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A 19th Century Chapter in Hawai'i's Maritime History: Hudson's Bay Company Merchant Shipping, 1829 - 1859

ALTHOUGH HAWAI'I'S RESIDENTS and the almost six million tourists who annually visit the Hawaiian Islands in the 1980s travel by air, both residents and tourists also depend on the overseas merchant shipping that each week replenishes the Islands' food supply and other necessities of life. Hawai'i's present reliance on merchant shipping is the end product of an historical process that began with the fur trade two centuries ago, and which thereafter was expressed in the close relationship between merchant shipping and the Islands' subsequent economic development and population growth. The events of this paper are set in the distant past, but the paper's focus on overseas merchant shipping refers to an ongoing theme in Hawai'i's maritime history.

The growth and changing character of Hawaiian commerce during the 19th century are reasonably well known.¹ But the day-to-day organization and development of the foreign shipping—European and American—that carried most of this commerce are not. The extensive documentation on the Hudson's Bay Company in Hawai'i provides a conveniently bounded 30-year

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framework for examining Company shipping to the Islands and affords a valuable insight into the merchant shipping of this period. The first objective of this paper is to describe the pattern of Company shipping in the Pacific, Hawai'i's participation in this pattern, the vessels the Company used, and the nature of their deployment. Thereafter, attention is directed to the Company's shipboard personnel and their relations with the Company officers, in Hawai'i and on the Northwest Coast, who oversaw both maritime and land-based Company operations.

THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY IN HAWAI'I

Between 1829 and 1859, the Hudson's Bay Company was a leading merchant house in Hawai'i. The Company's local activities and the personnel who staffed its Honolulu agency are the subject of an article previously published in this journal.² This paper is a sequel to that article. In order to orient the reader, the Company is briefly introduced.

Since the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670, London was the seat of Company headquarters, headed by a Governor and Committee. During the period with which we are concerned, North American fur trading and Hawaiian operations were directed by the Governor in Chief of Rupert's Land, Sir George Simpson, from what is now Winnipeg and also from Lachine, a part of metropolitan Montreal. In 1821, through merger with the Northwest Company, the Hudson's Bay Company expanded its fur trading to the Pacific Northwest. Fort Vancouver, on the north bank of the Columbia River opposite today's Portland, was founded as the Company's main Pacific depot and area headquarters. Seeking diversification beyond its original concern with fur trading, the Company soon developed exports of Northwest Coast lumber and salmon to Hawai'i. In 1829, the Company entered the Hawaiian trade with its first shipment of lumber brought by the schooner *Cadboro*. Thereafter, additional cargoes of lumber and also salmon were sent to Honolulu on consignment to Richard Charlton, English Consul and Acting Company Agent. In 1834, the Company opened its own Honolulu agency. Company

vessels outbound from London to Fort Vancouver often stopped at Honolulu for provisions, so it was logical that in 1840 the Company began the regular importation into Hawai'i of English manufactured goods. Company imports were in demand by both local residents and the whaling fleet, at that time the mainstay of the Islands' economy.

However, political conditions in the Pacific Northwest were anything but stable. With the influx in the 1840s of aggressive American settlers, backed by a U.S. federal government bent on territorial aggrandizement, Oregon and Washington became a part of the United States in 1846 by treaty with England. In the face of American expansion, in 1849 the Company moved its Pacific headquarters to Fort Victoria on Vancouver Island. The decade of the 1850s saw the decline and ultimate demise of Fort Vancouver, the English colonization and development of Vancouver Island, in which the Company was deeply involved, the end in 1858 of the Company's once-flourishing Hawaiian trade in lumber and salmon, and increasing commercial competition in Hawai'i. The Company announced its withdrawal from Hawai'i in November of 1859. The last Company official departed in early 1861.

THE PATTERN OF COMPANY SHIPPING IN THE PACIFIC

The Company's fur-trading activities in the Pacific Northwest encompassed what is now British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon, southward into California, and with forays up the Snake River into Idaho. Company posts throughout this huge area had to be supplied with English manufactured trade goods and provisions, and the annual production of furs had to be shipped to England. Two shipping requirements, therefore, had to be met. The first was a regular service between England and the main Pacific depot, Fort Vancouver, and after 1849 with Fort Victoria. The second was a reliable coastal service linking the coastal trading posts. Furthermore, after the Company became established on the Northwest Coast, in the 1830s and into the 1840s it engaged in the California hide trade, and for a decade after 1839 it supplied

the Russian American Company at Sitka with agricultural produce from the agricultural operations on which the Company embarked. Coastal shipping was accordingly expanded. Thus the maritime needs of the Company in the Northwest in the first instance dictated the pattern of the Company's Pacific shipping.

To fulfill these needs, each year the Company sent at least one vessel carrying trade goods and supplies around Cape Horn to the Northwest Coast; and in the opposite direction each year a vessel was dispatched to London with the annual return of furs. Additional, usually smaller vessels, were needed for the coastal trade, in which those Company-owned vessels used on the London-Northwest Coast run also participated until 1850. However, the size of the Company's Pacific maritime establishment was never large and through careful scheduling was kept within strict bounds. Company cargo was carried with only a few exceptions in Company-owned or chartered vessels.

The Company's entrance into the Hawaiian trade resulted in an expansion of the shipping pattern described above. Now a regular service had to be maintained between the Northwest Coast and Hawai'i, with lumber, salmon, and, for a short period, agricultural produce flowing to Hawai'i. Travelling in the other direction were salt (to cure the salmon) and in time Hawaiian sugar, molasses, and coffee, as well as products from the Orient, such as Manila rope and tobacco. Also, after 1840, the Company's Honolulu agency had to be supplied with English manufactures carried in the vessels outbound from London. In this way, Hawai'i became incorporated into the Company's Pacific maritime operations. The most important indicator of the degree of Hawai'i's participation in these operations is to be found in the recorded arrivals at Honolulu of Company vessels.

ARRIVALS OF COMPANY VESSELS AT HONOLULU

Arrivals of Company vessels for the 30-year period from 1829 to 1859 are summarized in Table 1 (see also, Appendix). A change in shipping operations took place during the 1850s, so the two

periods, 1829-1850 and 1851-1859, are categorized separately in the table.

TABLE I.
ARRIVALS OF COMPANY-OWNED AND CHARTERED VESSELS
AT PORT OF HONOLULU, 1829-1859

	<i>Owned Vessels</i>	<i>Chartered Vessels</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Arrivals, 1829-1850</i>			
From London	25	4	29
From Northwest Coast:			
Inbound to London	17	—	17
To Honolulu & return to Northwest Coast	33	—	33
To Honolulu only (vessels sold or end of charter)	1	5	6
	<u>76</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>85</u>
<i>Arrivals, 1851-1859</i>			
From London	1	12	13
From Northwest Coast:			
Inbound to London	—	1	1
To Honolulu & return to Northwest Coast	20	—	20
To Honolulu only (end of charter)	—	3	3
	<u>21</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>37</u>
<i>Total</i>	<u>97</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>122</u>

Source: Alexander Spoehr, *Arrivals of Hudson's Bay Company Vessels at the Port of Honolulu, 1829-1859: A Compilation Based on Primary Sources*, ts., 1988, HHS.

Between 1829 and 1850, the 29 arrivals of Company vessels from London were outbound to the Northwest Coast. No year passed without an arrival from England. In the other direction, the 17 arrivals of vessels inbound from the Northwest Coast to London dropped off lumber and salmon at Honolulu and for a time loaded California hides, but if inbound vessels had no cargo for Hawai'i, they went home direct. Hence there were fewer inbound arrivals at Honolulu than outbound.

