "Foam" was lost seven years previously. She may, of course, have emerged from obscurity after loss of "Foam" and name misreported by the Press.

Gael. Schooner, 98 tons. Master, J. Austin, 1885. Does not appear to have been a recruiting vessel. Wrecked Mallicolo, New Hebrides February 1889 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Wawn (424) gives the date

as late as 1889 or early 1900. "Courier" 11/4/89 says about two months ago.

Gazelle. Barque, 324 tons, probably built at Arbroath 1852 for J. Cooper, N.S.W. Licence 1879-80. Masters, T. H. M. W. Schwartz 1879, McIntosh 1880. Rescued crew of barque "Sydney" wrecked Rubiana, Solomons, August 1878. Brought 19 recruits to Brisbane 1880, also crew of "Trelevan Family" from Solomons ("Courier," 5/3/80). Wrecked Nelson, New Zealand, February 1894 (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Hariet King. Barquentine, 185 tons. Masters, H. Scott 1869, W. H. Champion 1870-71, G. Smith 1872. Fitted out for trade November 1870, brought 68 recruits to Brisbane. Wrecked New Zealand waters June 1872.

Helena. Schooner, 126 tons. Masters, McQuaker, 1882, Grahl 1883, A. Turner 1884, Connell 1888, W. R. Reynolds 1895-6, G. McArthur 1896, J. Doig, W. R. Reynolds 1897, W. R. Reynolds 1898, 99, 1891, 94, 95. J. Doig, 1892, 1895. Mate and several men killed Ambryn October 1888 (Pageant of Pacific). Withdrawn from trade October 1898, owners having decided to sell ("Courier," 24/8/97, 6/10/98). Wrecked Wide Bay, 31/7/99, on her 30th voyage, the only one, it is said, on which she was not insured. Reynolds, master, severely censured by Marine Board ("Courier," 6/9/99).

Heath. Schooner, 200 tons. Built at Aberdeen 1873 for W. V. Brown, Sydney. Masters, J. McClements, 1875, A. Campbell, 1877-79, Finlay 1880, D. McDougall 1882, Finlay 1884, W. T. Wawn 1884. Little can be found about "Heath" yet she recruited in the colourful years. She was implicated in the "Hopeful" incident and her recruits were among the 400 repatriated. Fate uncertain. A schooner "Heath" was wrecked at Broken Bay near Cape Three Points, N.S.W. 6/1/89 ("Courier," 8/1/89).

Helen. Schooner, 69 tons. Little recorded history. Her master 1865 was Morgan. In 1872 she was boarded by "Rosario" and found to be without papers. A signed declaration of illegality was obtained from the master. No further action.

Heather Bell. Brigantine, 188 tons. Under N.S.W. Licence 1877. Built at Aberdeen 1851 for McEachern, also her master. In 1877 she was under J. Daly. Mate killed New Hebrides November 1878

(Pageant of the Pacific). Master sentenced to 6 months and fine of £50 for kidnapping March 1878 (Pageant of the Pacific). Fate uncertain. "Heather Bell" lost off Growdy Head laden with coal for Cooktown (Pageant of the Pacific). "Heather Bell" wrecked Townsville in "Sigma" January 1896 (Pageant of the Pacific) but "Courier" 31/1/96 describes this as a wooden twin screw lighter 110 tons, owned by B.P. and Co. This may have been the "H. Bell" built by J. and P. Barker on Doughboy Creek, Brisbane.

Hector. Brigantine, 199 tons, probably built at Sunderland 1840 for Fenwick Snr. Masters, N. Campbell, 1880, J. J. Woodcock, N. Campbell, 1886, W. G. Weston, 1888, J. Mackay, 1889, F. F. Malcolm 1889-91. Owned by Jas. Macmillan, Brisbane, in 1886, on her first call brought 94 recruits. Held up in Brisbane for two months from financial difficulties ("Courier," 9/3/87). Owned by Peter Graham, Brisbane, 1890. Dismasted Breaksea Spit, "Lewellyn" brought her to Maryborough and "Beagle" towed her to Brisbane ("Courier," 27/6/91). Government Agent, C. J. Rannie died suddenly in Maryborough 30/6/91. "An old hulk" "Hector" was bought in Brisbane by Aplin Brown and Co. and recoppered for use in Townsville ("Courier," 19/6/91). Broken up 1901.

Heron. Schooner, 80 tons. Masters, Greenlees, 1877-9, Linklater 1881, Meaney 1883, Dann, 1884. First vessel to recruit under Regulations of 1884. Left Maryborough 2/6/84. Wrecked Ancitum December 1884 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Pageant of the Pacific says October 14.

Hopeful. Schooner. Masters, W. Stribley 1879, Voss, J. McDougall 1880, Briggs 1883, Shaw 1884. Vessel was trading to the agency of R. Philp at Townsville 1879. Vessel left England 1877, meanwhile her owners went insolvent. The English master transferred her to Stribley and on arrival at Townsville she was taken over by creditors. Said to be the first vessel to recruit in the Bismarks 1884, newly opened to the trade. In November 1884 McNeill recruiter, and Williams, bos'n, were sentenced to death for murder. Commuted to life imprisonment with Shaw, master, and Scholefield, Government Agent, with the first three years in irons; Freeman, mate, to 10 years with the first 2 in irons; Preston and Rogers, seamen, to 7 years, the first year in irons. Scholefield died in prison

January 1886. Others pardoned and released by the Morehead Government in 1890. On review of the case by the Court prior to release the Minister for Justice, Hon. A. J. Thyne said, "If all the information had been brought to the notice of the Court and jury the prisoners would not have been convicted" ("Courier," 20/2/90, 5/7/90). McNeill died in Townsville, 1/1/91.

