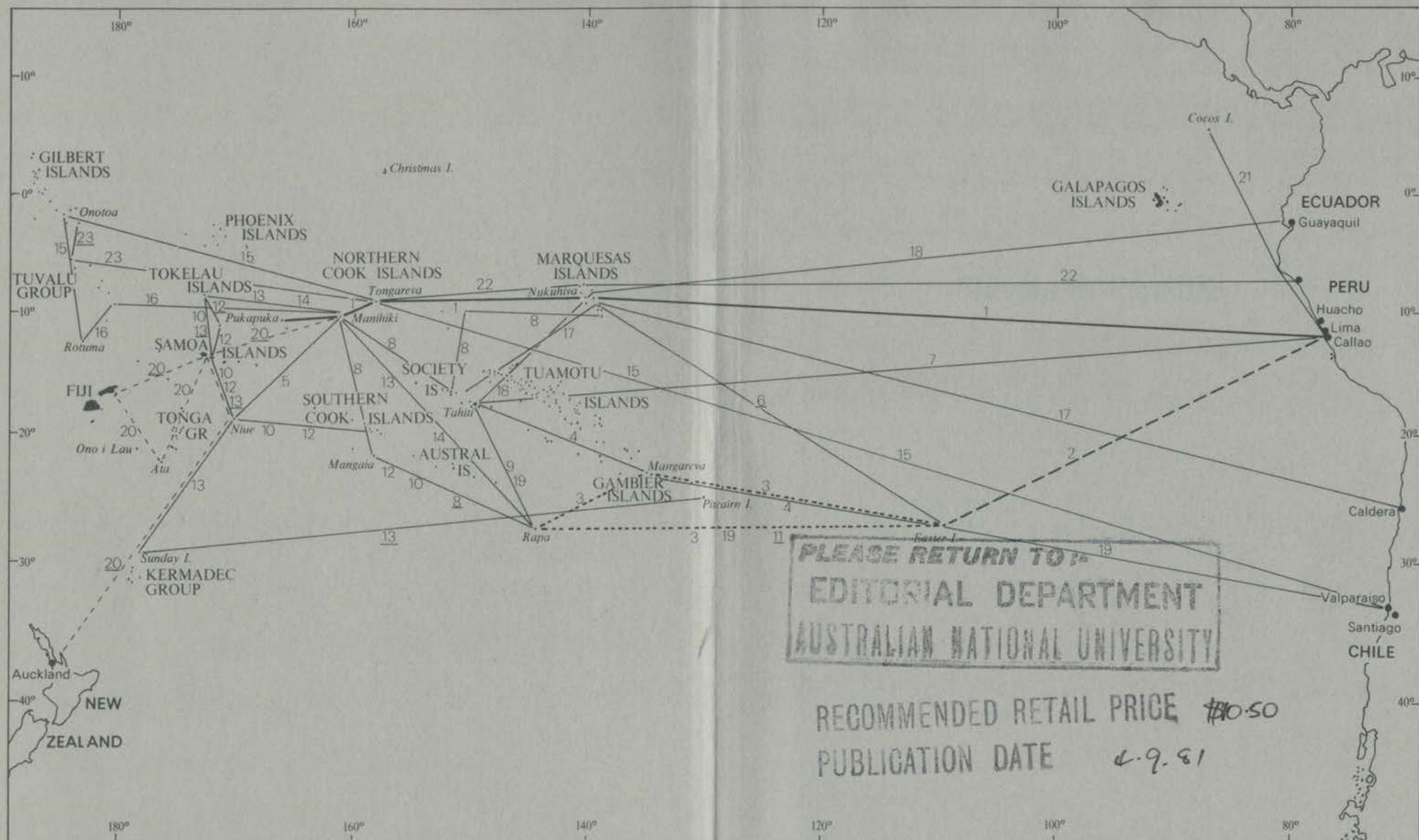


H.E. Maude

# Slavers in Paradise





### Main Routes

- 1 Northern Route from Callao to or through the Marquesas and Northern Cook Groups, taken by *Adelante* (1); *Jorge Zahara*; *Manualita Costas*; *Trujillo*; *Apurímac*; *Eliza Mason*; *Adelante* (2); *Genara*; *Empresa*; *Dolores Carolina*; *Polinesia*; *Adelante* (3); *General Prim* (2); *Diamant* (repatriation voyage).
- 2 Easter Island route from Callao, taken by *Serpiente Marina*; *Bella Margarita*; *Teresa*; *General Prim* (1); *Cora*; *Carolina* (1); *Guillermo*; *Hermosa Dolores*; *José Castro*; *Rosa Patricia*; *Rosa y Carmen*; *Micaela Miranda*; *Rosalía*; *Carolina* (2); *Barbara*

- Gomez* (2); *Urmeneta y Ramos*; *Barbara Gomez* (repatriation voyage).
- 3 Southern route from Easter Island to Rapa, taken by *Cora* (via *Mangareva*); *Guillermo*; *José Castro*; *Rosa Patricia*; *Rosa y Carmen* (via *Mangareva*); *Micaela Miranda*; *Misti*; *Barbara Gomez* (repatriation voyage).

### Other Routes

- 4 *Serpiente Marina*: from Easter Island.
- 5 *Trujillo*: from Manihiki.
- 6 *Eliza Mason*: from Fatuhiva.
- 7 *Mercedes A. de Wholey*; *Barbara Gomez* (1).
- 8 *Empresa*: from Fatuhiva.
- 9 *Cora*: from Rapa.

- 10 *Guillermo*: from Rapa.
- 11 *José Castro*: from Rapa.
- 12 *Rosa Patricia*: from Rapa.
- 13 *Rosa y Carmen*: from Rapa.
- 14 *Micaela Miranda*: from Rapa.
- 15 *Ellen Elizabeth*: from Tongareva.
- 16 *Dolores Carolina*; *Polinesia*; *Honorio*; from Pukapuka.
- 17 *La Concepción*.
- 18 *Guayas*.
- 19 *Misti*.
- 20 *Whaler Grecian*.
- 21 *Adelante* (repatriation voyage).
- 22 *Ellen Elizabeth* (repatriation voyage).
- 23 *Adelante*: from Tongareva.

### Notes

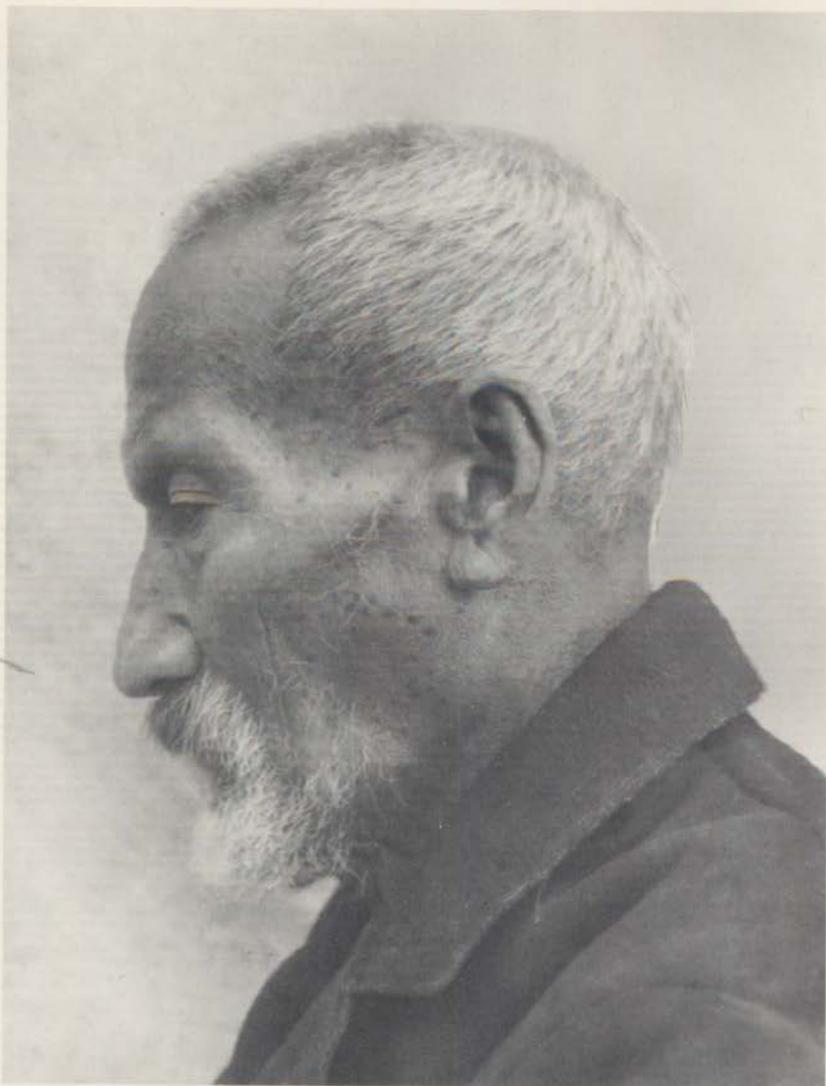
- 1 Routes within island groups are not shown but are detailed in Table 2.
- 2 Voyages (route numbers) in an easterly direction are underlined.
- 3 The return route is only shown to the last island visited, from which ships are presumed to have made direct to Callao, except the *Adelante* (1) and *Empresa*, which went initially to Huacho, and the *Ellen Elizabeth*, which made for Lambayeque.
- 4 The route of the Australian whaler *Grecian* is shown thus: - - - -

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## Slavers in Paradise



1 Hehe a Afora of Fakaofu: the last surviving slave (photographed in 1921). BM.

*To the  
Islanders of Polynesia,  
who asked for this book,  
and to  
Professor J.D. Freeman,*

---

**H.E. Maude**

Australian National University Press  
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To the  
*Islanders of Polynesia,*  
who asked for this book,  
and to  
*Professor J.D. Freeman,*  
whose generous help  
ensured its production

## PREFACE

During World War II, when working for the now defunct Western Pacific High Commission, it was my good fortune to visit twenty-seven of the Central and Eastern Pacific Islands mentioned in this work. It was a remote and isolated world hard to visualise in these hurried times: a world of cloud-capped volcanic islands and ethereal coral atolls—all seemingly asleep, for normal shipping services had long ceased and commercial flying was still a dream of the future.

Only the inter-island schooners still plied their erratic routes at unpredictable times; and fortunately for me it was possible to reach their orbits from my headquarters at Suva by boarding an American Army plane which operated a fortnightly 'milk run' from Pearl Harbour via Palmyra, Christmas Island, Borabora and Aitutaki to Pago Pago.

From lovely Aitutaki I was able to sail by schooner through the Southern Cooks and Australs to Pitcairn and then up via the Gambiers and Tuamotus to Tahiti; and from thence through the Line Islands and Northern Cooks, to be picked up again from a palm-girdled lagoon not far from Suwarrow by a New Zealand Air Force plane, and taken to Samoa.

It was during this wandering and rather euphoric period that I came to know the Polynesian islanders, and particularly the atoll dwellers, as I have never been privileged to before or since. I suppose that many of the atolls with their mellifluous names—Manihiki, Rakahanga, Pukapuka, Tongareva—were as little visited then as during the time of the Peruvian raids, while the leisurely way of life on them had hardly changed in the eighty years that had elapsed.

At all events it was at this time that I was asked to tell the story of what had happened to their great-grandparents and great great-grandparents who had left, duped or forced, in the holds of the barques and brigs that came sailing from the east. To this day no one has told them what had occurred: neither government, nor missionary, nor historian; all the secondary material in print is a few colourful episodes apparently culled from the pages of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, some sporadic notices in works on individual islands or groups and the excellent but all too brief story of Taole, the Niuean who escaped.

Now I know why, for though I started collecting the primary sources, from which alone a connected narrative could be written, as long ago as 1958, the material—in English, Spanish and French—proved to be so unexpectedly abundant and yet so scattered and diffi-

cult of access that it has taken twenty years to complete the task, admittedly as an intermittent labour of love. Perhaps appropriately it is destined to appear on the fiftieth anniversary of the year in which my wife and I landed on our first Pacific atoll.