During the same period, in addition to the arrivals of vessels inbound to London, there were 39 other arrivals from the Northwest Coast. Of these, 33 arrivals were of Company-owned vessels that returned to the Northwest Coast with Hawaiian products. Sometimes California was included in the voyage either to or from Honolulu. Of the six arrivals terminating at Honolulu, one Company-owned vessel, the *Lama*, was sold, and the others ended their charters.

In the period 1851-1859 several changes occurred. First, reliance was now placed on chartered rather than Company-owned vessels to bring English manufactures to Honolulu. The increased use of chartered vessels seems partly to have been the result of disruptions in retaining crews caused by the California gold rush. Only one outbound Company-owned vessel called at Honolulu. Second, Company-owned vessels were put on a direct London-Fort Victoria run, carrying miners and settlers as well as cargo for the development of Vancouver Island. They also returned direct to London. To these vessels were entrusted shipment to London of specie and gold dust, which became a common means of payment after the discovery of gold in California. The Company did not allow specie and gold dust "trusted to chartered vessels and strange captains."³ Third, vessels inbound from the Northwest Coast to London ceased to call at Honolulu. Honolulu's few export items for England, such as walrus teeth, whalebone, and specie and gold dust, were sent to Fort Victoria for transshipment.

As in the previous period, Company-owned vessels were the mainstay of the run from the Northwest Coast to Honolulu and return to the Coast. On at least one occasion, English manufactures arrived first at Fort Victoria and were then brought to Honolulu.

The last arrival from the Northwest Coast of the *Recovery* in 1858 marked the end of the Company's regular shipments of lumber and salmon.

ELAPSED VOYAGE TIMES

In 1844, the ever-inquisitive Robert C. Wyllie published in the *Friend* a table of elapsed voyage times to Honolulu for a 20-year period between 1824 and 1843.⁴ Wyllie reported that 13 vessels averaged 159 days from London to Honolulu, and that 37 vessels averaged 25 days from the Columbia River and the Northwest Coast to Honolulu. Hudson's Bay Company voyages do not show striking differences from Wyllie's figures. Elapsed voyage times for Company vessels on which reliable data are available are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2.
ELAPSED VOYAGE TIMES OF COMPANY VESSELS, 1829-1859

	<i>Number of Voyages</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Average</i>
London-Honolulu	27	125-186 days	151 days
Columbia River-Honolulu	30	15-40 days	26 days
Vancouver Island-Honolulu	20	12-52 days	27 days

Vessels leaving the Northwest Coast for London in the 1840s were provisioned for seven months.⁵ The 52-day voyage of the *Recovery* from Vancouver Island to Honolulu in 1856 was exceptional. Battered by heavy weather, the vessel was almost given up as lost. Apart from this instance, the longest voyage from Vancouver Island to Hawai'i was 32 days.

TIME IN PORT

Like a modern airliner on the ground, a ship in port, apart from unloading, loading, provisioning, and necessary repairs, is not earning its keep. The Company's London headquarters accordingly gave explicit instructions to its Honolulu agency to dispatch vessels as expeditiously as possible in order to keep layover times in port to a minimum. On his visit to Honolulu in 1842, Sir George Simpson was similarly concerned, and indeed exercised, by a few flagrant examples of excessive vessel in-port times. In-port times of a sample of Company vessels at Honolulu are given in Table 3. Vessels undergoing extensive repairs are not included.

TABLE 3.

IN-PORT TIMES OF COMPANY VESSELS AT HONOLULU, 1829-1859

	<i>Number of vessels</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Average</i>
London outbound	25	3-40 days	13 days
London inbound	13	7-27 days	14 days
From Northwest Coast and return	45	7-70 days	19 days

In contrast with modern practice, average in-port times as shown in the table are long. They are understandable in that advance notice of a vessel's arrival date by cable or radio did not exist, so that precise planning for provisioning had to await the vessel's arrival, and unloading and loading was a tedious, largely manual process.

COMPANY VESSELS

Company-owned and chartered vessels calling at Honolulu are listed in the Appendix. Brigs, brigantines, and barks were favored

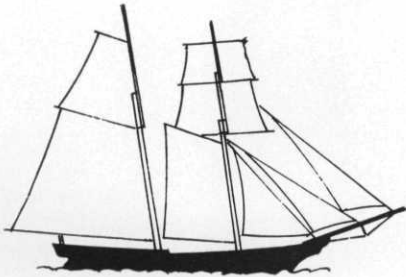
by the Company for the vessels it owned and operated in the Pacific (fig. 1).⁶ In the 1830s, brigs and a small bark, the *Ganymede*, were used both on the England-Northwest Coast run and in the coastal and Hawaiian trade. At the end of the decade the Company introduced three larger, English-built barks, the *Columbia*, the *Cowlitz*, and the *Vancouver*. Manned by a complement of 21 to 22 officers and crew, they were the workhorses of the Company's Pacific maritime establishment until the closing years of the 1840s, carrying goods and supplies from England, returning with the annual shipment of furs, and calling frequently at Honolulu. In the 1850s, a new and larger generation of Company-owned barks then made their appearance, of which the *Princess Royal's* visit in 1854 was their only call at Honolulu (fig. 2).⁷ In the late 1840s and during the 1850s, smaller brigs and brigantines were used on the run between the Northwest Coast and Hawai'i.

London headquarters was responsible for acquiring Company-owned vessels, but there were two exceptions. In 1832, Chief Factor John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver was greatly in need of a captain thoroughly familiar with the navigation of the Northwest Coast and with the conditions of trade with the Indians. He was also in need of a brig. In July, he was visited by Captain William H. McNeil, an American in command of the Boston brig *Lama*, en route to Honolulu after a season on the Northwest Coast. McNeil indicated that he desired to sell the *Lama*. McLoughlin thereupon sent his assistant, Duncan Finlayson, from Fort Vancouver on the *Eagle* to Honolulu, where Finlayson bought the *Lama* at a bargain price. Just as important, he procured the services of Captain McNeil, who had years of experience on the Northwest Coast, as well as the services of McNeil's two mates. The *Lama* returned to Fort Vancouver with McNeil in command and with Finlayson aboard and served in the coastal trade until 1837, when it was sold in Honolulu.⁸

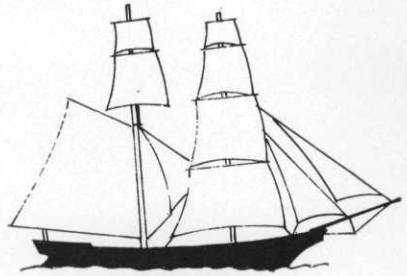
FIG. 1 (*above*). Hudson's Bay Company coat of arms, used as the house flag on Company vessels. The coat of arms features four beavers quartering the shield, supported by two upright elk, and surmounted by a fox perched on a cap. (*below*). Company-owned vessel types. Silhouettes not to scale. (Author's drawing.)