Io. Schooner, 150 tons, built P. E. Is. for J. Hall, Sunderland. Masters, R. Pearn, 1874, 5, 8, 9, 81, H. Palmer 1879, 80, D. McDougall, 1881, W. A. Inman 1882, McPhie, 1882. "Io" brought first consignment, 74, to Geraldton, 1881. Wrecked between Wansfell and Manoca Reefs, Barrier Reef (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 265) ("Queenslander," 19/8/82).

Isabella. Schooner, 89 tons, built Arboath by Hall 1860, for J. Goodall. Under Queensland Licence 1870-1879. Masters D. M. Goodall 1870-71; Stewart 1870; H. Bolger 1872; Markham 1873; W. C. Winship 1873-4; D. Murray 1873, 4, 5, 6; H. J. Starsch 1875; W. Rosengren 1876-9; Davies 1880-2. Goodall brought Isabella from New Bedford to Brisbane 23/5/70. She went straight into recruiting and took 88 from Brisbane to Mackay 19/12/70. Attacked at Pentecost July 1871. No loss of life; brought back crew of "Fanny Campbell." Arrived in Brisbane August 1873 with crew of wrecked whaler "Robert Towns," owned by Winship. Owned 1880 by Lobie, Kinswell and Davis (Jubilee of Mackay, August 1912) said to be condemned 1880 but Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) says mate and Government Agent killed Espiritu Santu 1881 and entire crew killed New Guinea 1890.

Ivanhoe. 152 tons, built Goole 1837 for Hutchinson, Hartlepool. Masters, Steele, 1895-6; W. R. Reynolds 1900, 1906; T. W. Switzer 1902; A. A. Burns 1903. Largely engaged in coast trade. Spoken by "Coquette," April 1900. "Ivanhoe" badly strained. Brought to Maryborough by T. H. Switzer. Slipped in Townsville 1901. Dismasted in local blow New Guinea waters ("Courier," 27/10/96), B. P. Owners towed to Townsville. Wrecked Solomons May 1906 (Pageant of the Pacific by Rhodes) looted but no loss of life.

Jabberwock. Aux. Brigantine, 86 tons, built at Darling Harbour, Sydney, in 1875 May, for Slable of Gympie, Queensland. Engine 35 h.p. Under Queensland Licence 1880. Masters, Harwood 1875, Slable

1877, T. Sheehy, J. M. Bright 1880, Adrian 1881-2, T. W. Wawn 1882, Williams 1883-4. Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) gives tonnage 140. Part of her crew killed at Tanna, November 1880 (Pageant of the Pacific). Owners 1880 Paxton and Co. (Jubilee of Mackay, August 1912). Engine removed about 1881. Rig altered. Wrecked New Hebrides May 1884 (Australian Encyclopaedia, under W—wrecks). See also Wawn's book.

Janet Stewart. Brigantine, 202 tons. Queensland Licence 1878-80. Masters, R. J. Belbin, 1879, H. Wigmore 1880, S. R. S. Thomas 1882. Attacked at Api June 1878. Looted and burned at Malaita, February 1882, all hands killed, except one boat crew absent at time of attack (Wawn, South Sea Adventures, 215). Vessel at this time owned by Miss Kate Powell, Maryborough. Thomas was charged with setting fire to his ship but discharged, not guilty.

Jason. Schooner, 96 tons. Built P. E. Is. 1851 for Dixon and Co., Liverpool. Queensland Licence 1870-75. Masters, Hurley 1868, J. W. Coath 1869, 70, 71, G. Groundwater 1872, J. Taylor 1872-3, J. C. McConnell 1875, R. J. Belbin, H. Wigmore 1879-80, Thomas 1882. During 1869, 70 and 71 Coath brought large numbers of recruits to Townsville and Maryborough. In November 1871 he was found guilty of kidnapping, sentenced to five years and a fine of £50. On his later petition the case was reopened and on 3/9/73 the Governor, Marquis of Normanby, pardoned and released him (Votes and Proceedings Queensland Parliament 1874, v.2). This was the first trial for kidnapping in Queensland. There is no evidence that Coath received compensation for what was described as "wrongful conviction." He died 12/4/74, from the effect of a poisoned arrow wound. Vessel burned to waters edge in Maryborough June 1875. She had been fitted out for the trade March 1870, owners R. Travers and Co., Maryborough, and her first recruiting voyage was in June 1870.

Jessie Kelly. Schooner, 144 tons. Queensland Licence 1873, 75, 79 and 80. Masters, Rose 1868; R. W. Crickmore 1873, J. Woodcock 1875, Geach 1875, 1876, Chambers 1877. W. H. Millman 1880-83, 1884, J. Bowers 1883. Millman and W. Spall charged with kidnapping April 1884 but discharged. Vessel condemned in Noumea July 1884, her 98 recruits being transferred

to "Ernestine" and Latour, Government Agents, taken by "Emily" (McDougall) to Aoba. Here he lived for two months in security until taken off by "Roderick Dhu" 1884. Wrecked Port Stephens, October 1886 (Pageant of the Pacific by Rhodes.)

Juventa. Schooner, 152 tons, built at Jersey Channel Island in 1865 by J. Deslandes and Sons for A. McIlwraith, Sydney. Masters, Williams 1880, P. Edwards 1883. Little can be found regarding "Juventa." She was in Mackay in 1880. After a six months cruise she returned to Townsville with one recruit only ("Courier," 9/3/84). Sold to Queensland Government in 1885 and served as a coal lighter in the Fitzroy River. At the time of sale owners were Burns Philp and Co. The purchase arose out of the Russian war scare and "Taldora" towed her to Rockhampton ("Courier," 25/7/85).