If the Polynesian people to whom this study is dedicated have a special and personal interest in the narrative it is hoped that at the same time it may serve to fill a long-felt gap in our knowledge of both Pacific and Latin American history, linking for a brief period the fortunes and misfortunes of two utterly dissimilar societies.

For the majority of readers, however, it will be read simply as a contribution to island literature: as the story of the most dramatic region-wide conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence ever to occur in the romantic setting of the South Seas.

H.E. Maude  
Canberra, Australia  
1 July 1980

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## ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
Adm.	Admiralty
AH	Archives of Hawaii
AN	Archives Nationales
AOT	Archives Office of Tasmania
BL	British Library
BM	British Museum
CNA	Chilean National Archives
CO	Colonial Office
FO	Foreign Office
FO & Ex	Foreign Office and Executive File
GBP	Great Britain— <i>Parliament</i>
LMS	London Missionary Society
MAE	Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
MFA	Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores
MT	<i>Messenger de Taiti</i>
PMB	Pacific Manuscripts Bureau
SMH	<i>Sydney Morning Herald</i>
SNO	Senior Naval Officer
SSJ	South Seas Journals
SSL	South Seas Letters
TBCP	Tahiti British Consulate Papers
USC	Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Callao
USD	Despatches from U.S. Ministers to Peru
UST	Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Tahiti
WPA	Western Pacific Archives
WPHC	Western Pacific High Commission

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

'Who has not read, set forth in prefaces written by the assisted sex, how much cause they have to be grateful', posits Jean Brookes in her admirable book on *International Rivalry in the Pacific Islands*. I can but admit to the soft impeachment, for few authors have had more cause to be grateful to their friends and colleagues than myself; more than once when on the point of abandoning my task as beyond me I have been sustained by the material help and encouraging interest of others.

As indicated in the dedication, first and foremost I owe my sincere thanks to the Pacific anthropologist Professor J.D. Freeman who, when he learnt of my early hopes to discover enough material for a paper on the Peruvian labour trade, handed me three books filled with typescript and handwritten transcripts of source material on its ramifications which he had made when researching in London during 1947. These comprised the main London Missionary Society letters and journals; the pertinent files of the *Sydney Morning Herald*; the British Foreign Office General Correspondence, Pacific Islands (FO 58) and Peru (FO 61); together with a comprehensive collection of miscellaneous primary and secondary sources on the trade.

The Polynesian Gods alone know how many weeks and months of dedicated labour they represent, for it was before the days of press-button micro-photography, and my debt to Derek Freeman is correspondingly great. Perhaps it can best be expressed by saying quite simply that but for his richly generous transfusion of documentary blood this study would in all probability have never been written.

My thanks are also due to a Peruvian colleague, Señorita Lucila de Valderrama G, now head of the Oficina de Bibliografía Nacional y Registro Nacional de Derechos de Autor, who searched the records of the Department of Foreign Affairs in Lima for documentation on the labour trade, sending a goldmine of letters, reports and extracts from newspapers and journals on microfilm. Without her work the very real difficulties experienced by the Peruvian Government in controlling this excursion into uncharted waters would never have been understood.

Her unique material seemed destined, however, to remain forever unread when a kind friend in the Department of Pacific History, Marney Dunn, offered to translate them, and at the end of her formidable task (for many of them were almost indecipherable), she produced over a hundred closely typed foolscap pages containing a précis

of every item sent from Lima, covering the rise and fall of the trade as seen by the authorities who licensed, regulated and finally prohibited it. My debt to Marney Dunn as translator, mentor and encourager is immense; alas that she had to leave Australia within a week of completing her labours.

Among many others to whom I owe thanks for their kind assistance in times of need are Sylvia Wharton, Joyce Hodgson and Victor Huerta for translations of Peruvian and Chilean documents and for checking translations of quoted passages; Jacqueline Doan for her expert help with the French material; Susan Cabbage for searching through microfilms and photocopying relevant material; Robert Langdon for his unfailing ability to produce primary sources of which no one else had heard, for translation and much else; Grant McCall for published and unpublished documentation, reports, field notes, maps and advice; the Comte Roland de Lesseps for valuable information on Edmond de Lesseps and copies of his personal correspondence; Bronwen Douglas for material on Byrne and New Caledonia; Judith Huntsman and Ron Crocombe for their expert comments on my Tokelau and Cook Islands drafts; to P.D. Macdonald and my son Alaric for reading through the manuscript and for their helpful suggestions on possible amendments.

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Finally I am indebted to Pat Croft, formerly of the A.N.U. Press, for her invaluable support throughout, and not least in converting my manuscript into a publishable book; to Hans Gunther, Senior Cartographer at the A.N.U., for the care with which he has prepared the maps; to Anvida Lamberts for her impeccable typing; and above all to my wife Honor for her never-failing assistance at every stage of the book from initial planning to the preparation of the index.

After this should anyone be wondering if there is something for which I am personally responsible I would hasten to add that all the errors are my very own unaided work.

## INTRODUCTION

*The trickery and violence, and the murders, the crime and sorrow, make as sorry a tale of sin and suffering as anything in the shocking history of the African slave trade.*

COWAN, *Suwarrow Gold*, p.44

The Peruvian slave raids of 1862–3 struck the islands of Polynesia with the force of one of the region's *tsunami*: the great seismic sea waves which from time to time bring death and devastation to her scattered communities. Westwards from the Peruvian port of Callao—the epicentre, as it were, of the disturbance—ships sailed through the island groups of Oceania from the Kermadecs in the south to the Gilberts on the equator and as far west as Rotuma, and like the *tsunami* themselves caused most damage on the coral atolls and unprotected low islands, while leaving most of the high volcanic groups virtually unscathed.

The repercussions, particularly on Easter Island, Niue and the coral atolls of Polynesia, were traumatic and it would not be an exaggeration to say that no other event in the history of Polynesia has had such widespread effects throughout the region nor, on several islands, more overwhelming consequences for the islanders. Communities which found their numbers reduced by two-thirds, whether by outright kidnapping as on Nukulaelae, or by disease introduced by the kidnappers as on Rapa, or which were perhaps left as on Atafu with only a few aged or infirm men to care for the remnant of widows and orphans, had experienced not only a demographic catastrophe but also, in all probability, the destruction of their social structure and the impairment of their cultural heritage and ethos.

The slavers descended on a region totally unprepared for, and on a people who had never conceived the possibility of, such a visitation. Indeed there was nothing of a like nature and scale in Polynesian history to make it conceivable that anyone, let alone persons professing to be racially and culturally superior, could be capable of kidnapping thousands of men and women by violence or treachery; tearing them at a moment's notice from their parents and children for compulsory transportation to an unknown fate at an unknown destination.

Even the Europeans living in the islands were caught by surprise and it took some time before the last island had been warned by missionary, consul, administrator or naval officer to avoid the 'man-stealing ships' at all costs, and told that it was unlikely that anyone would ever see again those who had gone on them.

When, therefore, the full realisation of what had happened dawned upon the Polynesian island world of the 1860s the suffering of the bereaved and the shock to the local communities became the theme of countless oral traditions which still survived intact at the turn of the

century. Their conspectus, however, was necessarily limited and their content sometimes erroneous, and with the accelerated acculturation of the years since World War II they have lost much of their former content and credibility.

Even when found to be unhistorical, however, these traditions have been noted where they appear to have achieved a degree of public acceptance, such as the sinking of a Peruvian ship by the Tokelauans; the blackbirding of all but a single islander on 'Ata; and the removal of more people from Atafu than were living on the atoll. They may at least serve as a warning to modern field workers that oral evidence needs careful checking, particularly in this literate age when much of it appears to be derived not from indigenous sources but from more or less distorted versions of published misconceptions.

In this factual narrative we are concerned with what actually took place and only incidentally with what governments may have hoped, or even believed, was happening. In actuality, if not in theory or official intention, the Polynesians taken to Peru were slaves, in that they became the property of, and entirely subject to, another person or persons. True enough, the Peruvian Government classified them as colonists who had entered the country of their own free will, and a number were no doubt procured by deceit rather than capture, but once battened down in a ship's hold behind iron grilles they nevertheless ceased to have any say in their future destiny. The point, however, is not fully argued until later and meanwhile, where any reasonable doubt remains as to their status at any given time, the migrants are referred to as recruits and the ships which carried them as recruiting vessels, for lack of more neutral terms.

In order to give a readable yet comprehensive view of the Peruvian activities in Polynesia it has been necessary to draw on several hundred scattered primary sources in missionary archives; British, French, Hawaiian and Peruvian Foreign Office correspondence; French colonial and British Admiralty and consular papers; as well as contemporary newspapers and periodicals, each of which provided insight on some facet of the whole operation. The first of these documents was obtained during a visit to the Hawaiian archives in 1958, and as more and more came to hand over the years it became possible to integrate what had hitherto appeared an intractable collection of discrete facts into a composite picture.

Usually when working on historical reconstruction one finds other published or unpublished works in which at least aspects of the subject have been dealt with by previous researchers. In this case there was virtually nothing; certainly nowhere anything in the nature of a coherent picture of developments whether in the islands or Peru. In their place one had a prolific crop of sensational assertions retailed by the purveyors of South Sea romance, which has necessitated the demolishing of many time-honoured illusions. The Easter Island stockade; the casks of Spanish wine and brandy landed at Tongareva; the islanders with leg chains and iron collars working in the guano

mines; the reduction of the Tuvalu population from 20,000 to 3,000 and many similar fictions will be found mentioned in the text or endnotes, though others have been omitted as too obviously false to merit refutation.

To avoid the narrative becoming hirsute with caveats, many of the historian's cautionary terms—'possibly', 'probably', 'the evidence suggests' and the like—have been omitted and the reader is invited to insert them for himself, particularly when the details of the routes of recruiting vessels are in question; for kidnapping was a secretive profession and the captains left no journals or log-books, if indeed any were kept, and many on returning to Callao did their best to disguise where they had been to and what they had been at. Furthermore, though one may check and re-check every reference and inference a hundred times, historical certitude still remains a relative term.

From Table 1 it will be seen that at one time or another thirty-three vessels were engaged in the trade (27 Peruvian, 4 Chilean, a Spanish and a Tasmanian), and from Table 2 that in the course of their thirty-eight voyages they called at fifty-one islands, including every inhabited group in Polynesia with the exception of Hawaii. To do this they followed four main routes: the Northern, commencing and usually ending in the Northern Cook Islands; the Southern, via Easter Island and Rapa; the Central, to the islands of French Polynesia; or merely to Easter Island and back. On only one voyage is the route completely unknown—that of the brig *Margarita*—and it appears possible that she was captured by Tongans.

The estimated number of recruits actually taken on board each ship, including women and children, is shown in the last column of Table 2. Particularly in the case of the ships which recruited in Tuvalu these figures should not be regarded as exact, since while we can be reasonably sure of the combined totals taken by several vessels operating together we can do little more than guess how they distributed the recruits between the individual ships.

Much more reliance can be placed on the numbers estimated to have embarked at each of the thirty-four islands from which recruits were obtained, as given in Table 3, as these have been abstracted directly from the island-by-island narratives in Part I and are for the most part based on the first-hand accounts of local informants and subjected to a number of internal and external checks. In particular they will be found to agree quite impressively with the Peruvian official or British naval figures of the numbers landed or arrived at a Peruvian port as set out in Table 4, when allowance is made for known or suspected deaths on the longer journeys from Western Polynesia.

Apart from one prospecting venture, the first ship sailed for the islands on 22 September 1862 and none is recorded as leaving after 3 April 1863, the month in which all licences were suspended and arrivals placed incommunicado pending proof that the recruits on board were engaged voluntarily. The period during which the trade was actively carried on was therefore approximately seven months.