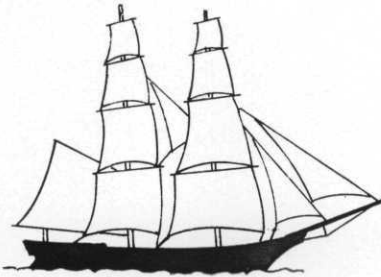
Coat of Arms



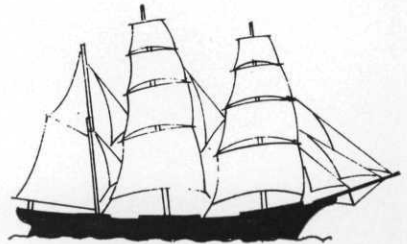
Schooner



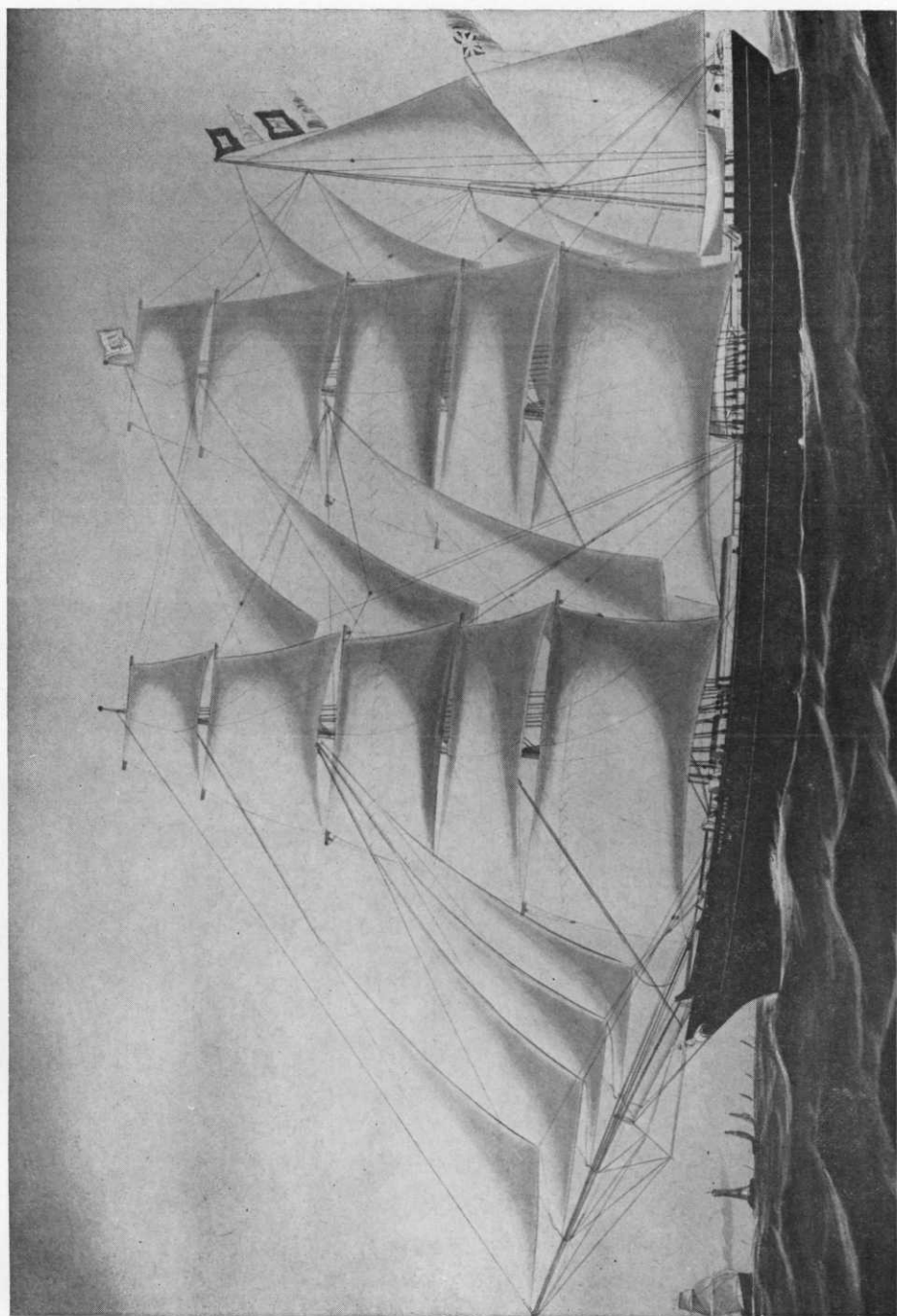
Brigantine



Brig



Bark



The second exception occurred in 1852 when Chief Factor James Douglas at Fort Victoria needed a replacement for the *Una*, wrecked the previous year. He accordingly bought the American brigantine *Orbit*, then in the Puget Sound area. Renamed the *Recovery*, the brigantine was a regular caller at Honolulu until the end of the Company's lumber and salmon trade.

The Company became known for its interest in and support of scientific exploration and on a number of occasions made its vessels and posts available to scientific personnel. David Douglas, the Scots naturalist after whom the Douglas fir is named, came out from England in 1825 on the Company's *William & Ann*, and made Fort Vancouver the base for his botanical exploration of Oregon. He also travelled on Company vessels on his second trip to the Pacific in 1832-1834. On a later occasion, Company support was given the Wilkes U.S. Exploring Expedition while on the Northwest Coast. In 1841, the Company's Honolulu agency dispatched the chartered *Wave* from Honolulu to Fort Vancouver with a cargo of supplies and stores for the expedition, which was also provisioned at Fort Vancouver. Although doubtful about Commodore Charles Wilkes's ulterior motives in visiting the Northwest Coast, the Company cooperated in logistic support of the Expedition's investigations.⁹

The dangerous waters of the Northwest Coast took their toll of Company ships. The Columbia River bar alone claimed three. The first victim was the brig *William & Ann*, wrecked in March of 1829 with the loss of all hands, including ten Hawaiian passengers bound for Company service. The second victim was the brig *Isabella*, wrecked in May of the following year, although her crew survived. The last casualty was the bark *Vancouver* in May 1848, again with her crew surviving but her cargo lost. The small schooner *Vancouver*, built at Fort Vancouver in 1828, was lost in the Queen Charlotte Islands in March of 1834. The brigantine *Una* was wrecked at Neah Bay near Cape Flattery in December of 1851; and the brigantine *Vancouver*, newly refitted at Honolulu,

FIG. 2. Hudson's Bay company bark *Princess Royal* called at Honolulu in 1854. (Provincial Archives of British Columbia photo HP42625.)

was a casualty of a gale in the Queen Charlotte Islands in August of 1853. The three *Vancouver*s all met violent ends.

SHIP REPAIRS: JAMES ROBINSON AND COMPANY

With characteristic emphasis on the positive, the *Polynesian* in 1845 declared, "Honolulu is unequalled in the Pacific for discharging and repairing vessels."¹⁰ In that year, there were two Honolulu shipwright firms, long-established James Robinson and Co., and a newcomer, Drew and Co. It was with Robinson that the Hudson's Bay Company dealt for the repair of Company vessels. Robinson and Co. deserves comment.

In the spring of 1822, two young Englishmen, James Robinson, ship carpenter, and his shipmate, Robert Lawrence, sailed from Honolulu on the British whaler *Hermes*, bound for North Pacific whaling grounds. In company with the *Hermes* was another British whaleship, the *Pearl*. On the same night, both the *Pearl* and the *Hermes* ran aground and were wrecked in the northern part of the Hawaiian chain on the then unknown coral atoll that today bears both their names.

The crews survived but were stranded on the atoll. James Robinson promptly set about building a schooner from timber salvaged from the wrecks. Before he had completed his task, a third British whaler came to the rescue and removed all but Robinson and 11 others who elected to stay and who joined Robinson in sailing the newly built schooner on a successful but long ten weeks' voyage back to Honolulu.