Kate Kearney. Brigantine, 69 tons. Masters, J. Hastings 1870, H. Nichols 1875, Cole 1883. Mainly a pearl and trepang fisher. In December 1875 she rescued crew of "Lyttona" wrecked Hoda Bay. Found the body of Ah Sam and tank with bodies of Mrs. Watson and child. Lizard Island tragedy (Pageant of the Pacific by Rhodes). Lost off Cooktown, capsized in heavy weather February 1884.

Keith. Brigantine. Failed to obtain any record of this vessel.

King Oscar. Master, Gibbons 1867. Ross Lewin was recruiter. She brought 282 to Brisbane.

Krishna. Barque, 254 tons. Masters, Jew 1873, W. Walton 1873. The little known about this vessel is discreditable. Owned 1873 by Walton, who was frequently in trouble, and Wm. Jackson. Seized by "Basilisk" she was condemned by an Admiralty Court in Brisbane and sold by Arthur Martin, 7/7/73 ("Courier"). Purchaser's name not stated. The high price realized, £3,900, was due to the valuable cargo, copra, etc., as she was not recruiting for mainland labour. Walton was not punished for kidnapping, the Court holding that loss of the vessel was sufficient. She was the first vessel to be charged under the Imperial Act of 1872. "Melanie," "Challenge," and "Woodbine" were also seized at the same time and spot. "Marion Rennie" escaped. The three mentioned were eventually released. Case tried before Sir Jas. Cockle (See "Courier," 29/5/73).

Lady Belmore. Brigantine, 254 tons. Queensland Licence 1880. Masters, W. Currie 1880, 81, White 1882. Little record seen. She rescued one survivor of "Idaho" wrecked Santo 1874. Vessel wrecked Mackay March 1882 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 265).

Lady Darling. Schooner, 108 tons. Queensland Licence 1874-1880. Masters, G. A. de Bories, 1875, R. J. Belbin, 1874-5, 1877-8, J. Williams, G. Smith, 1876, E. Evans, 1878-9, D. McDougall 1879-80. Wrecked New Hebrides 7/3/81 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 213). Crew taken off by "Io." Rhodes says by "Lady Belmore" (Pageant of the Pacific).

Lady Norman. Ketch rigged aux. Tonnage given 250 tons. Lloyds Register says 300 tons. Masters, J. Helsdon 1895, G. Cater, H. McIntosh 1895, Goodall 1896, P. Tonaros 1899, 1900, first voyage of recruiting, Anderson 1900, 1901, 2, 3, 4, J. Palmer 1904. Originally "Sea Horse" paddle wheel tug built by Walker and Co., Maryborough, 1882 or 3, for Queensland Government cost £11,245 (Eng. for Harbours and Rivers report, 1884). Capt. Collin bought her January/February 1895 ("Courier" 15/2/95) put in a propeller that could be raised when vessel under sail ("Courier," 23/10/95) and ketchrigged her. Later, engines from "Dickie" beached at Caloundra 4/2/93 ("Courier," 14/2/93) were installed. "Dickie" a small clinker built iron steamer 225 tons was built at Kent 1883 apparently for Gibbs Bright, who sold her to Brydon Jones ("Courier" 18/7/88) when wrecked, her master, J. Steele, was suspended for 3 months ("Courier," 30/3/93). Wreck sold to R. H. Boreham, Bundaberg £90 ("Courier," 7/6/93). First granted licence for 120, April 1899 ("Courier," 28/4/99). "3/4/04 ("Courier," 5/4/04) vessel left for Solomons and Fiji. Last recruits were obtained September 1904 and landed at Suva 20/9/04. Vessel paid off in Brisbane 8/10/04" (from J. Anderson's (master) log in possession of Collin and Son, Brisbane). 8/12/04, under J. Palmer, took repatriates from Bundaberg. Evidently "Lady Norman" and "Clansman" were the last of the Island labour traders. Vessel now a lighter for Collin and Son (March 1950).

Lallah Rooke. Schooner, 147 tons. Masters, Jackson 1870, Fryer 1885, Proctor (mate) 1885), J. Irving 1887, H. Clyne 1887, Phillips 1887, died suddenly 20/4/87, W. Palmer 1888. Fryer and crew killed Hoop Iron Bay, New Guinea. Vessel looted but brought to

port by mate, Proctor, July 1885 (Australian Encyclopaedia). There are so many vessels of this name that precision is difficult. Fate ("Courier," 1/2/96) sank in cyclone Magnetic Island, January 1896, laden with timber. An exemption for Geraldton was granted A. Krok, master of the schooner "Lallah Rooke," 12/2/96 ("Courier"). During the same gale (December 1899) the "Lallah Rooke" disappeared with her crew of four and no trace was found. Locality near Percy Island (Marine Department's Report, 1899-1900).

Lavinia. Schooner 119 tons. Masters, Neil Brodie 1873, Williams, S. Smith 1883, Callander 1887, C. W. Ericson 1890, F. Wilson 1894, C. Paesch 1896, Rescued crew of "Delhi" wrecked Indispensable Reef, September 1871 (Pageant of the Pacific by Rhodes). Seized in Solomons, March 1873 (Rhodes says July) six men killed. Five killed Anuda Island, July 1874 (Pageant of the Pacific by Rhodes). Mate, Government Agent and two men killed April-July 1883 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Captain's hand shattered by dynamite, amputated by surgeon of H.M.S. "Lark" ("Courier," 18/8/84). Put into Brisbane in distress 1890 ("Courier," 10/1/90). Wrecked Magnetic Island in Sigma, 1896. One man killed but master and five men got ashore ("Courier," 31/1/96).

Leslie. Barquentine, 608 tons. Masters, J. H. M. W. Schwartz 1880-81, A. Robertson 1881, A. Turner 1882. Schwartz and several of the crew killed Cape Marsh, February 1881 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 213). Wrecked Anciteum April 1882 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 265).