The span of our narrative, however, is over two years: from the grant of the initial recruiting licence to Byrne on 1 April 1862 to the Franco-Peruvian settlement of issues arising from the trade in June 1864.

Owing to the unusually extensive geographical coverage, in which events might be occurring simultaneously in South America and one or more Polynesian islands, the story has been divided into two parts: Peruvians in Polynesia; and Polynesians in Peru. The first part, after sketching why and how the trade began, is concerned with a detailed enquiry into the numbers actually taken from each island, the ships involved and the recruiting methods employed by their captains and supercargoes; while the second part covers the voyage to Peru and the nature and conditions of employment there, and is followed by a consideration of the attitude of the major powers towards the trade, its eventual abolition, the attempts made to repatriate the survivors, and the effect of disaster on those still left on the home islands.

The time has now arrived when the whole story can, and should, be told: not to exacerbate old wounds but because it is an essential link in the common historical heritage of the Polynesian peoples. Only through a knowledge of their history can the islanders of today become fully conscious of their regional identity, and thus guard themselves against the piecemeal cultural annihilation which threatens them in the present century, as Peruvian bondage did in the last.

## CURRENCY VALUES

For ease of comparison the United States dollar equivalent of the various coins in general use in the Pacific Islands during the period 1862–1864 is given in parentheses after each amount mentioned in the text at the conversion rates current in Tahiti on 9 November 1862, which were as follows:

U.S. gold eagle	51 fr. 65c.
U.S. dollar	5 fr. 15c.
U.S. dime	53c.
English sovereign	25 fr. 20c.
English shilling	1 fr. 10c.
South American piastre	5 fr. 30c.
Chilean peso	5 fr.

## PLACE NAMES

The spelling of place names follows Great Britain—*Admiralty*, 1943–5, except in cases where it conflicts with accepted modern local usage.

PART 1

*Peruvians in  
Polynesia*

## The Peruvian Background

**A**LTHOUGH PERU gained its independence from Spain at the end of 1824 the event failed to usher in a millennium. The topography of the country did not lend itself to efficient centralised administration from Lima, the capital, whose inhabitants often knew little and cared less about their own country outside the metropolis. This was not surprising when land communications, particularly in the interior but even on the coastal belt, were difficult and hazardous. Racially the country was divided into Spanish, American Indian, Negro, and mixed-blood, or *mestizo*, components: disparate ethnic groups between which there was little in common other than a disinclination to engage in manual labour if it could be avoided.

The country's agricultural exports were mainly grown on large plantations, or *haciendas*, situated in some thirty coastal valleys, and producing sugar, cotton, cochineal, olives, grapes and various grains. For labour the *haciendados* were initially dependent on an inadequate force of about 25,000 Negro slaves. After 1854, however, when the decree abolishing slavery was enacted by the outstanding President Ramon Castilla, who governed the country almost continuously from 1845 to 1862, they had to look for alternative sources of supply. Unfortunately for them the Indians, who lived for the most part in the sierras of the Andes, had their annual tribute abolished in the same year, and it became even more difficult than before to entice them to leave their mountain homes to become virtual slaves on the hot coastal belt. The urban workers were specialised and also unwilling to move; in fact immobility and indifference to monetary inducements were the main characteristics of the Peruvian labour force.<sup>1</sup>

In 1849, therefore, Domingo Elias, a prominent landowner, capitalist and politician, persuaded the Peruvian Congress to pass a general immigration law, directed in particular to the recruitment of Chinese as bonded labour. These were brought to Peru under appalling conditions in overcrowded ships, often called 'floating hells', and those who survived the voyage were sold in Callao to the highest bidder by a transfer of their contracts, the average price per head being about 400 pesos.<sup>2</sup> 'Once in Peru', says the historian Pike, 'their status was essentially that of slaves', and in 1856 the law was suspended, though special licences were still permitted.<sup>3</sup>

The combined result of Negro emancipation, Indian tax exemption and the curtailment of Chinese immigration was a drastic decline in agricultural production and a concomitant increase in food prices

during the late 1850s. From the 1840s, furthermore, the export of guano from the coast and offshore islands, particularly the Chinchas, added to the demand for labour. Some urban liberals claimed that Peruvian workers could be obtained for the rural estates provided wages and conditions were made sufficiently attractive, or that alternatively European colonists could be introduced as tenant farmers on small holdings; but the *hacendados* were accustomed to slave labour and preferred to perpetuate the system in a disguised form through the importation of cheap and easily exploited workers euphemistically termed colonists.<sup>4</sup>

As a result of pressures from the larger plantation owners the Peruvian Congress enacted a law on 15 January 1861, once again permitting the introduction of so-called 'Asiatic colonists', among the reasons given for its necessity being the alleged abandonment of rural estates due to the abolition of slavery and consequent price rises which would soon make it impossible for the ordinary citizen to buy the necessities of life. It was immediately vetoed by President Castilla, who considered that 'the avidity of the speculators in the introduction of Chinese renewed all the evils of the reprehensible slave traffic' and argued that as the coolie had no idea of what he was undertaking when he signed his contract of service it was therefore a nullity.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the President's strong views, however, the law was again passed, and perforce promulgated by him on 14 March 1861. Its four articles, which provided the only legal authorisation for the introduction of Polynesian as well as Chinese labour, read as follows:

*ARTICLE 1.* It shall be lawful to introduce Asiatic colonists, intended for the cultivation of landed estates on the coasts of Peru, for useful arts, and for domestic service, provided that they be hired directly by the masters who employ them, or by their agents, in the ports from whence they come, or on their arrival in Peru.

*ARTICLE 2.* The vessels conveying Asiatics shall not take on board any larger number of colonists than one for each ton of registry, under pain of a fine of five hundred pesos for each one in excess.

*ARTICLE 3.* The contracts made abroad shall take effect in so far as they are not in opposition to the laws of the Republic, and the transfer of such contracts is prohibited without the consent of the colonist hired.

*ARTICLE 4.* The decree of 5th March 1856, concerning the immigration of Asiatic colonists, is repealed in so far as it is contrary to the present law.<sup>6</sup>

### Joseph Charles Byrne

The new law enabled the importation of larger numbers of Chinese, but there were never enough to meet the increasing demand for labour, particularly after the American Civil War had led to an extension of Peruvian cotton and rice cultivation. Furthermore, since the Chinese trade was in such bad repute both in China and Peru owing to

the abuses connected with the engagement and transportation of the coolies, the Government was very ready to listen to the arguments of a newly-arrived Irish adventurer, J.C. Byrne, the son of a Dublin cattle-dealer, who with smooth tongue and ready wit had already acquired a reputation abroad as an expert on emigration.

Visiting Australia in 1839 he went in for cattle-dealing and travelled extensively in Victoria before moving to New Zealand, and in 1843 to South Africa. From there he returned to Great Britain and set up as a stockbroker in Liverpool. In 1849 he established the Natal Emigration and Colonisation Office in London with the support of interested shipowners, and before bankruptcy in 1851 he had sent out some 3300 emigrants.<sup>7</sup>

As resilient as ever, Byrne was discharged and succeeded in being sent to Natal by the assignees as joint agent for administering the local assets of the Bankrupt Office. There he announced that he had been approached by the Brazilian Ambassador to promote emigration from Ireland to Brazil. This was possibly, like so many of Byrne's stories, a fiction for soon afterwards he left Natal for Mauritius, which had been importing coolies from India since 1835, and then went on to revisit Australia.<sup>8</sup>

The *Melbourne Age* maintained uncharitably that in fact 'he had to leave [Natal] without bidding his friends "good-bye", and afterwards distinguished himself here in a way that secured the preservation of his memory by the merchants in Melbourne and in several towns in the interior'.<sup>9</sup>

In 1857 Byrne made an application to the French Government in Paris for a land concession in New Caledonia and, despite the opposition of the Marquis du Bouzet, Governor of the French Establishments in Oceania, he was granted (in association with Alexander Brown) 40,000 hectares between Port St Vincent and Kanala for colonisation and cultivation. The grant was subject to their importation of 1000 free immigrants, of whom a third were to be Europeans, on 5-10 year engagements, and various other conditions including the provision of a guarantee of 250,000 francs (about \$48,500), to be confiscated if they were not met.

Not surprisingly neither partner appears to have provided the required guarantee and the grant lapsed.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile Byrne was trying to interest the Belgian Government in a scheme for founding a colony in the New Hebrides; this resulted in two Belgian officers touring the Group in 1861 and compiling a report which condemned the whole idea as impracticable.<sup>11</sup>

When, therefore, the renewed Peruvian interest in coolie immigration made his prospects look brighter on the other side of the Pacific, Byrne had acquired some second-hand information on New Caledonia and the New Hebrides. He had not, however, visited the islands personally or taken any part in the labour trade between the two groups; this trade, apart from some New Hebrideans employed by a colonist near Port-de-France (later Noumea) in 1856, did not in fact

commence until 1865.<sup>12</sup> In any case his activities in Victoria made it desirable for him to leave, and with a partner—an American hotel-keeper named B.D. Clark, 'whose last appearance in public was in the Insolvent Court'—he sailed for Lima.<sup>13</sup>

In Peru Byrne claimed to have become a French citizen in 1857, the year of his application for the New Caledonian land grant, and to be an experienced hand in the recruiting of Pacific islanders, having already 'introduced into the French Settlement of New Caledonia upwards of 3,000 colonists taken from the New Hebrides'.<sup>14</sup> The government of President Castilla, which had always been opposed to the resumption of Chinese immigration, was naturally receptive to Byrne's contentions that an easily obtainable supply of more tractable and preferable labourers lay nearer to hand, who could be brought willingly to Peru without the drawbacks associated with the coolie trade.

On 12 April 1862 the government gazette *El Peruano* published a licence granted to Byrne to introduce 'colonists' from the islands, this being the general term used for immigrants since the law of 1849:

D.J.L. Brine [*sic*] having requested permission to introduce colonists from the South Western Islands of the Pacific, His Excellency the President has issued the following decree—

Lima, April 1, 1862

The permission requested is granted to D.J.L. Brine to introduce into Peru, during five years and on the terms named, colonists of both sexes, natives of the South Western Islands of the Pacific, intended for the labours of agriculture and for domestic service, subject to the forms prescribed by the law of the 15th January, 1861.<sup>15</sup>

Byrne was informed that as there were no Peruvian consular agents in the islands all contracts of service would have to be verified by Peruvian authorities at the port of entry and the Prefect of Callao was reminded that islanders found to have been recruited without their consent should not be permitted to disembark.<sup>16</sup>

Byrne and Clark thereupon formed a company in Lima for recruiting islanders in the New Hebrides, it being agreed that each of the partners, together with the owner of any ship engaging in the venture, should receive a third of the proceeds, clear of all risks. As Byrne was by then a sick man provision was made for Clark to take his share also in the event of his death.<sup>17</sup>

This prelude to what might prove a profitable financial speculation was being watched curiously by many in the Lima and Callao commercial community, but nobody was willing to invest in a similar venture until the outcome of Byrne's exploratory expedition into such completely unknown country could be evaluated.