Robinson and Lawrence remained in Honolulu and joined forces in setting themselves up as shipwrights, a craft much in demand. They received the assistance of Kamehameha II and, in 1827, established their shipyard in Honolulu harbor at Pākākā, or "the Point," on land obtained from Kālaimoku. They were later joined as a full partner by James Holt, "a very respectable man from Boston."¹¹ In 1840, the *Polynesian* commended the partners and their shipyard:

Honest, industrious, economical, temperate, and intelligent, they are living illustrations of what these virtues can secure to men. . . . Their yard is situated in the most convenient part of the harbour—has a stone butment and where two vessels of six hundred tons burthen can be berthed, hove out, and undergo repairs at one and the same time. There is fourteen feet of water along side of the butment. The proprietors generally keep on hand all kinds of material for repairing vessels. Also those things requisite for heaving out, such as blocks, falls, etc. On the establishment are fourteen excellent workmen, among whom are Ship Carpenters, Caulkers and Gravers, Ship Joiners, Block-makers, Spar-makers, Boat-builders, etc.¹²

The first Company vessel that appears to have required the services of Robinson and Co. was the brig *Dryad*. In 1835, she delivered a cargo of lumber from Fort Vancouver, *en route* to London. Agent George Pelly in Honolulu reported to London that “. . . on opening her [the *Dryad's*] top sides the plank and timbers were quite rotten and it was impossible she could have gone to sea in safety in the state she was found to be without the repairs done her.”¹³ The repair bill was considerable and caused the tight-fisted London headquarters of the Company sufficient pain so that they instructed both Chief Factor McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver and Honolulu Agent Pelly that none of the Company's vessels was to be repaired in Honolulu unless an accident occurred after leaving the Columbia River.¹⁴ The establishment at Fort Vancouver included a shipwright, and an ample supply of ship timber as well as other necessary materials were on hand.

Although Fort Vancouver seems to have handled most major repairs until the transfer of the Company's Pacific headquarters to Fort Victoria in 1849, the services of Robinson and Co. were called upon when necessary. In 1836, the decks of the *Columbia*, *en route* from Fort Vancouver to London via Honolulu, required caulking; in 1839, the *Nereide* needed extensive repairs for damage in crossing the Columbia River bar; and in 1846 the *Admiral Moorsom* arrived from London with a serious leak.¹⁵ Fort Victoria lacked shipyard facilities so that after 1849 the Company again

sought the services of Robinson and Co. In that year, Agents Pelly and Dugald Mactavish wrote London, "We have the satisfaction of informing you that the *Mary Dare* sailed yesterday for Fort Victoria, after having been thoroughly caulked, coppered, etc. by Messrs. Robinson and Co., shipwrights here, and her rig altered from a brig to a brigantine by Captain Scarborough. . . ."¹⁶

For wood-hulled ships in tropical waters, shipworms (marine borers) could be devastating. To combat the worms, hulls were sheathed in copper. The Company did as profitable a business in importing sheet copper from England to Honolulu as Robinson did in sheathing vessel hulls. In 1853, the Company's sturdy *Recovery* fell victim to the voracious shipworms, arriving in Honolulu from Fort Victoria in a very leaky state. The subsequent survey on the *Recovery* illustrates the shipworm problem for captains and owners:

Honolulu Nov. 17, 1853

We the undersigned having been called upon this day by Capt. William Mitchell (Master of the Honorable Hudson's Bay Company's Brigantine "Recovery") to survey and report upon the condition of the said vessel's bottom, as she lay hove out, alongside the shipwright's yard, and to suggest such measures as are actually necessary to make her capable of carrying dry cargo to her Port of destination, or elsewhere as requested—

We therefore beg leave to state that on examing her bottom, we found her much riddled by worms, and would recommend that she be felted, and coppered up to the 8th feet mark, the vessel being perfectly sound in every other respect and well worth the outlay suggested.

We would further state that after the cargo was out, with a clean swept hold and laying alongside the wharf, she made 17 inches of water in 24 hours which we believe was occasioned only by the condition of her bottom through worms.

James Robinson
Master Shipwright
William Bowden
Agent for Lloyds¹⁷

A final example concerns the bark *Cowlitz*, victim of a series of mishaps. In 1850, the *Cowlitz* was about to leave Fort Victoria with supplies for Fort Rupert at the northern end of Vancouver Island. From Fort Rupert, she was to proceed with additional supplies to Fort Langley on the Fraser River, where she was to load a cargo of salmon for Honolulu. For reasons of safety, the *Cowlitz* made this trip not under sail but towed by the paddle wheel steamer *Beaver*, used by the Company on the Northwest Coast.

On leaving Fort Victoria, the *Cowlitz* struck and was towed over a rock in the harbor, apparently without major damage. After leaving Fort Rupert, she was grounded at the entrance to the Fraser River for eight hours. After discharging her cargo at Fort Langley and loading 2,077 barrels of salmon, she was again grounded for two days on her way down the river. After leaving the river, she was grounded again in a sand bank, this time seriously, with her bow firmly in sand in only a few inches of water but with 16 feet of water under her stern, thereby causing tremendous strain as the weight of her cargo forced the after section of the hull to bend downwards. One result was that the *Cowlitz* sprang a leak. She was towed off at high tide, but she was grounded once more before arriving back at Fort Victoria. The exasperation of her master can only be imagined.

In a mishap of this kind, certain formalities were necessary. One was the filing of a notarized "protest" by the master of the vessel, detailing exactly what happened. A second necessary document was a careful survey of the damage to the vessel by competent persons in the presence of the underwriter's agent, in this case Lloyds. Through lack of adequate shipyard facilities at Fort Victoria, only a partial survey of damage could be completed. There was no notary public, so a protest could not be filed. But after repair of the leak and on the recommendation of Governor Blanshard acting *ex officio* for her insurers, Lloyds of London, the *Cowlitz* was dispatched to Honolulu for further repairs and with a cargo of salmon and shingles. She arrived safely in July of 1850 in company with the *Una*.

In Honolulu, a survey of the damage to the *Cowlitz* was conducted and certified by the resident agent for Lloyds. A protest was duly executed by her captain and notarized and filed by Asher Bates, Solicitor to the Hawaiian Crown. Robinson and Co. completed the repairs necessary for a safe voyage to England. She sailed for London in November of 1850. But on her arrival at London, doubts about her continued seaworthiness led the Company to sell the *Cowlitz*, ending her decade of service around Cape Horn, on the Northwest Coast, and as a regular visitor to the port of Honolulu.¹⁸

MASTER MARINERS AND MATES

During its early years in the Pacific Northwest, the Company had to gain knowledge of the navigation of dangerous coastal waters, enter into stable trading relations with the Indians, set up a series of trading posts, and incorporate its coastal shipping and the supply vessels annually sent out from England into a coordinated pattern of maritime and land-based operations. To accomplish these ends, Chief Factor John McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver faced difficult problems with the early masters of Company vessels. One thorny question revolved around the utilization of these vessels on the Coast. The masters tended to consider themselves above McLoughlin's authority in the use of the vessels under their command, but unless McLoughlin was clearly in charge, the entire enterprise was at risk. The problem was resolved in McLoughlin's favor, but not without the intervention of Company Governor Sir George Simpson.¹⁹

McLoughlin also had to cope with masters who lacked knowledge of Northwest Coast waters, who often showed an indifference to correcting this deficiency, and whose seamanship was open to question. Finally, some masters and mates were drunkards. In 1824, Governor Simpson remarked, "Captn Davidsons talent as a Navigator I know nothing about, but his talent as a Grog Drinker I understand is without parallel and I shall be agreeably surprised if he and his Ship ever reach the Port of Destination."²⁰ The problem of alcohol addiction plagued McLoughlin for years. It

was not that alcohol addiction was universal among masters, but that in the relatively tight schedule the Company by necessity had to follow, and with the vagaries of wind and weather, a few captains with a craving for the bottle could severely disrupt operations.