Lizzie. Schooner, 223 tons. An iron screw schooner "Lizzie" was built by Sleath and Co., Glasgow, 223 tons, for Nobels Explosive Co. First master, H. Anderson, 1883. W. T. Wawn, master, 1883-4. "Lizzie" sold to a Sydney firm June or July 1884 and did not re-enter the trade (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 330). Dismasted and condemned November 1888 (Australian Encyclopaedia) seems improbable to be the same.

Lochiel. Barquentine, 227 tons, built by Stephen of Peterhead 1875 for H. Donkin, Brisbane. Masters, E. Evans 1883, R. Pearn 1888 to 1903. Dismasted between Bampton and Kaan Reefs but arrived Bundaberg with crew of "Alfred Vittery" wrecked Kaans Reef, March 1884, also with Rowe, Government Agent,

"Fredericka Wilhelmina" dangerously wounded at Bougainville (Wawn, *South Sea Adventures* 333). Slipped and repaired Peters slip 18/9/81 ("Courier,") again November 1898 ("Courier"). Again dismasted when tug "Bompy" failed to hold her and was carried under Burnett River bridge (19/9/1900) ("Queenslander 20/10/1900, p. 843). "Lochiel" towed to Brisbane by "Lady Musgrave" ("Courier," 25/9/1900). Tug "Bompy" originally a small steam or power yacht owned by Sir Thos. McIlwraith sank.

Lord of the Isles. Three masted schooner, 208 tons, built Sydney 1881 by and for H. Beattie. Masters, J. E. Hawkins 1883, Scott 1886. First noted appearance in Brisbane 18/8/83 (Pugh). Crew killed at Santo 1883 ("Courier," 12/8/83). Wrecked Kaipara Head, New Zealand, October 1900 (*Australian Encyclopaedia*).

Loelia. Culler, 50-60 tons. Fiji Licence 1875, N.S.W. 1877-80. Masters, J. King, 1875, H. H. Pergoy 1877-78, J. Foreman 1878-9, M. C. Magnusson 1880, 81, 83, D. Murray 1881. Master (unnamed) killed Aurora Island 1874 (Wawn, *South Sea Adventures* 37). Murray killed Cape Marsh 1881 (Wawn, *South Sea Adventures* 213).

Lucy and Adelaide. Schooner, 89 tons. Queensland Licence 1875-79. Masters, J. Williams, 1869, Rowlings 1875, Smith, J. Anderson 1875-6, R. J. Belbin 1877, McKinnon 1878-9, J. J. Woodcock 1878-9, C. Satini, W. T. Wawn 1879. Owner 1875 R. Craig, 1890 Drysdale Bros. Anderson killed Malo Pass, New Hebrides, June 1876 (Wawn, *South Sea Adventures* 98). Vessel brought first consignment to come direct to Bundaberg (88) 20/4/79 (Bundaberg "Mail," 20/4/79). Pioneered the new mail service Cooktown to Samarai and Moresby. 11/8/88 ("Courier," 13/8/88) and was on that run most of her later life. Wrecked Havannah Harbour, New Hebrides, January 1880 but later refloated (*Australian Encyclopaedia*). "A lighter 'Lucy and Adelaide' rode the 'Sigma,' January 1896 out but was damaged by 'Leura' when that vessel broke adrift" ("Courier," 1/2/96).

Lyttona. Schooner, 173 tons. Queensland Licence 1870, 75. Masters, J. Coath 1868, G. Smith 1868-9, W. Rosengren 1870-75, W. C. Winship 1870-2. Built by Taylor Winship, Cleveland. First recorded voyage July 1868 to Brisbane—75 recruits. Returned after 3

months' cruise, January 1870 with 10 recruits only. Martin master this voyage. Said to have gone out of trade March 1873 and into pearling. Wrecked Hoda Bay, San Christoval, November or December 1875 (Pageant of the Pacific) crew brought to Brisbane by "Kate Kearney" (Australian Encyclopaedia). Markham (Cruise of Rosario) spoke "the English cutter 'Lytton' with 17 recruits January 1872." No trace of "Lytton" can be found other than a small steam dredge, Queensland Government owned, must surely have been "Lyttona."

Madeline. Schooner, 114 tons. Masters, Foreman 1880-83, H. A. Wigmore 1882, Skillen 1883, J. Helsdon 1885-6, W. Connell 1887-88. Vessel had a bad reputation. In latter 1883 charges were made by Checke, Government Agent, against Skillen, who counter-charged. Checke resigned and Skillen debarred from the trade (Queenslander 3/5/84). Found to have no Government Agent in 1884 when recruiting. Badly damaged at Aotea in 1886 (?Aoba) and her recruits were transhipped to "Hector." Owned this period by Jas. McMillan, Brisbane. Wrecked New Hebrides, April 1888. No loss of life (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Magnet. Schooner. Launched at Sydney, April 1874 for Brodziak and Rogers, Townsville (Pugh). Wrecked Tanna, May 1882, drifted ashore in a flat calm (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 265).

Maid of Riverton. 82 tons. Masters, Murphy 1864, J. Frazer 1868-9. Brought some of crew of "Reliance" wrecked Indispensable Reef, April 1868, and 43 recruits to Maryborough.

Mary. Probably the first recruiter to Maryborough 1867. No facts can be gained. See "Mary Smith" for "Mary" does not appear on the Customs record for 1867.

Mary Anderson. F. and A. Schooner, 52 tons, New Zealand Licence. Schultze master in 1879. Described by Wawn (p.13) "She flew the British flag, was commanded by a foreigner who held no certificate, had no Government Agent and recruited for German planters." Three boatmen killed April Mathcoto, April 1887 ("Courier," 18/7/87).