## Tongareva Tryout

THE FIRST SHIP to be fitted out for the Peruvian labour trade was the 151-ton barque *Adelante* (Captain August Grassman), chartered by the Lima company formed by J.C. Byrne from the firm of Ugarte y Santiago.<sup>1</sup> Byrne's Recruiting Permit stated that he was to procure 'colonists from the South Western Islands of the Pacific'; enquirers were told that he had already recruited islanders from the New Hebrides for work in New Caledonia and that he was now engaged on a voyage to the same group of islands to obtain a trial shipment for Peru. This was to consist of

about 170 colonists of both sexes, who are to engage to serve in Peru for the term of five years, at four dollars per month wages, at the end of which term they are to be sent back to their own country if they wish it, at the expense of the purchaser of the contract,

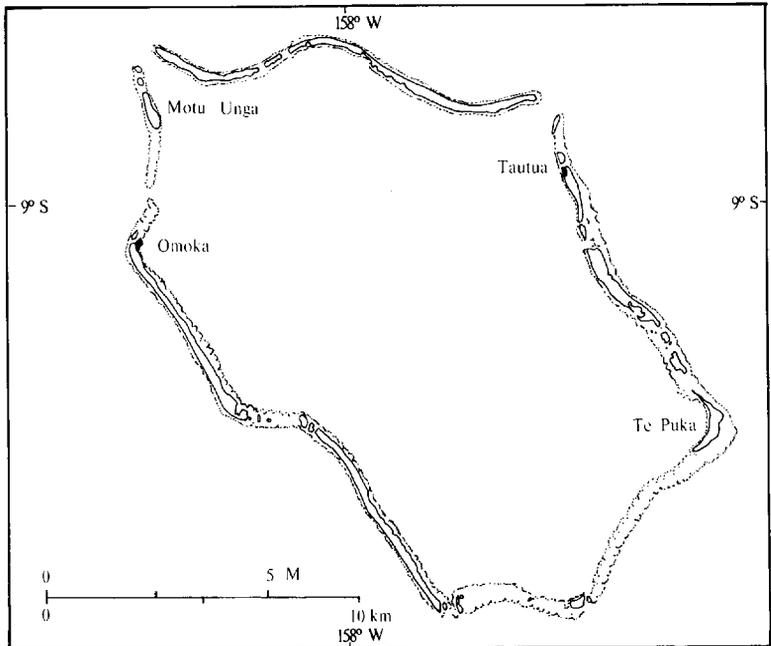
which was printed in Spanish and English (but not in 'the Polynesian languages', as reported by John Barton, the British Consul at Callao), and was transferable. If the initial project proved to be a success he proposed to follow it up with a series of further recruiting voyages.<sup>2</sup>

Byrne had never, in fact, shipped a single recruit from any Pacific island, but he had learned enough about the reputation of Melanesians to equip the well-found barque *Adelante* 'more like a Man-O-War than a merchantman'; to quote the words of her mate, John Davis. The hold had been divided into three compartments with iron gratings separating them; there were similar gratings over the hatches to prevent any escape; two swivel guns were mounted by the after hatch to sweep the deck, and two more were placed on top of the poop; two dozen muskets were kept ready for use by the crew, together with 'three blunderbusses and our revolvers and bowieknives, cutlasses and ammunition in abundance'; and finally four extra crew members were signed on to guard the hatches day and night.<sup>3</sup>

With the ailing Byrne himself on board to superintend operations, a Peruvian Government Agent, paid for by the company, to certify that the Congress Law on Asiatic immigration of 14 March 1861 was complied with, a surgeon, and an American master and chief officer, the *Adelante* left Callao on 15 June 1862, her first port of call being Hatiheu Bay, on Nukuhiva Island in the Marquesas. She arrived there on 10 July and remained for three days taking on water and embarking a Chilean, José Villegas, as interpreter, together with five Marquesans

as a boat's crew, who were to be repatriated at the conclusion of the voyage.<sup>4</sup>

Soon after leaving Nukuhiva, Byrne decided to stop over at the atoll of Tongareva (Penrhyn Island or Mangarongaro) in the Northern Cook Group, which lay on their route, in order to investigate the commercial possibilities of its lagoon, known to contain bêche-de-mer and pearl-shell.<sup>5</sup> Here he met a beachcomber known as Beni,<sup>6</sup> who told him that a ship seen by them the previous day was the French Protectorate schooner *Latouche-Tréville*, and that she had just recruited 130 Tongarevans to plant sugarcane, coffee and taro in Tahiti on 2-year contracts at \$4 a month: the first of the French recruiting voyages designed to lower local labour costs.<sup>7</sup>



Tongareva

In this fortuitous manner Byrne had happened to discover the one island in all Polynesia where the people were only too eager to be recruited: their coconut palms, which provided their main food, were suffering from a devastating disease, most of them were dead, and the rest produced only a few shrivelled nuts. The situation had been getting worse for some time: in 1857 the Aitutaki people had sent them a shipment of coconuts when their crop first failed and they were reported to be starving, while not long before the *Adelante's* visit the missionary Wyatt Gill had actually been prospecting uninhabited Nassau Island as a possible new home for them.<sup>8</sup>

Added to this blight the Tongarevans had the persuasion, or at least the blessing, of the London Missionary Society teachers on the island, who like the newly converted people themselves felt that every opportunity should be seized for earning money to build impressive churches in emulation of those to be found on Rarotonga, Mangaia, Manihiki and other islands in the Cook Group. Hence it was decided that at least one of the six teachers should accompany each batch of recruits to care for their spiritual welfare.<sup>9</sup>



2 Envy of churches like this on Manihiki led the Tongarevans to recruit. From F.J. Moss, *Through Atolls and Islands . . .* (London 1889). NL.

The Polynesian labour trade, therefore, was in fact due to an accident—the apparently unpremeditated decision of Byrne to call at Tongareva for a reason unconnected with his recruiting venture—and indeed had he persisted in his original scheme, as approved by the Peruvian Government, the difficulties and meagre financial returns inherent in the project might well have inhibited anyone from making a second attempt anywhere in the Pacific Islands.

But as it now transpired there was no longer any need to engage in a long and expensive voyage to Melanesia to procure a cargo of truculent savages when gentler Christianised Polynesians were available for the asking. Plans were accordingly changed and with the help of Beni they had more than a full ship within nine days, returning to Callao on 13 September with 253 recruits (83 men, 83 women, 30 boys, 19 girls, 19 male and 19 female infants). Clearly the recruits knew nothing about where they were going or what it would be like there; the very concept of a continent—of living other than on a tropical island—was naturally beyond their comprehension; and they went on their simple

faith in the European: as Pablo Gamero, the provision master, testified, 'without any other contract than a verbal agreement to carry them to one of the islands near to work, offering them \$4 per month and abundant maintenance'. This was the wage current on Tahiti, but less than the \$6-\$10 paid at Fanning.<sup>10</sup>

It was a happy voyage, for when the islanders were found to be gentle, friendly and well behaved they were allowed to roam the deck, excited at being on a ship and still more so at the adventure lying ahead; the main events were the death of Byrne himself and one Tongarevan woman, and the birth of three children; there were therefore 251 islanders on board when she left Tongareva. Food ran short, which was to be a common feature of these voyages, and additional supplies had to be obtained from two ships met en route and at the port of Huacho.<sup>11</sup>

On their arrival at Callao the recruits were sold at \$200 for men, \$150 for women and \$100 for boys, care being taken to avoid splitting up the 83 families; the payments were stated to be in refund of passage money, thus avoiding undesirable comparisons with the slave trade. The new arrivals, of whom 206 (including the 30 boys and 10 of the girls) were classed as workers, were consigned to J.M. de Ugarte, acting on behalf of the investors in Byrne's company, who disposed of them to buyers requiring domestic servants or agricultural labourers.<sup>12</sup>

Henry Watson, a British merchant in Valparaiso who had lived in Tahiti, informed the British Chargé d'Affaires in Santiago that according to his information the sale of the Tongarevans resulted in a profit of \$40,000 on an outlay of \$10,000 (or 400 per cent for approximately three and a half months' work). Even if waterfront intelligence set the figure too high, and a calculation based on stated prices suggests that total sales were nearer \$32,000, it was generally agreed that the company's profits on the venture were extremely high and the expenses involved in the unexpectedly short voyage inconsiderable: in short Byrne had struck a bonanza.<sup>13</sup>

News of the lucrative human cargoes awaiting the enterprising entrepreneur on islands so near at hand resulted in a rush to form small companies to buy or charter anything that would float, fit them out for the new trade and set sail for the islands while the pickings were good; and within three weeks of the *Adelante's* arrival no fewer than five Peruvian and two Chilean ships had left Callao.<sup>14</sup> These small-time 'speculators', as they were called, were for the most part interested solely in maximising profits 'from the collection of South-Sea Islanders'; and as a consequence few of the captains whom they employed allowed humanitarian considerations to interfere with the work in hand, which was essentially to entice or force as many Polynesians on board their ships as possible and to land them alive in Peru.

More than one of the ships was rumoured to have been an African slaver, while the barque *Empresa* was formerly on the China coolie run, and these may have required no special fitments for the trade. But the *Adelante* became the prototype for most of the recruiting fleet and

her adaptation was evidently studied and copied by other shipowners and charterers who had no knowledge themselves of what was required. Iron gratings and a plentiful supply of arms became the norm and if the *Adelante* differed from many of the ships which followed her hopefully from Peru it was mainly in being seaworthy, which many of them were not: 'amongst the ships already dispatched are several crazy old vessels that had long been laid up as hulks, but which in the enthusiasm of speculators have been equipped as good enough for the service'. To sum up, the Peruvian recruiting fleet comprised for the most part a motley assemblage of aged coastal vessels averaging about 180 tons and fitted with bunks, gratings and armament on the traditional lines of the African slave trade.

The first of these ships to arrive at Tongareva was the brig *Trujillo* which, however, belonged to the same firm and had no intention of poaching the remaining islanders, whom the *Adelante* had promised to return for, but merely stopped to kidnap a local chief as interpreter, with his wife and two boys, before joining her consorts the *Apurimac* and *Manuelita Costas* off Manihiki, where the three hoped to be first in a virgin field.<sup>15</sup>

The next visitor seems to have been a little 98-ton schooner called the *Genara*, which embarked forty-three voluntary recruits (19 males and 24 females), together with a second teacher, ostensibly to collect bêche-de-mer at Titimatarangi, the local name for Christmas Island. It was a good ruse to obtain willing workers and no doubt suggested by the beachcomber Beni, for the neighbouring Fanning Island had been deservedly popular with the people of the Northern Cooks since 1852, when Henry English commenced recruiting on Manihiki and Rakahanga for work on his coconut plantations there on 1- or 2-year contracts.<sup>16</sup>

The *Genara* is not a positive identification since there is no record of her departure from Callao (possibly she sailed from some minor port). Nevertheless she is the only one which fits the islanders' description of 'a small two-masted vessel', evidently of limited passenger-carrying capacity, and she is known to have landed her complement of forty-three at Callao on 8 March 1863, their island of origin not being stated. Although Wyatt Gill was told that she had embarked thirty-five, this figure did not include the teacher and his family; the total of forty-three is therefore considered more likely to be correct.<sup>17</sup>

Having discharged her passengers and refitted, the *Adelante* left again for Tongareva on 10 October 1862, to pick up the remaining able-bodied islanders and their families. There she was met by the brig *Jorge Zahara*, also owned by Ugarte y Santiago and having as passenger the other member of the original firm of licensees, B.D. Clark, the insolvent debtor from Melbourne. The *Jorge Zahara* had actually left Callao over a fortnight earlier but stopped at Nukuhiva to repatriate the boat's crew from the *Adelante* and pick up another.<sup>18</sup>

There are only two more visits recorded by recruiting ships. The brig *Ellen Elizabeth* called on 25 January and stayed for ten days before

leaving for the Gilbert Islands, followed later by a barque, probably the *Dolores Carolina*: but there was no one left to take, infants and the aged being unsaleable.<sup>19</sup>

Tongareva is the largest atoll in the Cook Group and its characteristic pattern of dispersed settlement had led to the population living on their coconut land holdings scattered around the lagoon, rather than in villages as on the smaller atolls. But as soon as the islanders were converted to Christianity four churches were erected, at Omoka, Motu Unga, Tautua and Te Puka, and by 1862 nearly everyone was living in one of the four villages which grew up around these churches.<sup>20</sup>



3 Where the Peruvian ships anchored: Omoka Village on Tongareva. From F.V. de G. Stevenson, *The Cruise of the 'Janet Nicol' . . .* (London 1915). NL.