Fortunately, Aemilius Simpson, cousin of Sir George Simpson, arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1826 to take charge of the Marine Department, and until his untimely death in 1831 he greatly contributed to enlarging the Company's knowledge of the Pacific Coast and of coastal trading conditions. He also brought the first cargo of Company lumber on the *Cadboro* to Honolulu, marking the Company's entrance into the Hawaiian trade. The year after Simpson's death, McLoughlin and Duncan Finlayson recruited William McNeil, the American master whose long experience on the Northwest Coast has been noted. McNeil remained in the Company's service for the next 30 years. Although difficulties with masters and mates continued, by the 1830s the Company had a working system on the Northwest Coast, a firm stake in the Hawaiian trade, and maintained the shipping link with England on a regular basis.

In Honolulu, a conflict of operational authority between the Company's masters and the Company agents also arose and continued long after the same problem had been settled on the Northwest Coast. Among the agents' headaches was the custom of Company captains bringing English goods aboard the vessels they commanded and selling these goods in Honolulu on their own account and for their personal financial gain. This was to the detriment of the Company for two reasons: Company goods sometimes were shut out of Company vessels for lack of space; and the masters could undersell the Company in Honolulu for the same type of goods.

When Sir George Simpson arrived in Honolulu in 1842 in his trip around the world, he directed his attention not only to the masters' private business transactions but to the entire spectrum of the relations between the Company's Honolulu agents and the captains of Company vessels. Simpson recommended vigorous corrective action to London headquarters.²¹ In addition, he gave

the Honolulu agents a letter with instructions that they exhibit it to the captain of every Company vessel arriving at the port. The following extract from Simpson's letter to the agents illustrates the conflict of authority that existed, as well as the less than satisfactory conduct of some masters and mates when ashore.

I have noticed by several of the accounts that have come under my observation . . . that the Captains of the Company's vessels have occasionally had dealings on account of the Company at the Islands with parties direct, without consulting or passing through the hands of the Agents. Such transactions are exceedingly irregular and cannot be admitted or tolerated in the future. You will, therefore, be pleased to intimate to all the Commanders of the Company's vessels visiting the Islands, that all transactions of whatever nature or kind they may be, connected with the public service must pass through your hands, and you will understand that no demands of any kind are to be met, except such as you may consider absolutely necessary, and that you are not to pay any debts contracted by the Captains or that have not obtained your previous sanction, nor are you to honor any drafts or money orders that may be issued by the Captains without proper authority, who are on no consideration to be permitted to assume the agency of the ships while at the Islands. And any cases of private dealings at the Islands on the part of Captains or officers that may come to your knowledge . . . or of private commissions that may be exercised by the Captains or Officers whereby goods, parcels or packages are conveyed in the ships, occasioning a loss of freight to the Company, or yielding private emolument to the parties, you will in all cases communicate the same without hesitation or reserve to the Governor and Committee [in London], likewise to the Gentleman superintending the Company's affairs at [Fort] Vancouver; You will likewise be pleased to report any gross cases of misconduct such as drunkenness, rioting, neglect of duty, etc. that may come to your knowledge, on the part of the Company's Officers frequenting the Islands, as I am sorry to say has already been too frequently the case; in order that the necessary steps be taken to prevent the recurrence of such disgraceful conduct. Whenever you observe the practice of festivity or entertaining aboard ship being carried to excess, you will likewise be pleased to

report the same. . . . Honolulu, I am aware, has so many attractions and its society is so engaging, that our Captains generally manifest a great unwillingness to quit the place, and contrive to invent a thousand pretexts for hanging on from day to day and week to week running up endless bills, to the great loss, injury and inconvenience of the Service. You will, however, on all occasions be pleased to urge the prosecution of their voyage by every means in your power, with the least possible delay.²²

Margaret Ormsby, in her introduction to *Fort Victoria Letters*, observed, "The London headquarters of the Company constantly had difficulty in finding capable and efficient commanders for its ships."²³ Her comment raises the question of what kind of system the Company employed in the recruitment and promotion of ships' officers. To judge from an admittedly small sample of the Company's Pacific masters through the 1840s, the Company's system appears to have been relatively flexible. Captains Duncan, Humphreys, and Sangster entered Company service as seamen; Sinclair as a sloop master; Heath and Scarborough as second mates; and Eales, Hanwell, Mott, Mouat, Stuart, and Swan as first officers. All were promoted within the service. Individuals appointed initially as masters included Darby, Grave, Langtry, McNeil, Ryan, and Simpson, three of whom received their training as officers in the Royal Navy. Although the Company's difficulty in procuring the services of competent masters was no doubt troublesome, the Company does not appear to have been hampered by an overly rigid system of recruitment and promotion.

In assessing the competence of the Company's masters and mates, one must of course distinguish their shoreside behavior from their performance at sea. After a long and sometimes dangerous voyage, it is hardly surprising that both officers and crew imbibed to excess in the grog shops of Honolulu. The Company's problem with some masters and mates who were habitually given to alcohol, leading to erratic and irrational acts while on duty and irresponsible behavior ashore, is illustrated by a few examples viewed from a Honolulu perspective.

In 1829, Captain Leonard Hayne commanded the *Ganymede* on her homeward voyage from Fort Vancouver to England by way of Honolulu. After leaving Honolulu, instead of following the usual course via Cape Horn, Hayne, an alcoholic, became deranged and ended up with the *Ganymede* in Hobart, Tasmania. The local authorities there removed him from command and sent the vessel home under another captain.²⁴

In 1842, Captain Charles Humphreys of the *Columbia* discharged his first officer, Lattie, in Honolulu for drunkenness, only to have the same charge levelled at himself. Sir George Simpson wrote London that “Captain Humphrey’s conduct in many cases, amounts in eccentricity and irritability of temper to unsoundness of mind and to madness while under the influence of liquor.”²⁵ Humphreys had indeed been drunk on the streets of Honolulu. He apologized in writing to London headquarters, acknowledging “having been twice intoxicated since a Master Mariner in the Hon. Company’s service, on both occasions after a safe arrival at Woahoo [O’ahu].”²⁶ The Company continued Humphreys in service (he seems to have been competent enough when sober), but in 1845, after bizarre behavior while in command of the *Beaver* on the Northwest Coast, he was terminated.²⁷

In February of 1846, the *Cowlitz*, commanded by Captain William Heath, arrived in Honolulu with salmon for Hawai’i and with the annual return of furs for London. Possibly romantic visions of the South Seas inspired by encounters with other captains in Honolulu, an undisclosed project of dubious propriety, or an overload of spirits to which Heath had unfortunately become partial, or all three, led Heath to set sail from Honolulu not for Cape Horn but for Rarotonga in the Cook Islands. The Company’s Honolulu agents were understandably upset when they learned from an American whaling captain that the *Cowlitz* had put in at Rarotonga, where “the captain improperly landed and remained all night.” The *Cowlitz* did not reach England until late June, whereupon Heath was promptly dismissed from the Company’s service for misconduct. The reasons for Heath’s Rarotonga caper remain a mystery.²⁸

A final example involves not an alcoholic master, but, rather, callous behavior toward a shipwrecked whaling captain in distress, a matter not taken lightly by the community of whaling captains, good customers of the Company's Honolulu agency. In 1849, Captain Alexander Weynton, an experienced master, was in command of the *Cowlitz*, en route from Honolulu to London, when the incident occurred. It was brought to the attention of London by the Honolulu agents, concerned for the Company's reputation. They wrote:

We beg to advise you of the arrival here a few days ago of Captain Worth of the American whaleship "United States," which vessel was lately wrecked off Tongataboo. He . . . reports having fallen in with the Company's Barque Cowlitz in Lat. 24°S, 28 days out of this place, when in a small leaky vessel making his way from Tongataboo to some other island [Tahiti]. He states that Captain Weynton received him in a very inhuman manner, and although he mentioned that he was in great distress both for want of food and clothing, all he got was a few potatoes, and that given him with very bad grace. He mentions, however, that Captain Mott [passenger on the *Cowlitz*] behaved very handsomely to him, and gave him some articles of clothing. We know not of course how far this statement is correct, but we deem it to be our duty to give you the account of it as it has come to us. We presume that Captain Worth will publish an account of his misfortune and his meeting with the *Cowlitz* will not be omitted.²⁹

A full account of the wreck of the *United States* was indeed published in the *Friend*, including the following statement by Worth:

On my passage from Tongataboo to Tahiti, in L. 24°S and L. 153°W, I spoke the H. B. Company's Bark "Cowlitz," Capt. Weynton. I told him my circumstances. I had no shoes, and our small vessel was in distress; all that Capt. W. would furnish me was one small pig and a few potatoes. His conduct I considered most unkind and ungenerous. He seemed to view me as an imposter! while Capt. Mott, who was a passenger on board the "Cowlitz," had lost his vessel, the "Vancouver," at Columbia

River, manifested the kindest feelings; gave me two shirts, and what was of vastly more consequence, a kind look.³⁰

In the voluminous correspondence of Company officials, the problems encountered with masters and mates tend to emerge more prominently than commendations of those who faithfully carried out their responsibilities. Yet commendations are not lacking, and a few are noted to provide a more balanced picture.

Chief Factor McLoughlin wrote in 1830 that Captain John Grave "has most zealously afforded us every assistance in his power."³¹ McLoughlin considered Captain David Home, unfortunately drowned in 1838 with four seamen while crossing the Columbia River in a small boat, a good officer "fit for any command in our Navy."³² Chief Factor James Douglas, reporting the dispatch of the *Nereide* homeward bound in 1839, stated, "Mr. Brotchie, a deserving officer with whose conduct I am perfectly satisfied is in command, and Mr. Dodd, who bears a fair character is mate; both of these men are attached to the service and feel exceedingly anxious to return to the country by the next ship."³³ Captain Andrew Mott was a respected master; London considered his loss of the *Vancouver* in 1848 as "unfortunate rather than blameable."³⁴ Although Captains Wishart and Cooper later incurred Douglas' displeasure for trading in liquor, in 1850 he commended Wishart: "in all respects he endeavored to meet my wishes and has shown discretion and firmness in dealing with the Ship under his command," and stated, "Captain Cooper has acted with zeal and discretion on many trying occasions this season."³⁵

Aemelius Simpson and Henry McNeil stand out as two of the ablest masters in Company service. Another outstanding captain was Alexander Duncan, a frequent visitor to Honolulu, who served the Company with distinction for 24 years. On the eve of his retirement in 1847, his superiors wrote London:

It is but an act of justice to add that we much regret the near prospect of losing Captain Duncan's services, as he is remarkably zealous in the discharge of his duties, and at the same time the most efficient and successful Officer in the Company's Naval Service.³⁶

As a commentary on Duncan's conduct ashore, it is interesting to note that in the same year the *Friend* acknowledged with appreciation a contribution by Duncan and ten others from the *Columbia* to the Seaman's Chapel in Honolulu.³⁷ And one must not forget Captain William Mitchell, who from 1854 to 1858 brought the *Recovery* from Fort Victoria to Honolulu without mishap, despite some very rough passages. He earned the appreciation of Honolulu's residents and business firms for his cooperation in carrying mail, the *Polynesian* announcing in 1858:

This day the good brig *Recovery*, Capt. Mitchell, will leave for Vancouver's Island, affording an opportunity for correspondences and messages. The regularity and dispatch with which Capt. Mitchell has now for a long time been running between Honolulu and Fort Victoria is personally a great credit to him.³⁸

Finally, there were those masters, like Captain James Scarborough of the *Mary Dare*, who went about their duties in a matter-of-fact way and with no fuss, receiving neither praise nor blame. There must have been others like him. It is difficult to achieve an accurate assessment of the Company's masters and mates, but regardless of the problems some of them caused, particularly in the early years, over the long run the Company operated an effective Pacific maritime service, to the benefit of Hawai'i and its residents.

CREWS

Adequate documentation is lacking, but Company crews ashore in Honolulu seem to have been no different than those of other merchant vessels. Until its demolition in 1857 the old Fort served as a place of confinement for drunk and disorderly sailors seeking release from the discipline and constraints of shipboard. When Sir George Simpson was leaving Honolulu in 1842, he noted in his journal that both the *Vancouver*, bound for Fort Vancouver, and the *Cowlitz*, taking him to Lāhainā, had difficulty in getting underway. Of the *Cowlitz* he wrote, "Many of the sailors, with the

second mate to countenance them, were so intoxicated as to be unfit to proceed to sea; four fellows were confined in the fort for various offences, and one had absconded. . . .”³⁹ The Honolulu agency paid for the keep of any Company crew incarcerated in the Fort, as well as the expenses of men requiring medical attention or hospitalization.⁴⁰

Any problems with crews ashore in Honolulu were minor, however, in comparison with the effect of the California gold rush, whose impact washed over Hawai‘i and the Northwest. It resulted in a rash of crew desertions, from which the Company was not exempt. It also resulted in high wage demands by seamen. In 1849, able seamen’s wages on Company vessels were £4 (about \$20) a month. In the same year American seamen’s wages on the West Coast rose to \$140 a month. The following year they dropped abruptly to \$80 a month, still much above the Company scale. To keep his vessels operating out of Fort Victoria, Chief Factor Douglas had to provide bonuses and higher wages, leading him to recommend to London the use of chartered vessels for Company supplies sent out from England.⁴¹ The impact of the gold rush on Company vessels stopping in Honolulu is illustrated by the following incidents reported in Company letters.

In December 1849, the *Mary Dare* arrived from Fort Victoria. All her crew immediately abandoned her, except for the carpenter and cook. It took nearly two months to recruit another crew, the Honolulu agents reporting that they ‘must pay exorbitant wages.’⁴²

In January 1850, the *Cowlitz* arrived from London, whereupon five seamen deserted. The remaining ten seamen and three apprentices demanded a wage increase, which was granted, and then a month’s wages in advance, which was not, as it was suspected with good reason that they would desert on receiving the money. British Consul General Miller then took over the case, confining the three apprentices to the ship, and putting the recalcitrant seamen in the Fort to remain until transferred to a Royal Navy vessel. Six were later released to help man the *Cowlitz*. The boatswain, carpenter, cook, and steward were not involved.⁴³

In September 1850, Douglas sent the *Norman Morison* from Fort Victoria direct to England, not only because he had no cargo for Honolulu, but because he could not 'take the risk she would be exposed to by touching at the Sandwich Islands.'⁴⁴

In June 1851, the *Pandora* arrived from England bound for Sitka. With the exception of the mate and two hands, all the crew left the vessel. Consul General Miller again stepped in and handed over the deserting crew to the government authorities with instructions they be kept at hard labor for 60 days. The *Pandora* shipped a crew of Hawaiians to proceed to Sitka.⁴⁵

In the troubled years from 1849 to 1851, both on the Northwest Coast and in Honolulu, the Company depended to a large extent on Hawaiians to fill vacancies caused by crew desertions. However, the Hawaiians were not highly regarded for their competence by the captains. After the incident to the *Cowlitz* noted above, the passengers on the *Cowlitz* helped work the vessel from Honolulu to Fort Victoria and were considered more active and efficient aloft than the Hawaiian crewmen recruited in Honolulu. Captain Scarborough refused to leave port on the *Mary Dare* with an all-Hawaiian crew. In 1849 the *Columbia* left Fort Victoria for Honolulu and England with six Hawaiians in its crew, hoping to replace them in Honolulu with more efficient men. By this time the Hawaiians had served on sailing vessels for more than half a century, but in the instances cited here they appear to have been inexperienced in working a ship. It seems probable that experienced Hawaiian seamen were already fully employed or had joined the rush to the California gold fields.