May Queen. Schooner, 97 tons, built P. E. Islands by McDonald for T. Moore, Belfast (?). Masters, Thomas 1873, D. M. Goodall 1873-4, Weaver, D. Brown,

J. Williams 1875, C. S. Kilgour 1876, E. Wutherington 1877, A. White 1877-8, R. Pearn, W. H. Williamson 1880, Dixon 1881-2, C. Berg 1884, P. Dowell 188-1891, 92, Finlay (died 1/4/91) 1891. Built in Brisbane 1866. First record to Brisbane 1873, 103 recruits. W. McKinnon, mater, charged with kidnapping January 1874, discharged. Mate killed Pentecost 1878 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 165). Badly damaged in gale, March 1876. Recruiter and 3 men killed Lepers Island 1881 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 241). In 1884 returned to Brisbane with 5 recruits only after 5 months' cruise (Pugh 1885). Cut nearly in half by s.s. "Balmain" in Maryborough, 1/5/89 ("Courier"). Fate, like birth, uncertain, said to have been lost Aoba 1884. Dates make this impossible. Broken up 1913. A "May Queen" 97 tons was burned at Tanna, May 1875, all crew killed (Pageant of the Pacific. Was this the English built vessel?

Mary Smith. Schooner, 99 tons. Masters, Skinner 1864, P. Watson 1867, brought 84 recruits to Maryborough 1867 (Customs House record).

Mary Campbell. Brigantine, 144 tons. Queensland Licence 1870. Masters C. G. B. Mouatt, 1870-71, Loutitt 1871. Brought 108 recruits to Maryborough 1871.

Mary Stewart. Schooner, 65 tons. Queensland Licence 1874. Master in 1874 was C. W. Bartlett. Vessel wrecked Paoma, New Hebrides, June 1874 (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Marion Rennie. Schooner, 56 tons. Fiji Licence 1874, 5, 7, 9. Masters, McEwan 1861, Lewis 1865, Delaney 1868, Rennie 1869, W. Rogers, Martin 1874-5, W. Makin 1877, W. Waite 1879, W. McDonald 1880. Seven whites, 5 natives killed Solomons January 1868. Vessel brought to Sydney by W. Allen, mate of "Chance." Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) states this to have been the first attack on any ship by natives, doubtful as Press reports it as "another outrage." Aboard was a Danish seaman Vgesk killed in the attack. For saving life at Newcastle Vgesk had been awarded the Royal Humane Society medal and Sydney citizens presented him with a 50 guinea gold watch. Two years later, Macfarlane of "Rose and Thistle" recovered both watch and medal in trade, both in good condition ("Courier," 25/4/70). Mate Rae and part crew killed Cherry Island, Fiji, December 1870

(Australian Encyclopaedia). Attacked San Christoval October 1877, mate badly wounded, several recruits killed (Pageant of the Pacific). Lost at sea June 1885.

May. Three masted schooner, 237 tons, built at Sunderland by R. Pace in 1869 for W. Turnbull, Wellington, New Zealand. Masters, R. Lancaster 1888, W. Spence 1889, 1892-3, J. Doig 1893, W. LeVaux 1895, Voss 1897, Cole, Government Agent, blew his hand off dynamiting fish San Christoval and died in consequence ("Courier," 29/8/88). Brought 107 recruits to Brisbane 1889. H.M.S. "Royalist" ordered vessel back to Bundaberg for recruiting 5 servants of a settler, Port Sandwich, New Hebrides ("Courier, 29/10/90). Chartered by C.S.R. 1894, owned at this date, January 1895, by Young Bros., Bundaberg. She was the first to recruit Ellice Islands for Youngs ("Courier," 15/2/95) and appears to have blundered on to them by accident. Trading Sydney to New Zealand property of Union Steamship Co. 1897, who resold her to J. Harrison, New Zealand ("Courier," 7/10/98).

Mayflower. Schooner, 53 tons. Masters, C. O. Hanson 1888, Loudon 1892, died 22/11/92. History obscure and contradictory. It is stated she was built in N.S.W. for Hyne and Son, Maryborough; that she was abandoned Lady Elliott Island, bought as a wreck by Hyne for £400, who got her and cargo off undamaged ("Queenslander," 24/7/86). This account probably true. Seems to have done little, if any, recruiting as the name does not appear on Maryborough Customs list.

Martha Ellen. Schooner, 125 tons. N.S.W. Licence 1876. Masters Whish 1877, Flemming 1877. Built 1840 at Newcastle. Broken up 1919.

Meg Merrilees. Schooner, 143 tons. Fiji, Licence. Masters, Kirkpatrick 1893 and owner. W. A. Thompson 1899. Stranded Fiji July 1881 but refloated by half-caste Bishop. Fined by German officials of the Bismarks £150 for breach of Regulations ("Courier," 9/11/93) ("Courier," 1/12/93). Wrecked Cape Melville, 9/3/99, in cyclone ("Courier," 14/3/99). No lives lost. She was at this time mother ship to a pearling fleet that suffered great loss of life and vessels.

Melanie. Schooner. Built 1853 at Sunderland for E. Hickey, London. Master in 1869 was C. Edwards. Pearling Torres Straits, was in Cardwell 1871. Seized

by "Basilisk" 1873 with 55 kidnapped natives, condemned in Sydney but released as offence was committed prior to the operation of Kidnapping Act of 1872.

Myrtle. Schooner. A. Tonaros, master 1888. Caught in hurricane February 1889, partially wrecked and could sail only with the wind but eventually made Samarai 2/4/89 ("Courier," 24/4/89 and 5/5/89).