When Wyatt Gill called at the atoll on 11 March 1863 in the mission ship *John Williams* he found forty inhabitants of Omoka still living in their village by the main entrance into the lagoon with the sole remaining teacher Ngatikaro, who despite offers of gold made to him by the recruiters had warned his people against leaving, and a further forty-eight (for the most part the aged and children) in the other three villages. He was unable, however, to find out from this remnant how many had been recruited by the *Adelante* on her second voyage and, as he suspected, the estimate given to him of '50-80' and 'over 50' were too low.<sup>21</sup>

It is fortunately now possible to be more exact, since we know that the *Adelante* went on to Manihiki and Rakahanga and that at the latter island the *Jorge Zahara* recruited thirty (see Chapter 7). The two ships then returned to Tongareva on 21 January where the thirty colonists were transferred to the *Adelante* which thereupon left for Callao with

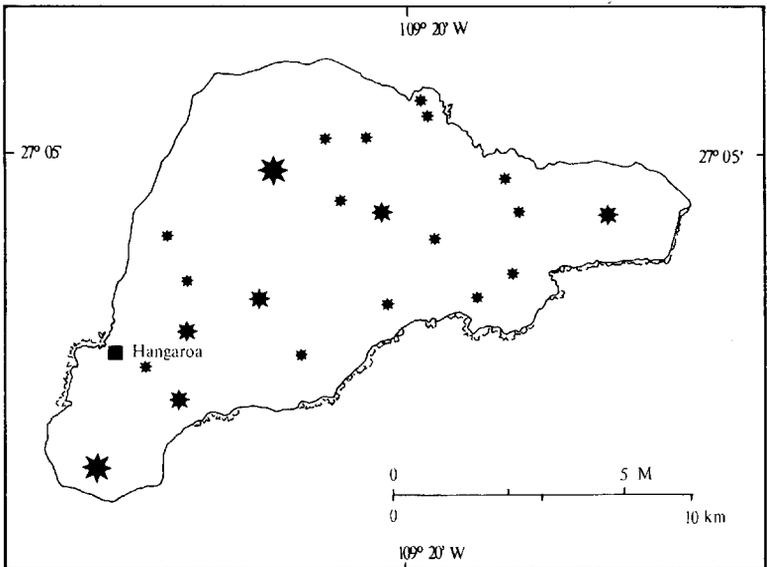
203 (77 men, 78 women, 15 boys and 33 infants); it can be assumed, therefore, that 173 of these were from Tongareva. The *Jorge Zahara*, on the other hand, went direct to Pukapuka, where she obtained all her recruits with the exception of the Rarotongan teacher Josia who, with his wife, had been taken from Tongareva as an interpreter.<sup>22</sup>

The total number of islanders transported from Tongareva to Peru therefore totalled approximately 472, a figure which agrees well with the estimate of 700 living on the island before recruiting began, less the 130 taken to Tahiti and 88 found by Gill in March. The discrepancy of only ten may be accounted for, in all probability, by the inexactitude of the original population estimate.<sup>23</sup>

## The Easter Island Trinket Trade

NOT EVERY shipowner or captain was content merely to follow the route of the *Adelante* to the Northern Cooks. Though probably no one in Peru appreciated the exceptional circumstances which prevailed on Tongareva, it stood to reason that the human resources of a small atoll would barely provide a couple of good shiploads, while several recruiting vessels, including the *Adelante* herself, were known to be preparing for departure.

It was not long, therefore, before ships were being fitted out to try their luck elsewhere; and now that the procurement of Polynesians had proved to be both easy and profitable the remote Melanesian archipelagos were forgotten and attention concentrated on islands likely to produce full holds and short hauls. Within the month that it took the *Adelante* to discharge, refit and sail again, not only had five other ships already left for her hunting grounds, but one had gone to recruit in the Marquesas, two in the Tuamotus and a fourth at the Gambiers, these being the three groups in Oceania nearest to the South American coast.



Easter Island

One recruiter, however—the *Bella Margarita*—had the prescience to make for what was to prove the richest reserve of them all: Easter Island, the Isla de Pascua which Spain had claimed a century before and which the seafarers of Chile had never forgotten since.

There are several reasons why one would expect Easter to assume a pre-eminent position as a recruiting venue: it was the most isolated island in the South Seas; none of the great powers owned or claimed it as being within their sphere of influence; it contained a population of over 4000, all of whom were unevangelised and illiterate; and it was by far the nearest inhabited Pacific island to Callao.<sup>1</sup> In brief, nobody was likely to know or care much about what happened to the people and the cost of removing them would be small.

Yet some of its advantages to the recruiter pose difficulties to the historian, since there was no one ashore to keep a tally of ships visiting and people leaving, while to add to our difficulties several captains went on from Easter to other islands, transferring all, or nearly all, of their recruits to Peru-bound ships before doing so, and even when they came straight back they might call the island by a variety of names.

Thus one finds that Easter (the Rapa Nui or Te Pito o te Henua of the Polynesian inhabitants) is none other than the Estea or Paypay of the *Eliza Mason*, Independencia of the *Teresa*, Hayram or Hayrain of the *Rosalía*, Oroa or Baijee of the *Carolina*, and Necua of the *Urmaneta y Ramos*. The most probable reason for such a variety of fictitious names would seem to be the natural reluctance of captains to disclose their source of supply, whether of bêche-de-mer, sandalwood or immigrants, and the fact that the recruiting methods adopted, which amounted in many cases to straight out kidnapping, soon gave Easter Island a bad name on the mainland.<sup>2</sup>

In the event it proved necessary to tabulate the names of each ship engaged in the trade; the dates of their departure from and return to Callao, or other mainland port; to plot their routes and the islands they called at; to calculate the numbers taken from each, in most cases from local counts; and to compare these with the official figures of immigrants landed before an assessment could be made of the numbers recruited from Easter Island, by whom and when.

Perhaps the most important clue of all in solving what at first appeared to be an insoluble puzzle was the length of a given ship's round voyage. From working out the times taken for the direct return trip from Callao to Easter by the nine ships for which we have exact dates, one found a range of from 41 to 69 days and a median time of 52 days.

A reasonable voyage from Callao to Easter seems to have been about 15 days and for the journey back 28-30 days, exact times being largely dependent on the strength and precise direction of the dominant south-east trade winds. The nearest other recruiting centre in Polynesia, apart from French territory, was Tongareva, and the *Adelante* in her two journeys there and back took 90 and 96 days

respectively; while the times taken by other vessels to more distant locations were well over 100 days.

These figures give, of course, only rough indications of the time which any particular ship might take over her journey, especially as the period spent at the island destination obviously varied, but it does enable us to say with reasonable certitude that any ship which returned to Callao with recruits in fewer than 85 days of leaving it had obtained them (unless conceivably by transshipment in mid-ocean) at Easter and no other island.

To provide a clear picture of the Peruvian recruiting operations at that island it seems best to divide them into three periods: those which took place before, during, and after the climactic raids of December 1862. This is the more necessary since several misconceptions concerning the nature and extent of the Easter Island labour trade are to be found in the sporadic references to it by writers on island history.

### The first phase

The first labour ship to call at Easter Island was the barque *Serpiente Marina* on 23 October 1862, en route to Mangareva, but as she was not recruiting there all that needs to be recorded about her here is that she kept on board two islanders, who came out to barter; they were later freed at Papeete by the French authorities and repatriated.

Early in October, however, the *Bella Margarita* and *Eliza Mason* sailed from Callao to try out the island's potential as a source of labour. That the two pioneers were Chilean is probably no accident, for ships engaged in the Tuamotu pearl-shell industry and the Tahiti or trans-Pacific cargo trades not infrequently touched at Easter on their way to or from Valparaiso.<sup>3</sup>

The brig *Bella Margarita* returned to Callao on 24 November, after what must have been a remarkably short stay off the island, with 154 immigrants (142 men and 12 women), who were sold at an average price of about \$300 as labourers or servants. The shipment thus grossed a sum in the region of \$46,000, a lucrative speculation indeed when one considers that it was almost all profit and that the venture took less than two months to complete.<sup>4</sup>

Following so soon after the *Adelante's* coup and more spectacular both in gross and net returns it must have made an even greater impression: at all events within a fortnight a fleet of no fewer than eight ships had left for Easter with the intention of obtaining colonists on a more systematic basis.

Even these were beaten in the race to the island by a Ugarte y Santiago barque called the *General Prim*, which slipped out of port only two days after the *Bella Margarita* arrived. Making a record round trip of forty-one days she was back on 6 January with 115 islanders (106 men, 7 women and 2 boys). The British Consul at Callao, who went on board, remarked that they seemed in good health and had apparently come of their own free will, while the owners were

adamant that no violence had been employed in recruiting by any of their vessels, a statement which we know to be true in the case of the *Adelante* and the *Jorge Zahara*.<sup>5</sup>

Meanwhile Captain Sasuatégui of the barque *Eliza Mason*, on charter to a Callao association known as the Six Friends (Seis Amigos), had wasted several weeks in an unsuccessful attempt to recruit Marquesans at Hivaoa and Fatuhiva, so by the time he reached Easter the *Bella Margarita*, and probably the *General Prim*, had gone. After a fortnight of daily recruiting activities he was compelled to leave himself, a week before he intended, by the arrival of the first four of the fleet, whose captains, not desiring competition or even observers, warned him off 'at gun point'.<sup>6</sup>

Still the *Eliza Mason* had done well enough, despite her protracted voyage and the captain's protests that he had been forcibly prevented from recruiting his full complement, for on 26 January she landed 238 islanders (140 men, 86 women and 12 children) all of whom, he stressed, had embarked after being presented with gifts by him and then engaged as voluntary passengers, 'with contracts signed by every one of them and the interpreter who accompanies them'.<sup>7</sup>

Evidence recently adduced by anthropologist Grant McCall suggests that some Easter islanders were not unwilling to leave their homes during the early period of European contact; the fact that nothing has been found to indicate that any of the 507 recruits and their families brought to Peru by the *Bella Margarita*, *General Prim* and *Eliza Mason* came other than voluntarily tends to support this thesis.<sup>8</sup> The two obtained by the *Serpiente Marina* were, however, kidnapped.

### The December raiders

The eight ships in what we have called 'the fleet', since they acted in concert in their operations at Easter Island, comprised the Spanish barque *Rosa y Carmen*; the smaller Peruvian barques *Rosa Patricia* and *Carolina*; two Peruvian brigs, the *Guillermo* and *Micaela Miranda*; and three Peruvian schooners, the *José Castro*, *Hermosa Dolores* and *Cora*.

Leaving Callao together on 5-7 December, with the small and slow 88-ton *Cora* sailing a few days earlier and the *Micaela Miranda* two days later, they had with one exception assembled off Easter Island by the 22nd. Early arrivals had made some desultory efforts to recruit, both ashore and by attempting to attract islanders to come aboard, but without much success.<sup>9</sup>

On the night of the 22nd, therefore, a meeting of captains was held at which it was decided to initiate a combined expedition comprising armed crews from each of the ships, under the command of the Spanish Captain Marutani of the three-masted, 400-ton, clipper-built barque *Rosa y Carmen*, which was recognised as the flagship. The scheme agreed upon was to round up as many of the islanders as pos-



4 Scene of the December raid: Hangaroa Bay, Easter Island. From L. Choris, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde . . .* (Paris 1822). ML.

sible and take them to the *Rosa y Carmen*, where they would be divided between the participants in proportion to the number from each vessel taking part in the exercise.

The expeditionary force of about eighty assembled on the beach at Hangaroa at 7.30 the following morning, where the men were addressed by the *Rosa's* captain, who explained the plan of campaign.<sup>10</sup> Most of the force were then dispersed to wander about as inconspicuously as possible in the neighbourhood of the beach area, where Marutani and the other captains were helping seamen detailed to spread out a selection of trinkets, such as necklaces, mirrors and other knick-knacks. Incited by curiosity and desire, about 500 islanders began to gather around this display: 'most on their knees examining the trade goods'.<sup>11</sup>

As arranged beforehand Captain Marutani then fired his revolver in the air, whereupon the armed crews followed suit with a simultaneous volley. Although orders had been given to fire above everyone and not to aim at anybody except in self-defence, the confusion which arose was such that some of the sailors lost their heads and, fearing an attack, killed at least ten of the islanders.