CONCLUSION

The Hudson's Bay Company, granted its local commercial prominence, was only one of several Honolulu firms involved in Hawai'i's shipping during the 30 years the Company participated in the Hawaiian trade. Company vessels actually represented only a fraction of Honolulu's transpacific arrivals between 1829 and 1859. By describing the organization and nature of the Company's

maritime operations, however, I hope that others will be encouraged to explore the full scope through time of Hawai'i's transpacific merchant shipping and thus to contribute to the comprehensive maritime history that should be a part of Hawai'i's heritage.

The opening of this paper made the point that since the days of the fur trade overseas merchant shipping has been an ongoing theme in Hawai'i's history. The point is visibly illustrated by the following occurrence that in 1988 regularly takes place at the port of Honolulu, 129 years after the last Hudson's Bay Company vessel departed from the Islands.

Every other week on Tuesday, the Matson Navigation Company's *Lurline* arrives at Honolulu from Matson's Oakland, California Terminal after a voyage scheduled for four days and three hours. The current *Lurline*, fifth and latest of a line of distinguished ships of the same name, is 826½ feet in length, 23,477 gross tons, and carries a complement of 35 officers and crew. The ship's turn-around time in Honolulu is from 40 to 48 hours. This *Lurline* is a combined container and roll-on, roll-off vessel with a cargo capacity equal to 1,340 containers, each 24 feet long. An exact comparison is very difficult to make, but it is a reasonable estimate that in one voyage to Honolulu the cargo of today's *Lurline* equals, and in two voyages far exceeds, the total cargo delivered by the Hudson's Bay Company's 122 vessel arrivals at Honolulu between 1829 and 1859.⁴⁶

NOTES:

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Alkire, University of Victoria; Pauline N. King, University of Hawai'i; and Paul J. O'Pecko, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum. Charles Regal and Alexander Bolton of the Matson Navigation Company kindly provided the information on the *Lurline*.

- ¹ See Harold W. Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789-1843* (Stanford: Stanford U P, 1942); Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3 vols. (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1938-1967); Theodore Morgan, *Hawaii: A Century of Economic Change, 1778-1876* (Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1948).
- ² Alexander Spoehr, "Fur Traders in Hawai'i: The Hudson's Bay Company in Honolulu, 1829-1861," *HJH* 20 (1986): 27-66.
- ³ In 1849, the *Cowlitz* loaded five cases of specie worth \$17,500 and 3,010½ ounces of gold dust (at the prevailing rate of \$16 an ounce, worth more than \$48,000) at Honolulu for London: George Pelly and Dugald Mactavish, letter to London, 10 Jan. 1849, A 11/62, fos. 367-368, Hudson's Bay Company Archives (hereafter HBCA). After 1850, specie and gold dust were shipped from Honolulu to Fort Victoria for transshipment to London.
- ⁴ Robert C. Wyllie, "Comparative Table for Twenty Years of the Yearly Arrivals of Whaling and Merchant Vessels at the Port of Honolulu, Formed from a Register Kept by Mr. S. Reynolds, Merchant of Honolulu," *F* 1 May 1844.
- ⁵ "The Barque Vancouver under the command of Captain Mott is now ready for sea. . . . She is provisioned for seven months with a complement of 22 hands" (James Douglas, letter to London, 7 Dec. 1846, in Hartwell Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1979) 8.
- ⁶ For an overview of 300 years of Company vessels, see Alan Cameron, "Ships of Three Centuries," *The Beaver* (Summer, 1970): 4-21.
- ⁷ The *Princess Royal* was preceded by the bark *Norman Morison*, which proved unsuitable. The *Princess Royal's* 1854 voyage was not a happy one, with numerous deaths *en route* among the families of miners being transported as passengers to Vancouver Island. See Barrie H. E. Goult, "The First and Last Days of the *Princess Royal*," *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* 3 (1939): 15-24.
- ⁸ McLoughlin and Finlayson were initially criticized by London headquarters for purchasing the *Lama* and particularly for employing McNeil, as he was not an English citizen. For further details, see E. E. Rich, *History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, vol. 2 (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959) 633-34; E. E. Rich, ed., *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver to the Governor and Committee, First Series, 1825-1838* (London: Champlain Society for the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941) xxxviii-xxxix, 101, and 336-38. The *Lama* was sold in Honolulu to Captain William Bancroft, an American, who was later killed by Indians while trading on the Northwest Coast.

- ⁹ Sir George Simpson reported to London that Wilkes was provided at Honolulu and Fort Vancouver with supplies and stores amounting to £6,800, for which he paid in drafts: Glynwr Williams, ed., *London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-1842* (London: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973) 60.
- ¹⁰ P 12 Jan. 1845.
- ¹¹ On Robinson and Company, see HG 16 Sept. 1868.
- ¹² P 3 Oct. 1840.
- ¹³ George Pelly, letter to London, 30 Nov. 1837, A11/61, fos. 34-34d, HBCA.
- ¹⁴ Rich, ed., *Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series* 204.
- ¹⁵ George Pelly, letters to London, 1 Jan. 1837 and 24 Apr. 1838, A/11/61, fos. 20, 38, HBCA; George Pelly and George Allan, letter to London, 2 June 1846, A11/62, f. 126, HBCA.
- ¹⁶ George Pelly and Dugald Mactavish, letter to London, 10 Mar. 1849, A11/62, f. 348, HBCA.
- ¹⁷ Robert Clouston, letter to London, 19 Nov. 1853, A11/63, f. 35, HBCA. The *Recovery* had not previously been coppered. Robinson and Co. duly made the necessary repairs.
- ¹⁸ The mishap to the *Cowlitz* and subsequent events are documented in A11/62, fos. 509-513, 516-517d, and 601, HBCA. See, also, Bowsfield, ed. *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851*, 101-02. Previously, both the *Nereide* and the *Columbia* had been taken safely under sail into and out of the Fraser River. However, the *Beaver* continued to be used to tow sailing vessels after the mishap to the *Cowlitz*. The Lloyds agent in Honolulu was George Pelly, also agent for the Hudson's Bay Company. After Pelly's departure in 1850, other personnel of the Company's Honolulu agency acted as agent for Lloyds. After the closing of the Company's agency, Janion Green and Co., forerunner of Theo H. Davies, became the agent for Lloyds.
- ¹⁹ E. E. Rich, ed., *Part of Dispatch From George Simpson, Esqr. . . to the Governor and Committee in London* (Toronto: Chaplain Society, 1947) 94.
- ²⁰ W. Kaye Lamb, *Introduction to Rich, ed., Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1825-1838*, lxxxvi-lxxxvii; Introduction to Rich, ed., *Letters of John McLoughlin . . . Second Series, 1839-1844*, xiii and xiiii. McLoughlin considered the loss of the *William and Ann* in 1829 and of the *Isabella* in 1830 on the Columbia River bar was owing to the incompetence or negligence of their masters. An earlier reconnaissance cruise of the northern coast in 1825 by the *William and Ann* was a failure for the same reason.
- ²¹ Williams, ed., *London Correspondence Inward . . . 1841-1842*, 135-36.
- ²² Williams, ed., *London Correspondence Inward . . . 1841-1842*, 136n-37n. At least one subsequent violation of Simpson's proscription of Company masters importing goods on their personal account into Honolulu occurred in 1849, when the agents wrote London, "We have felt much surprise at the large quantity of goods which Captain Cooper [master of the *Columbia*] has