Mystery. Schooner, 80 tons. Queensland Licence 1870-1880. Masters, J. Irving 1870, 71, 73 and 74, Le Gros 1874, 5, 6, 7, Beddell do., Weir do., W. A. Inman 1877-78, C. Kilgour 1879-80. Repatriating from Rockhampton and Mackay 1870 and on. Attacked at Tanna November 1874. No loss of life (Pageant of the Pacific). Mate and Government Agent killed Aoba November 1878 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 172) early 1879 (Pageant of the Pacific). Government Agent was J. Renton rescued 1885 by Murray ("Bob-tailed Nag"). Kilgour fined £100 for destroying native property when recovering a boat April 1879 (Pageant of the Pacific). Wrecked Sandwich Islands June 1880. Australian Encyclopaedia says at Efate, New Hebrides.

Native Lass. Schooner, 106 tons, built P. E. Islands 1842 for Schwernsky, Liverpool. Queensland Licence 1874, 5; N.S.W. 1879. Masters, Greenlees 1868, 70, 72, J. Taylor 1874-5, E. Evans 1875, T. Davies 1879-81. Brought recruits to Maryborough up to 1875. Condemned and foundered Solomons October 1890 (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Nautilus. Barque, 243 tons, built Hobart Town 1872 for H. Hopkins by Mackay. Masters, Wigmore 1880, 1889, T. E. Hawkins 1888, J. Mackay 1890-91. Brought 121 recruits to Brisbane January 1890. Vessel originally built as a yacht ("Courier," 3/1/90). Owners 1890 were C.S.R. Co. (by re-possession) sued P. Graham for recovery of ship's certificate. Graham, now insolvent, had been ship's agent, was fined £15 and certificate passed to C.S.R. Coy. ("Courier," 27/9/90). Burned Noumea August 1891 (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Nautilus. Iron barque, 745 tons. Arrived in Brisbane, 14/4/91 (master, J. Mackay) with 97 recruits. "Will go out of the labour trade having been purchased by J. Williams, Sydney, for general south sea trading" ("Courier," 17/4/91).

Northern Belle. Schooner, 214 tons. Built at Yarmouth 1877 by Geddie for W. White, Banff. Northern Belle is now being fitted at Cairns for the South Seas labour trade ("Courier," 28/10/87). Her second passage from Cairns was July 1888 ("Courier," 19/7/88). Owners then W. Whyte and Co. Master in 1889 was Spence. Vessel wrecked Banks Group February 1889 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures, 424). Survivors brought to Brisbane by "Para."

Noumea. Schooner, 141 tons. Queensland Licence 1880. Fitted out for the trade June 1880 at Mackay. Master 1880, R. J. Belbin. Wrecked Saumarez Reef 13/5/80 (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Pacific. Schooner, 60 tons. Queensland Licence 1877-8, N.S.W. 1879. Masters, Sykes 1869, J. Woodcock 1877-78, J. M. Dobbie 1879. Lost at sea.

Planet. Schooner, 68 tons. Boarded by "Rosario" January 1872, charged with murder of native woman and child. Discharged by "Rosario" for lack of evidence. One "Planet" wrecked Doongarra, July 1890 (Pageant of the Pacific). One on De Lombre Reef 15/7/81 (Pageant of the Pacific).

Para. Brigantine, 252 tons, built Alloa by Adamson, 1862, for T. Adamson. Queensland Licence. Masters, Delmere 1883-4, Delmont?, Cooper 1887, J. D. Johnston 1888, C. J. Pellerson 1888-89, F. Malcolm 1892, J. Mackay 1891, 92, 94 and 95, W. H. Lawrence 1895. First recruiting voyage appears to have been 1887. Cairns and Townsville ("Courier," 14/4/87). Brought survivors of wrecked "Northern Belle" to Brisbane, 19/3/89 ("Courier"). Rescued crew of "G. W. Gildermeister" at Requiem Bay, New Hebrides ("Courier," 28/5/91). Went on Peter's Slip, December 1891, her 167 returns being transferred to "Hector" ("Courier," 3/12/91), came off slip May 1892. Repairs cost £1,000. August 1895, brought 116 recruits "the 6th time she had recruited 100 or over, a record in the trade" ("Courier," 19/8/95). "The brig Para which has for many years been laid up in the Shafston Reach sank yesterday morning without the slightest warning" ("Courier," 14/12/97). "An attempt was made to raise Para by a diver blocking the holes under direction of A. E. Cullen" ("Courier," 12/2/98). This did not succeed. D. Fison, Engineer for Harbours and Rivers Department, says she was eventually dynamited.

Petrel. Brigantine. Queensland Licence 1871-72. Masters, Burns 1864, T. Rees 1871, H. Eut 1872. Lost at sea, December 1873.

Restless. Brigantine, 258 tons. Masters, Curphey 1869, owner, Bowman 1872. Attacked Bands Group July 1872, Government Agent killed. Vessel abandoned in gale after being struck by lightning Solitary Islands, July 1872 (Pageant of the Pacific). A "Restless" was trading to Gladstone 1876.

Reliance. Schooner. Wrecked Indispensable Reef, April 1868, Austin, master. Some of crew rescued by "Maid of Riverton" 33 days later (Pageant of the Pacific). Austin was also owner.

Rio Loge. Iron Aux. Brigantine, built Garstn (?) 1869 for C. W. Turner, registered 242 tons. Masters, Patterson 1869, 1873, Munro 1885, C. H. Lovell 1891, Spence 1894, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 1900, 3, 4, 5, Reynolds 1897. Purchased November 1893 by a Bundaberg syndicate of which Spence was member, refitted for Island trade. Suggested name change to "Island Belle" ("Courier," 23/11/93). Towed from Brisbane to Bundaberg by "Lady Musgrave," first recruiting voyage 9/12/93. June 1894 vessel equipped with 4 h.p. power launch ("Courier," 6/6/94). Slipped November 1895 preparatory to next cruise, fitted with twin screws and two 30 h.p. oil engines ("Courier," 11/12/1900). Bergin, recruiter, killed Malaita, January 1896. Went out of labour trade October 1903. Lost with all hands, including wife and daughter of Spence, January 1909, Cook Strait. (Australian Encyclopaedia and Pageant of the Pacific).