The rest of the crowd fled in all directions, shouting and scream-

ing: some threw themselves into the sea while others clambered up on the rocks and tried to hide as best they could; at the same time a large number were caught and securely tied by the sailors who, leaving the beach, combed the area for any still in concealment. A witness describes how the captain of the *Cora*, seeing two natives hidden in a small gully, called to them to come out (in Spanish coupled with gesticulations), and when this only made them climb farther up the ravine brought them down with a couple of shots, leaving them supposedly dead.

Over 200 'Indians' had been netted by the posse from the eight ships and these were taken, bound hand and foot, to the *Rosa y Carmen*: 'the air resounding with their cries and lamentations'. The following day they were divided up among the ships as already agreed upon.

It had been decided that the captives, together with others who had come aboard some of the ships to trade, should be transferred to the barque *Carolina* and the schooner *Hermosa Dolores* for conveyance to Callao, as the rest of the fleet proposed to sail to Rapa for water and thence to the western Polynesian groups for further recruits. Before they were rowed over in the ships' boats, however, they were labelled or stamped with their owner's mark. In the case of the *Guillermo* this identification was a large cloth collar on which was written the name of the ship, the name of the person and his or her number; while some of the other vessels apparently preferred a distinctive marking tattooed on the forehead.<sup>12</sup>

As the six ships expected to be away for some time it was obviously unprofitable to keep many of the prisoners on board except for some good reason: perhaps a promising youth to help with the less skilled shipboard chores, or a girl or two for the officers and crew. The *Cora*, for example, sent twenty-two but kept a boy Manuragui to help in the galley; the *Guillermo* sent twenty-five but kept a child aged six and an old woman, who was later thrown overboard by the supercargo as too aged to sell; the *José Castro*, which turned back at Rapa, had twenty-one Easter islanders on board when she returned to Callao, via Easter, but these were probably all procured on her second visit; the *Rosa y Carmen* sent sixty-five and for some reason seems to have kept no fewer than sixty-three; the *Micaela Miranda* sent twenty-eight and apparently kept one; while the *Rosa Patricia* sent forty-five and kept none.<sup>13</sup>

The *Carolina* and the *Hermosa Dolores* arrived together at Callao on 25 January 1863, the former with 122 recruits (104 men, 12 women and 6 children), all reported as being from the island of Oroa, and the schooner with 160 (137 men, 22 women and a child).<sup>14</sup>

A second landing was made the day following the main raid by a combined party from the fleet but the threatening attitude and defensive measures of the islanders forced a retreat to the ships. Three of the vessels now left but the others remained to try their hand once again on the 25th. The islanders, however, were on guard and the third

attempt proved as unsuccessful as the second. *El Comercio*, in its *Cronica de Callao*, reported:

such was their terror that not only did they abstain from visiting the ships but retired to the interior setting on fire the bushes near the coast. For this reason the vessels were obliged to abandon operations there—and continue their voyage.

By the night of the 26th all the ships had gone, the *José Castro* and *Guillermo* being the last to leave.<sup>15</sup>

Adding up the figures for the *Carolina* and *Hermosa Dolores*, together with those on the three ships which retained a few Easter islanders each, we reach a total net recruitment of 349 as a result of the December raids: not a very impressive figure when compared with the totals shipped by the three earlier vessels who operated on their own.<sup>16</sup>

### Mopping up

The first ship to reach Callao from Easter Island after the December raids was the *Rosalía*, which arrived ostensibly from Hayram (or Hayrain) on 3 February with a load of 196 recruits (149 men, 37 women and 10 children).<sup>17</sup> How Captain Bollo was able to obtain so many is not known but it would seem that the islanders, though understandably wary of being attacked and shot at, were still willing to visit ships for trading, and that conceivably some were even prepared to join their compatriots in Peru.

Only one other vessel was able to obtain as many as a hundred recruits: the barque *Teresa*, owned by Flores Guerra, which had actually left Callao on 25 October while the fleet was still getting ready for departure. Her first task, however, was to discharge cargo at Paita, in northern Peru, and while there Captain Muñoz was alleged to have abducted a Tahitian, Tomas Oaca (or Ocoa) to act as interpreter. The deviation resulted in the ship arriving at Easter in January, after the fleet had left, and it was not until 21 February that she returned to Callao with 203 passengers (163 men, 23 women and 17 children).

E. W. Robertson, the acting British Consul at Callao, boarded her, inspected the men clad in shirts and trousers and the women in dresses, and was assured by the supercargo that 'they were brought of their own free will'. A few days later, however, Edmond de Lesseps, the French Chargé d'Affaires, asked his British colleague at Lima to see a Dutchman, Harry Mass, who had been the *Teresa's* carpenter and who told him that: 'some natives swam off to the vessel and others were brought off to barter fish-hooks and clothing. When about 200 men, women and children were aboard, sail was suddenly made and the natives were then brought to Callao.' Although Captain Muñoz said that his recruits were from the island of Independencia, Mass makes it clear that they were in fact from Easter, as is also evident from the method of recruiting.<sup>18</sup>

The Chilean barque *La Concepción* left Valparaiso on 7 February

and after discharging cargo at Caldera sailed for Polynesia on a roving commission to recruit islanders, seemingly without any clear idea of where and by what means they could be obtained. She called at Easter Island briefly early in March but finding that 'none of the natives of that unhappy land . . . wished to accompany the ship' she departed without any recruits to try her luck in the Marquesas.<sup>19</sup>

By this time over 1000 recruits had been taken from Easter, or nearly a quarter of its estimated population only four months before, and at last those who were left were getting more distrustful and defensive. They began to conceal themselves in the numerous deep caves which honeycombed their island; to such effect that a year later Eugène Eyraud, the first missionary, wrote that: 'the entire population of the island could, at a moment's notice, disappear by hiding in these subterranean places'.<sup>20</sup>

An attempt to repeat the December raids was made about 14 March by the *José Castro*, assisted, it seems probable, by the *Carolina*. Both had taken part in the first expedition and the *José Castro* had returned from Rapa, while the *Carolina* had made a quick refit after dropping her consignment of recruits at Callao and left again for the island on 6 February. It is a possibility that the rendezvous was pre-arranged at their December meeting.

The March raid was but a pale shadow of the December venture and when the *Carolina* returned to Callao on 1 April and the *José Castro* on the 21st they had succeeded in collecting a mere 73 (72 men and a woman) and 21 (18 men and 3 women). Those on the *Carolina* were this time reported as coming from Baijee.<sup>21</sup>

Another ship present during part of the time was the *Misti*, formerly the Chilean brig-of-war *Ancud*, which had been sold to her Peruvian Captain Basagoitia, who had previously been master of the *Trujillo*. The *Misti* had cleared from Valparaiso to obtain a cargo of coconut oil at Papeete but when they were a couple of days out the captain disclosed that in reality they were on a voyage 'to hunt Indians'.<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, despite the fact that Captain Acevedo of the *José Castro* spent a night on board the *Misti* when she arrived, her captain and crew took no part in this repeat performance, though they could hear the crew of the *José Castro* firing at the people ashore. Captain Basagoitia had tried to land but was prevented by the hostility of the islanders, who threw stones at him. A few of them, however, swam out to his ship, where they were kindly treated and given presents of shirts and trousers. When the *Misti* began to make out to sea all the visitors except two jumped overboard, a witness affirming that they were too few to tempt the captain to restrain them. The two left also changed their minds when they saw the shore receding but were prevented from leaving by the supercargo and apparently pacified by being given another shirt each. They were set free later when the *Misti* arrived at Papeete.<sup>23</sup>

There were only two further shipments, for on 28 April the

Peruvian Minister for the Home Department suspended all licences and required special permission before any crew or passenger on labour ships could be allowed to disembark, which would only be granted on the production of satisfactory proof that the recruits had been voluntarily contracted and that no crimes had been committed during the voyage (see Chapter 16).

On 11 June the *Barbara Gomez*, which had left before the decree, returned with 23 recruits (9 men and 14 women) from Easter and was placed 'incommunicado' by the Peruvian Government.<sup>24</sup> The last shipment, by the barque *Urmeneta y Ramos*, arrived on 17 July (there being no record of which mainland port she left from or when), bringing 31 passengers, allegedly from Necua Island.<sup>25</sup>

Recruits taken from Easter Island in the final phase therefore totalled 549, and the grand total of all islanders taken amounts to 1407, or 34 per cent of the estimated population of the island.

Before we leave Easter Island to the demoralised remnant who had escaped the hazards of migration, one of the picturesque myths that have collected around the story of Peruvian activities there must regrettably be demolished, since it is still being repeated by authorities on the island's history: the fable that the island was used as a human corral where other Pacific Islanders were taken and kept for eventual transshipment by another vessel.<sup>26</sup>

This statement was first publicised by the Rev. A. W. Murray in his address on 'Slavery in the Pacific' given at the Masonic Hall, Sydney, on 18 June 1863, in which he said:

They have a depot at an island called Easter Island. . . . To this island the slavers convey the wretched beings whom they manage to seize, and a schooner plies between the island and the coast, carrying cargo after cargo to slavery and death.<sup>27</sup>

As no evidence could be found to substantiate any such practice a search was made for its origin, and this was eventually located in a remark made by Pitman, the supercargo of the *Rosa Patricia*, when at Apia, to the effect that he had already shipped forty-five islanders by schooner to Callao. This we know he did in December 1862, when he sent forty-five Easter islanders by the schooner *Hermosa Dolores*.<sup>28</sup> But by the time Pitman's story had reached the British Consul in Samoa it had become misinterpreted into:

The supercargo states that Easter Island was their rendezvous and that he had already shipped Forty-five islanders whom he had collected from different islands and carried to Easter Island to await their Schooner.<sup>29</sup>

In point of fact the *Rosa Patricia* never returned to Easter Island after her one visit.

## Mangareva and the Tuamotus: Follies and Failures

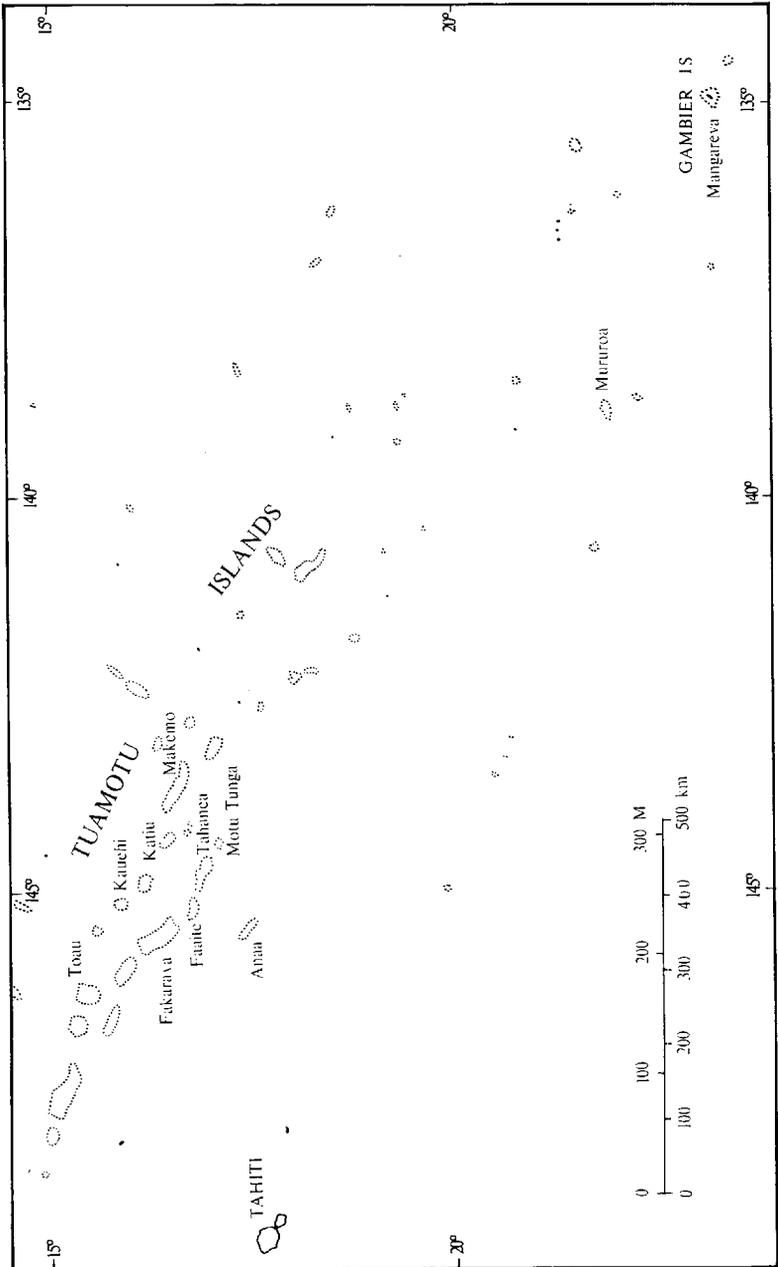
TO AVOID confusion in our chronological sequence of events we must now leave the six December raiders on their way from Easter Island to Rapa and take up the story of the ships which had already sailed for the screen of eastern Polynesian islands extending for 1000 miles from the Marquesas in the north, through the Tuamotus, to Mangareva in the south.