imported on his own account, having among other articles, no less than twenty barrels of bottled ale . . .": George Pelly and Dugald Mactavish, letter to London, 6 Feb. 1849, A11/62, fos. 347-348d, HBCA. The agents were also troubled that a Mr. Brown, passenger on the *Admiral Moorsom*, brought on that vessel a considerable quantity of goods for sale in Honolulu on his personal account, considerably affecting the Agency's sales: George Pelly and George Allan, letter to London, 2 June 1846, A11/62, f. 130d, HBCA. And as late as 1859, Agent Bissett protested that the Company gave the privilege to other parties to send out goods from England on the same vessel that the Company sent out its goods. The non-Company goods were similar to the Company's and "interfere materially with our sales": James Bissett, letter to Sir George Simpson, 25 July 1859, D5/49, fos. 466-474, HBCA. In this last case, the Company in London was no doubt attempting to make up a full cargo for chartered vessels.

- ²³ Margaret Ormsby, *Introduction to Bowsfield*, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters* xxxii.
- ²⁴ Lamb, *Introduction to Rich*, ed., *Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series . . . 1826-1838*, lxxxvi.
- ²⁵ Williams, ed., *London Correspondence Inward . . . 1841-1842*, 135.
- ²⁶ Williams, ed., *London Correspondence Inward . . . 1841-1842*, 135n.
- ²⁷ Rich, ed., *Letters of John McLoughlin . . . Third Series, 1844-1846*, 145-46 and 145n.
- ²⁸ George Pelly and George Allan, letter to London, 2 June 1846, A11/62, fos. 33, 129-30d, HBCA; Governor and Committee, letter to George Simpson, 7 Apr. 1847, A6/27, f. 80d, HBCA.
- ²⁹ George Pelly and Dugald Mactavish, letter to London, 22 Mar. 1849, A11/62, f. 348d, HBCA.
- ³⁰ F 2 Apr. 1849.
- ³¹ Rich, ed., *Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1826-1838*, 93 and 313.
- ³² Rich, ed., *Letters of John McLoughlin . . . First Series, 1826-1838*, 152.
- ³³ Rich, ed., *Letters of John McLoughlin . . . Second Series, 1839-1844*, 228.
- ³⁴ Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851*, 8n.
- ³⁵ Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851*, 66 and 121.
- ³⁶ Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851*, 6n-7n. Sir George Simpson in 1842 criticized Duncan for overbearing conduct toward Agent Pelly in Honolulu, but Pelly could be a difficult person.
- ³⁷ F 16 December 1847, p. 187.
- ³⁸ P 23 Jan. 1858. Before the days of regular postal service to and from Hawai'i and even after, ships' captains provided the means of transmitting letters and parcels around the world. In 1847, Robert C. Wyllie expressed his appreciation to Captain Mott of the Company's *Vancouver* for carrying to London eight packets, one of which contained a "Miniature for my good old Mother in Scotland." The next year Wyllie again expressed his thanks for Captain Mott's delivery, on the outbound voyage of the *Vancouver*, of a

packet of newspapers and another packet containing a gold watch for high chief Paki: F.O., 4 Feb. 1847 and 25 Feb. 1848, AH.

- ³⁹ George Simpson, *Narrative of a Journey Around the World . . .* vol. 2 (London: Henry Colburn, 1847): 159.
- ⁴⁰ In 1850, the Honolulu agents dispatched to London a sad note concerning not a crew member but a farm worker bound for Vancouver Island: "Edward Parrot, one of the farm servants sent out on the 'Cowlitz,' accidentally drowned on January 27 at Kapuna Falls in Nuuanu Valley": George Pelly and Dugald Mactavish, letter to London, 30 Jan. 1850, A11/62, f. 448, HBCA.
- ⁴¹ Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851*, xxxviii-xxxvix, 78 and 87.
- ⁴² George Pelly and Dugald Mactavish, letter to London, 20 Jan. 1850, A11/62, f. 448, HBCA.
- ⁴³ Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851*, 76-8.
- ⁴⁴ Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851*, 119-20.
- ⁴⁵ Dugald Mactavish, letter to London, 2 July 1851, A11/62, fos. 626-626d, HBCA.
- ⁴⁶ Information on the *Lurline* supplied by Matson Navigation Company.

APPENDIX

COMPANY-OWNED AND CHARTERED VESSELS
CALLING AT THE PORT OF HONOLULU,
1829-1859

Company-Owned Vessels

Schooners

Cadboro. Registered as *Cadborough*. Built Rye, 1826. About 70 tons.
Vancouver. Built Fort Vancouver, 1828. About 60 tons.

Brigs and Brigantines

Dryad. Built Isle of Wight, 1825. About 200 tons.
Eagle. Built Lynn, Norfolk, 1824. About 193 tons.
Isabella. Built Blackwell 1829. About 195 tons.
Lama. Built in New England. About 145 tons.
Mary Dare. Built Bridport, Dorset, 1842. About 163 tons.
Nereide. Built Kidderpore, 1821. About 250 tons.
Recovery. Built in Maryland, 1845. About 154 tons.
Una. Built North Burns, 1849. About 187 tons.
Vancouver. Built London, 1852. About 190 tons.
William & Ann. Built Bermuda, 1818. About 161 tons.

Barks

Columbia. Built Blackwell, 1835. About 304 tons.
Cowlitz. Built Blackwell, 1840. About 390 tons.
Ganymede. Built Chepstow, 1827. About 213 tons.
Princess Royal. Built Blackwell, 1854. About 583 tons.
Vancouver. Built Blackwell, 1838. About 303 tons.

Chartered Vessels

Brigs and Brigantines

Elizabeth Barter (1857)
Pandora (1851)
Queen (1856)

Scotsman (1859)
Wave (1841)

Barks

Agnes Garland (1856)*Brothers* (1844)*Diamond* (1843)*Forager* (1840)*Harpooner* (1849)*Mary Catherine* (1853)*Marquis of Butte* (1855)*Reliance* (1852)*Sea Nymph* (1859)*Sumatra* (1837)*Thomasine* (1854)*Tory* (1851)*Valleyfield* (1842)*Victory* (1850)

Ships

Admiral Moorsom (1846)*Gomelza* (1859)*Nepaul* (1845)*Pekin* (1852)

Sources: E. E. Rich, *The Letters of John McLoughlin from Fort Vancouver . . . First Series, 1825-1838; . . . Second Series, 1839-1844; . . . Third Series, 1844-1846* (London: Champlain Society for Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941-1944); Hartwell Bowsfield, ed., *Fort Victoria Letters, 1846-1851* (Winnipeg: Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1979); *Lloyds Register of Shipping*; Harbor Master, Port of Honolulu, *Arrivals and Clearances*, AH; letters of Hudson's Bay Company's Honolulu agents, HBCA. The Company-owned steamer *Beaver*, which called at Honolulu in 1836, is not included. In the late 1850s, one or two of the vessels listed as chartered may have been independently operated, carrying freight for other firms as well. The American brig *Chenamis*, which brought a shipment of Company flour to Honolulu from Fort Vancouver in 1845, and the bark *Josephine*, which delivered Company lumber from Fort Vancouver in 1853, are not included.