Ripple. Schooner, rigged steamer, 59 tons. N.S.W. Licence 1877-80, Masters, Davis 1876, Fergusson 1879-80, Woodhouse 1880. Assisted to take "Dancing Wave" to Sydney after massacre 1876, Gaba. Fergusson, 3 white and 16 native crew killed Solomons August 1880 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 209). Arrived Sydney October 1880, badly damaged. Wrecked Solomons February 1887 (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Roderick Dhu. Schooner, 163 tons, built Auckland, New Zealand, 1875. Masters, A. Turner, 1882, Smith, Davies 1883, Thomas, Blavell 1884, Thomas 1885-6, A. Paesch 1886-7-8-9, 1890-91, G. Tonaros, 1892, G. Norman 1893-4-5, J. H. Switzer 1896-7 and 1903, J. Anderson 1898-99, J. Ralston, F. Dellamere, 1900. In 1884 rescues Latour at Aoba (see "Jessie

Kelly"). Latour and his son later killed Aure Island September 1890 ("Courier," 20/11/90). "Royalist" orders release of 2 boys under 16 recruited at Aoba ("Courier," 27/11/90). Vessel came to Brisbane 1908 and used as a lighter by Cleghorn, Hopkins and Co. In September 1903 she had been ordered home by Woodward, British Resident in Solomons, leaking badly. Government Agent and all recruits were transferred to "Lady Norman." Survey in Townsville showed vessel to be seaworthy ("Courier," 21/10/03). Beached at Bishop (Wreck) Island Brisbane about 1914.

Sir Isaac Newton. Brigantine, 121 tons. N.S.W. Licence 1878-9. Masters, J. Martin 1868, R. Cable 1868, 1878, R. M. Gordens 1879. Wrecked Noumea April 1879 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Wreck sold for £80.

Southern Cross. Schooner, 158 tons. Queensland Licence 1874. Master in 1874, H. Kennett. Mate and Government Agent killed Torres Gap, September 1874. Owing to death of Government Agent H.M.S. "Conflict" ordered all recruits to be landed at their home islands and the vessel to return to port.

Spunkie. Schooner, 132 tons. Queensland Licence 1890, 71, 72. Masters, Crosley 1868, J. Rees 1867-8-9-70 and 71, H. M. Brown 1872, Halcrow 1877, Williams 1882, Daly 1888. Ross Lewin recruiter and probably owner, brought 129 to Bowen 1868. Vessel fitted out for the trade June 1870. First recorded visit to Brisbane 1872, 148 boys. Sunk off Cape Moreton 13/7/88, in collision with s.s. "Ranclagh," which was held to blame.

Stanley. Schooner, 115 tons, built Grantn (?) by Menzies 1863. Queensland Licence 1875-8, Fiji 1879-80. Masters Gibson 1866, W. T. Wawn 1875, 6, 7, 1880, C. S. Kilgour 1877-8, J. Lynch 1880-81, J. G. Davis 1883. Attacked Lepers Island July 1875. No loss of life. Lynch recovers "Borealis" at Malaita September 1880. Jennings drowned Mary River ("Courier," 10/4/83). Davis and McMurdo (mate) charged with kidnapping. These were withdrawn but on charge of burning copra station of Hersheim and Co., Lauchlan Island, they were remanded to Fiji, there acquitted ("Queenslander," 24/5/84). Wrecked Indispensable Reef July 1883. Crew brought to Brisbane, 13/9/83, by "Venture," Woltsch, master (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 330).

Stormbird. Schooner, 162 tons. Queensland Licence 1871, 78, 79 and 80. Probably built Jersey, England, 1862. Masters, Hurley 1870, S. Mayhew 1876-7, J. P. Turley 1871, W. T. Wawn 1878, C. Satini 1879, R. Turner 1879-80-81, Harris 1882, Paesch 1883-5, W. T. Olliver 1886-7. Three men killed Pentecost April 1871 (Pageant of the Pacific). Brought 145 natives to Bundaberg August 1879, the second direct consignment to that port. Damaged, ran aground Hervey Bay, October 1879. Offered for sale May 1885. Taken to Sheridan's Island, Mary River, and there burned ("Courier," 6/11/88). Stated to have been built at Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1875. Some of her spars went to rig "Perseverance" 164 tons, which took B. Livingstone, Maryborough, 14 years to build and launch January 1891. On her first voyage with timber to Townsville "Perseverance" met heavy weather and was abandoned High Peak Island. Master, Fry, had certificate and pilotage exemption cancelled.

Superior. Brigantine, 205 tons. Queensland Licence 1880. Master, 1880, W. Rosengren. First fitted out for the trade January 1880 at Mackay. Lost Solomons January 1883 (Australian Encyclopaedia).

Sydney Belle. Barquentine. Masters, W. R. Reynolds 1899, 1900, 1903, A. Gray 1900. Bought in Sydney for labour trade February 1899 and left Sydney on a cruise 10/3/99. No record of her seen.