It was a hazardous venture, for the islands were all considered to be under French protection and government opposition to French subjects being induced to leave French-protected islands for work in South America might reasonably have been assumed.<sup>1</sup> It seems, however, that the owners or charterers left the locale of the recruiting operations in the hands of their captains and supercargoes, in one case admittedly warning them against contravening any French regulations, while the latter appear to have naïvely anticipated the acquiescence of the French authorities in Tahiti, or at least no insuperable opposition from them, even to the extent of visiting Papeete voluntarily.

In fact all concerned with the trade considered themselves as being ostensibly engaged in the legitimate recruitment of voluntary labour under contract to work in Peru for a stated period at an agreed wage; and even though their contracts might be worthless and the labour have been kidnapped or duped there was always the hope that these inconsistencies could be kept from French official cognisance, as they were successfully kept from official notice by the Peruvian authorities.

### Mangareva

The first of the four ships to leave for French Polynesia was the 198-ton barque *Serpiente Marina* (formerly the Baltimore barque *Lomare*), owned by the Lima merchants Bernales y Saco.<sup>2</sup> She sailed on 28 September, less than a fortnight after the *Adelante* had returned from her prospecting trip to Tongareva, and stopped off Easter Island long enough to kidnap a couple of islanders. From there she made direct to the Mangareva Group (then known as the Gambier archipelago), where she entered the lagoon and anchored off the main settlement of Rikitea on Mangareva Island on 28 October, claiming to be on a scientific voyage to Polynesia.



The Tuamotu and Gambier Groups



- 5 Rikitea, capital of the Gambier Islands, before the Peruvian visits. From Honoré Laval, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Mangareva* . . . [Paris 1968]. NL.

Mangareva was the earliest centre of the Catholic Church in Polynesia and by the 1860s had become the most important mission and trading centre in the eastern Pacific after Papeete.<sup>3</sup> It is not surprising, therefore, that the strange barque was regarded with curiosity by the local Europeans, and in particular by the redoubtable Father Honoré Laval, the head of the Catholic mission.

Suspicious were soon aroused when daggers were seen to be concealed beneath the trousers of Captain Martínez and the supercargo Alexander Saco, who was on board to represent the interests of the owners; and even more so when in the evening several of the better educated Mangarevans who came on board were offered employment as interpreters on liberal terms and discreet enquiries were made as to whether it would be possible to recruit 300–400 islanders without the knowledge of the authorities.

After promising to co-operate with the Peruvians the Mangarevans reported the discussions to the missionaries, and a beachcomber-trader named Jacques Guilloux went on board, where he noticed that the hatches had iron grilles; that a partition protected the stern from the main part of the ship; that there were several large coppers on deck, as used for preparing bulk quantities of food;<sup>4</sup> and that she carried a doctor apparently for a crew of seven or eight men and flew a Peruvian flag.

Conveying this information to Father Laval, Guilloux pronounced the vessel to be a slaver, whereupon the Father, with the concurrence of Queen Maria Eutokia, decided that the captain, supercargo and doctor should be placed under arrest. This was done the same day by a small party armed with spears while the three were calling on the Queen; in the fracas the supercargo was slightly wounded.

For some time Laval had been under suspicion of heading a theocratic dictatorship on Mangareva and on reflection, fearing repercussions from the French authorities in Tahiti should there be any further trouble, he told the captain and his associates to go on board and leave the Gambiers immediately; calling them pirates. In a letter sent from the ship they replied that Guilloux, the Comte de Latour (lay assistant to the mission) and Father Laval were first-class rascals who in fact ruled Mangareva, and that the captain intended to complain about them to the French Government representatives in Peru.



6 Father Honoré Laval of Mangareva: a photograph taken in 1872. From Honoré Laval, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Mangareva . . .* (Paris 1968). NL.

The same day one of Laval's detractors, a local trader of dubious reputation named Jean Pignon, had been offered a lucrative position on the *Serpiente Marina* as recruiter, but fortunately for himself the ship's departure precluded him from accepting it. The captain's decision to make for Papeete appears to have been a sudden one, allegedly to obtain water but in reality to lodge complaints about his treatment. Soon after the vessel arrived there on 7 November, however, the two kidnapped Easter islanders were discovered on board and released by the Government; and the barque was held pending further investigation and reference to Paris.<sup>5</sup>

This discovery, added to the many rumours circulating in Papeete about the ship's activities at Mangareva, which her officers refused to speak about, led to a Judicial Enquiry being held there during January by a Commissioner sent from Tahiti.

Despite Father Laval's fears that he was being framed by his enemies in Tahiti the findings of the Commissioner were said to be 'less than favourable to the captain and supercargo': by then it would have been difficult to reprove anyone for action taken against people believed by all Tahiti to be kidnappers and slavers.<sup>6</sup>

We must leave the *Serpiente Marina* for the time being in the hands of the French authorities at Tahiti; what actually befell her there will be told in more detail in Chapter 13. In the meantime another three-masted vessel had arrived at Mangareva, on 8 January, apparently flying a Mexican flag and almost certainly the *Rosa y Carmen* on her way from Easter Island to Rapa. She was boarded by the pilot, who noticed that there were islanders, tattooed on their faces and hands, kept in irons between decks. An armed party was put ashore on the outlying island of Akamaru, the nearest to the main passage into the lagoon, in an attempt to round up the inhabitants as had been done at Easter Island. On sighting the French flag flying ashore, however, they returned on board and the barque stood away to the south, the captain remarking that they were making for Rapa to obtain water.

On 17 January the French Government ship *Latouche-Tréville* arrived at Mangareva with the Judicial Commissioner on board, and the same day a third recruiting vessel, which the Lieutenant in command considered to be the *Cora*, entered the lagoon. But by this time the Mangarevans had received a Proclamation from Governor de la Richerie in Tahiti advising them to resist, if necessary by force, all attempts to take them away, and they were only too eager to capture the 'pirates' and their vessels. In fact the crew of the pilot's boat professed to be so anxious to sign on as recruits for Peru that the captain became suspicious of their motives and sailed out of the lagoon in a hurry, announcing that he was bound for New Zealand. Actually the *Cora* was also on her way to Rapa.<sup>7</sup>

### The Tuamotu Islands

Hitherto we have been concerned with licences granted by the

Peruvian Government solely to recruit labour to work on the rural agricultural estates or as domestic servants. Since 1856, however, when the law permitting the recruitment of Chinese bonded coolies was suspended, the supply of labour for work on digging and loading guano in the important Chincha Islands deposits off the Peruvian coast became a serious problem.

Although Chinese coolie labour was again permitted in 1861 there was never enough to satisfy the demands of the growing guano industry. The guano-loading concession had been held since 1849 by the prominent Peruvian entrepreneur Domingo Elias, who treated the labour with such inhumanity that deaths from malnutrition, disease and suicide depleted the force and made it virtually impossible to recruit free workers.

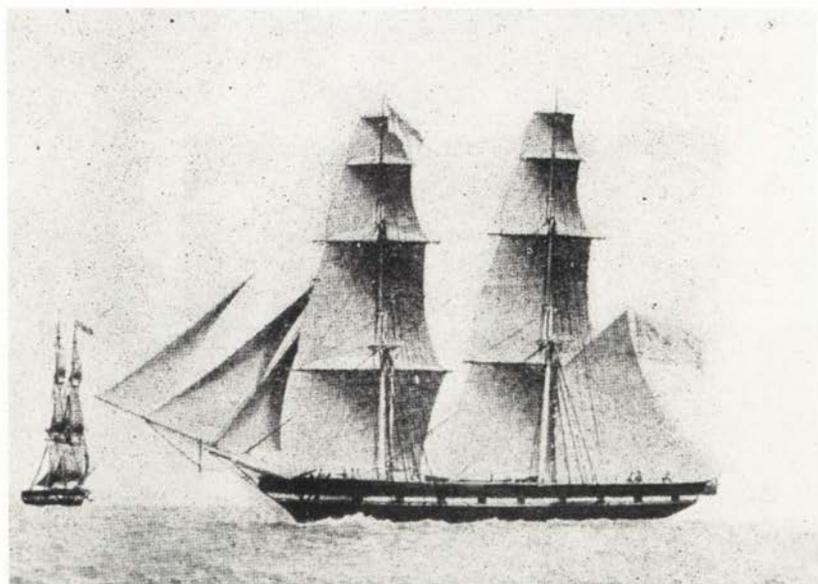
In 1862 the concession passed to Andres Alvarez Calderón, who wrote on 16 September, three days after the *Adelante's* return from Tongareva, pointing out that the number of his workers in the Chinchas was decreasing daily and that those who remained were refusing to carry on. He therefore requested permission to recruit 800-1000 colonists and in return undertook

to bind myself to take all requisite steps to respect international rights of justice and the laws of nature, not to take from any country any other than voluntary bound servants, to pay conscientiously the price of their contract and in general terms to fulfil all the obligations which the law imposes on the introduction of colonists, in accordance with the terms of the law for the introduction of Asiatics.<sup>8</sup>

A licence was issued the same day by Manuel Morales, the Minister of Government: 'to introduce colonists from the Oceanic Islands, on condition that he shall strictly submit to the provisions of the law of the 14th of March last, No. 281-62'. This was passed ten days later to Arturo de Wholey, a prominent businessman and ship-owner, 'in order that by means of it he may introduce colonists'; and two ships owned by Messrs Arturo M. de Wholey and Company, the brigantines *Mercedes A. de Wholey* and *Barbara Gomez*, were immediately prepared for the Polynesian labour trade, the former leaving Callao on 4 October and the latter three days later.

It was apparently intended that the two vessels should work together but in the event the *Barbara Gomez* made for Tahiti and the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* direct for the Tuamotus. How this came about is conjectural, especially since an American from New York named Byron Lee Knapp, who had lived in Tahiti, had been engaged by de Wholey nominally as pilot and interpreter but in reality as supercargo and recruiting agent for both ships at 80 piastres (\$82.33) a month, plus 2 piastres (\$2.06) for each man and woman landed at Callao.