Sybil. Schooner, 120 tons. Queensland Licence 1874, 80. A most confused, complicated record; there were two "Sybils," but not at the same period, yet it has not been possible to say where one ends and the other begins. Maryborough Customs list shows simply "Sybil" from 1874 to July 1900. One was lost Bellona Reef 1905 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Rhodes says 1902. One lost Mallicolo January 1887 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Crew taken to Sydney, thence to Brisbane. Brought first boys from Solomons to Maryborough January 1879. In 1883 McIntosh, master, and White, mate, were debarred from the trade for irregularities. Latour, Government Agent, left the vessel at Havannah Harbour unseaworthy ("Queenslander," 26/1/84). Dismasted off Cape Moreton 8/1/91. Customs found arms and ammunition secreted aboard 8/4/96, and again September 1897 ("Courier," 21/4/96 and 23/9/97). Masters were: McArthur 1873, W. H. Champion 1874, E. Keetes 1874-5, C. Smith

1876, J. Taylor, R. Turner 1877, E. Evans 1878, R. Turner 1879, 1883, J. Lewis 1879-80, McQuaker 1880-1, Blaxell, Woodcock 1882, McIntosh 1883, J. Meeney 1884, Callendar 1885-6, A. Tonaros 1890, 1891, 1897, J. Anderson 1891, P. Tonaros 1894, F. F. Malcolm 1895, 1899, T. H. Switzer 1900.

Telegraph. Masters, Cook 1864, Banner 1865. Brought recruits to Bowen 1865.

Trelevan Family. Schooner, 198 tons. Built Egleton 1872 for H. Trelevan, Newcastle, N.S.W. Left Bundaberg December 1879. Wrecked Solomons 23/1/80. Nineteen days on Marau Mea Island, well treated by natives. "Gazette" brought crew to Brisbane.

Uncle Tom. Brigantine, 185 tons. Probably built Ardrossan 1852 for J. Sutherland. Masters, Leonard 1864, Smith 1864. Recruited for and owned by R. Towns. The second vessel to recruit in Queensland bringing 54 1/7/64. In 1865 she took to Townsville timber for the first buildings of Black and Towns. One "Uncle Tom" wrecked Ballina December 1870. One at Lake Macquarie December 1875.

Venture. Brigantine, 166 tons. N.S.W. Licence 1878-9-80. Masters, W. H. Robertson 1878-9, P. White 1879, W. T. F. M. Wolsch 1878, 80, 81, 83. Brought crew of wrecked "Stanley" to Brisbane 13/9/83 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 330). Wrecked Cygnet Bay November 1890.

Victoria. Steamer. Victoria was chartered by Queensland Government from A.S.N. Coy. to return some 400 natives kidnapped by "Ceara," "Lizzie," "Heath," "Forest King" and "Hopeful" 1884. She left Brisbane June 1885, Townsville later. Master was Ballastier, pilot W. T. Wawn. Charge for repatriation was £6 per head but by an Act of August 1895 compensation was provided for employers whose employees were returned by Government order.

William Manson. Barque, 366 tons. Built by Duthie and Sons, Aberdeen. Masters, Voss 1893, Reynolds 1894. Said to be the largest and best equipped vessel in the trade. "Courier," 9/12/93, gives full account. First entry to trade 23/8/93. Voss, half owner, charged in Sydney with kidnapping. Case transferred to Brisbane. Olver, Government Agent, Curry recruiter, Hall mate, and three seamen also

charged ("Courier," 27/11/94). After a protracted trial all were found not guilty but the Government closed the trade against them. Vessel was sold to Capt. Fry for trade between Australia and New Zealand ("Courier," 20/11/95). Later purchased by Union Steamship Co. for use as a hulk ("Courier," 6/9/97).

Woodbine. No record beyond that she was seized by "Basilisk" February 1873 and brought to Brisbane but released for lack of evidence.

Woodlark. Barque, 200 tons. Queensland Licence 1870-71. Masters, W. Livingstone 1869-70, H. Russell 1870-71. A Towns owned vessel, engaged mainly in repatriating and trade. A four months' cruise in 1870 (September yielded 15 recruits only).

Young Dick. Schooner, 162 tons. Built 1869 by Wray for W. Cass and Co. Masters, R. Arnit 1878, Rogers 1884-5-6. Ordered back to Maryborough by H.M.S. "Miranda" on charges laid by bos'n (date has been overlooked). In 1885 brought 120 Solomon boys to Maryborough ("Queenslander," 5/12/85). Government Agent, cook, and sailmaker killed Sincrago Bay, May 1886. Vessel saved by seaman Crittenden and mate Marr ("Queenslander," 5/6/86). Lost with all hands off Barrier Reef July 1886 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Last spoken off Dungeness. Rogers was part owner.

Zephyr. Schooner, 57 tons. Fiji Licence 1876. Noumea 1877, N.S.W. 1880. Masters, Whyte 1864, Cooney 1873, Columbier 1876, Schivartze 1876-8-9, F. Marshall 1880. Mate and a son of the master killed at Api end of 1874 or early 1875 (Wawn, South Sea Adventures 32). Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) says all one boat crew were killed. Some of crew killed and vessel burned Choiseul October 1880 (Australian Encyclopaedia). Rhodes (Pageant of the Pacific) says all hands killed. Vessel wrecked Kent Group July 1882 (Pageant of the Pacific).

Solomons, Main Islands. Bougainville, Choiseul, New Georgia, Isobel, Malaita, Guadalcanal, San Christoval.

New Hebrides. Banks Group, Santa Maria, Vanua—
Lava and Torres being largest—Espiritu Santu,
Lepers, Aurora, Pentecost, Mallicolo, Ambryn,
Api, Sandwich, Erromanga, Tanna, Anciteium.

Louisades. Off S.E. tip of New Guinea.

Bismarks. To north of Louisades.

Ellice. North of Fiji.

Indispensable Reef. Roughly 160E. 10-11 S.S.W. of
San Christoval.

E.&O.E.

E. V. STEVENS, 26/2/50.

Laus Deo