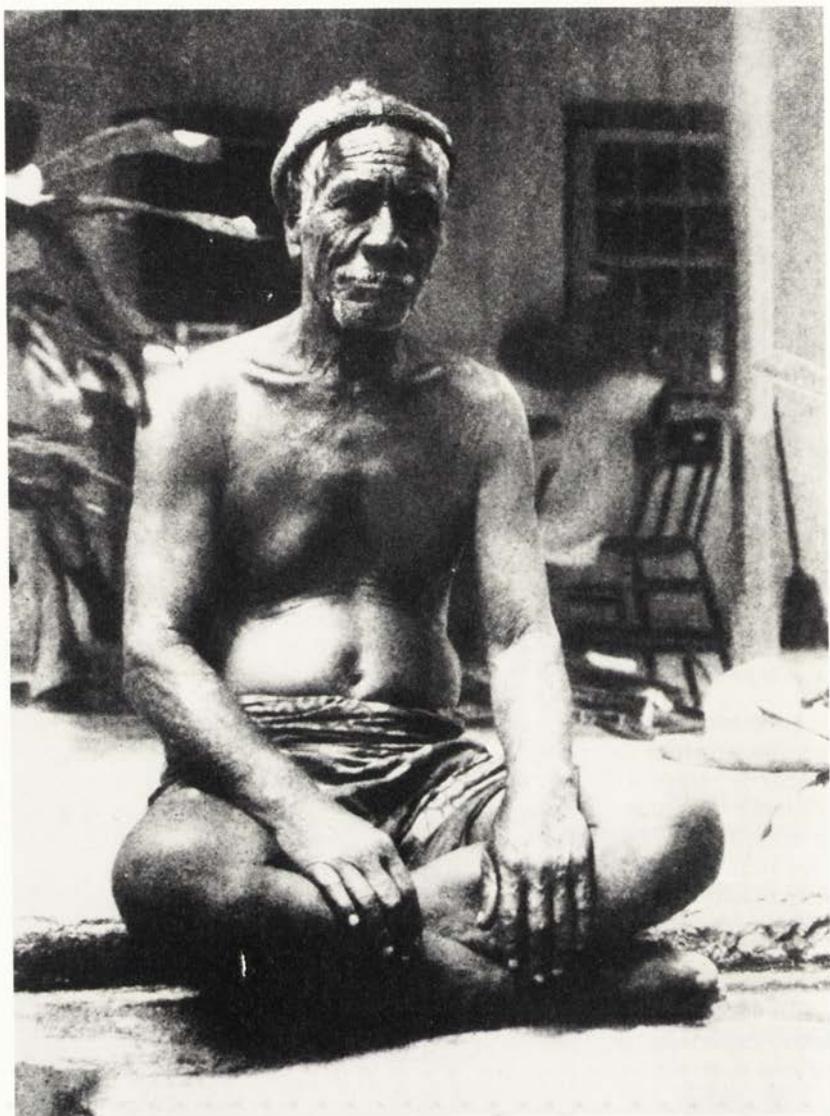
Lee Knapp sailed on the *Mercedes* and one can discount his statement that Sr de Wholey had instructed the captain not to call at Tahiti and that when Knapp heard this it was too late to leave the ship.



7 The *Mercedes A. de Wholey* was identical in size with this brig: the 196-ton *Cambrian*. From J. Robinson & G.F. Dow, *Sailing Ships of New England* . . . (Salem, Mass. 1922). NL.

It seems more probable that Knapp decided to make direct for the Tuamotus in order to contact Charles F. Grandet, an old acquaintance formerly employed by the firm of Yver, Kelly and Company of Papeete. By now Grandet was an insolvent debtor who owed 95,000 francs (\$18,447) in Tahiti and had been allowed by his creditors to visit the Tuamotus in an attempt to collect debts owed by the islanders to him.<sup>9</sup> After a brief call at Anaa he was found at Fakarava on 10 November, and on being told the purpose of the voyage agreed readily enough to assist Lee Knapp in recruiting the Tuamotu islanders for a salary of 100 piastres (\$103) a month, plus 2½ piastres (\$2.57) for each adult (defined as aged twelve years and over) landed at Callao. His local expertise was, indeed, essential if the recruits were to be obtained without using force.<sup>10</sup>

According to evidence given by various islanders Lee Knapp and Grandet offered them 3 to 4 piastres (\$3.09–\$4.12) a month, plus clothes, food and lodging, to work on a new island 'a little beyond Pitcairn, which they could reach in about 30 days in their large canoes', collecting sugarcane, coffee and rice, and told them that they would be brought back to their own islands whenever they wished or were tired of work. Accustomed to being recruited, they were sophisticated enough to refuse to come for less than 5 piastres (\$5.15), a sum which was immediately conceded: presumably in their case the amount was of little consequence, as it was not to be supposed that labour engaged for the Chinchas would live to receive any wages.<sup>11</sup>



8 The Tuamotuans were destined for the guano mines: an aged islander from Taenga. From *The National Geographic Magazine* (1925). NL.

Several of the chiefs, at least on Fakarava, signed contracts 'to let the people go away' if they so wished, although they were to remain themselves; it seems that Lee Knapp told the islanders that he had government authority to engage men, and that it was done with the consent of the Catholic mission, and in particular of Father Nicolas, who was then living on Anaa. All who wanted a passage to one of the other islands, such as Taenga, were taken on board, only to find that no one was allowed to land again except married men who left their families and possessions on the ship to guarantee their return. Others, such as the chiefs who had come on board to sign the permits to leave, were also retained, on the pretext that the captain would not let them go or that they had eaten food while on the ship.<sup>12</sup>

On board the brig at least Captain Juan-Bautista Unibaso, Lee Knapp and the doctor, Joseph Brolaski, were aware that the recruits were destined to work in the guano diggings on the Chincha Islands. Brolaski, who belonged to an old Philadelphia family, was evidently in Arturo de Wholey's confidence and actually kept the government Recruiting Licence in his own cabin; while one of the officers testified that he had heard Lee Knapp say that 'the Indians were unfortunate enough to be taken to the Chinchas, even if they were well treated aboard'.<sup>13</sup>

The itinerary of the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* in the Tuamotu atolls seems to have been: Anaa, Fakarava, Kauehi, Katiu, and Motu Tunga. At Kauehi and Katiu the recruiting was done by Grandet, as Lee Knapp left Fakarava by boat for Tahanea, returning to the ship at Motu Tunga. The total number recruited at the five islands (no one was taken from Anaa) was 151 and the breakdown between islands would appear to have been: 30 from Fakarava; 25 from Katiu; 54 from Motu Tunga; 31 from Tahanea; and 11 from Kauehi.

Thanks to quick action by the French authorities at Tahiti all were returned to their home islands without ever leaving the archipelago; for the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* was making from Motu Tunga to Makemo, where it was hoped to fill her quota of recruits, when she was overtaken by the French Government steamer *Latouche-Tréville*, which brought her to with a shot across her bows on 3 December; significantly she had flown no flag while in the Tuamotus and the name on her stern had been removed. She was sent to Papeete in charge of an ensign, while her launch, with Lee Knapp on board, was captured by the islanders and piloted from Anaa to Papeete by Jean-Jacques Céberty, the Tuamotu resident agent for the Maison Brander.<sup>14</sup>

It is clear that the recruits aboard the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* were engaged by false promises, particularly as to the nature of their destination and their work; and that once on board they were kept there by force. The islanders were used to being recruited for work on other islands diving for pearl-shell and they certainly believed what they were told by Lee Knapp and Grandet, as shown by the fact that, in most cases, they merely bargained for a more generous deal on wages.<sup>15</sup> There is no reason to credit the assertion of Joseph Vander,

the U.S. Consul at Tahiti, that the islanders were motivated in leaving by a dislike for the French, who had as yet little impact on the atolls; it was Vandor who disliked the French, as his correspondence shows.<sup>16</sup>

The net result of Peruvian endeavours to recruit in Mangareva and the Tuamotus by the five ships which had the temerity or stupidity to make an attempt—including the half-hearted efforts made by the *Rosa y Carmen* and *Cora*—were therefore two ships immobilised in Papeete harbour, one sent back to Callao, 151 Tuamotuans and 2 Easter islanders released from almost certain death; and not a single recruit obtained.

## Brandy for the Marquesans

OWING TO their geographical position the Marquesas Islands made convenient stopping places for ships sailing to the atolls of Central and Western Polynesia via the northern route. The Group was quite well known in Callao shipping circles, since vessels which had no other work to do were accustomed to visit the islands to barter for local produce and load coconuts for the Peruvian market; the voyage to Puamau on Hivaoa or Hatiheu on Nukuhiva, where there were Catholic mission stations, took about twenty-five days.

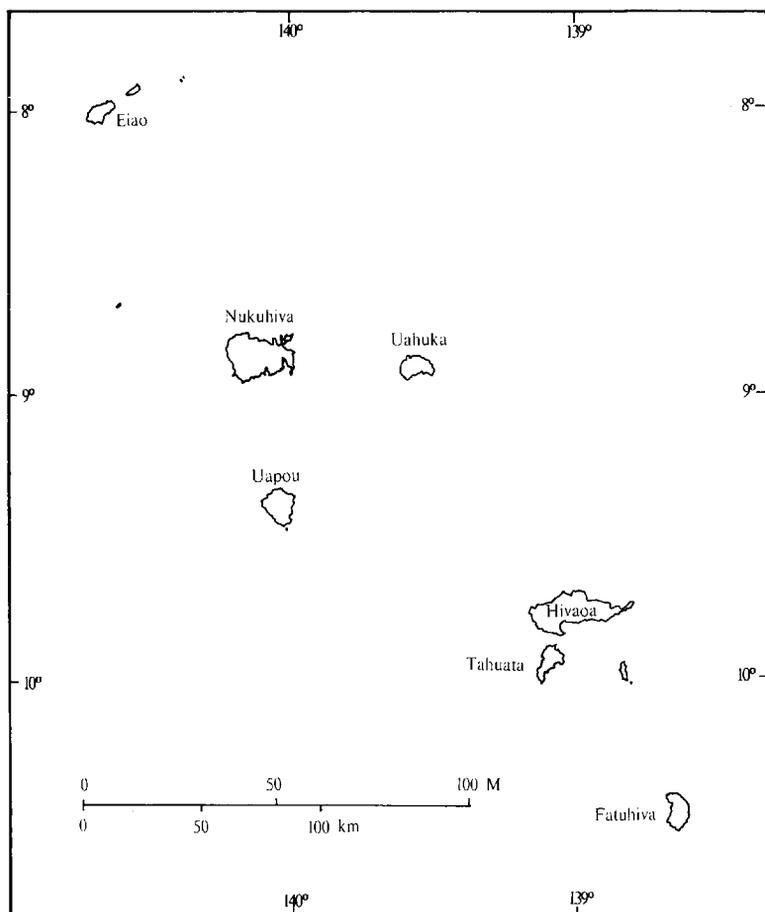
The *Adelante* on her exploratory voyage touched at Puamau before visiting Hatiheu, where she stayed from 10 to 13 July 1862 and signed on a Chilean resident as interpreter, with five Marquesans as a boat's crew, the captain and several of the ship's crew attending Mass at the mission.

The next ship to leave Callao, the *Jorge Zahara*, also called at Hatiheu to return the *Adelante's* boat's crew and pick up another five for her own boats. She was followed by the *Manuelita Costas*, which called at Puamau on 17 October but was dissuaded from taking on water there by the Catholic missionaries so went to Hatiheu, where she stopped from the 18th to the 21st; a Portuguese seaman, Antonio Guerra, deserted there and five Marquesans joined the crew.

All these ships took on water and, with the possible exception of the *Adelante*, a quantity of coconuts as provisions for the colonists whom they hoped to recruit. These casual calls en route to the recruiting areas then seem to have ceased, in all probability because after Guerra's desertion the true nature of the vessels' quest became known to the French Resident, the Catholic and Protestant missionaries and many of the islanders themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The first ship which attempted to recruit at the Marquesas was the Chilean barque *Eliza Mason*, which arrived at Hivaoa on 27 October after a voyage of twenty-four days from Callao. Unsuccessful in obtaining anyone there she sailed south to Fatuhiva and anchored in Omoa Bay, where in return for presents a local chief agreed to supply 300 men. None appeared, however, and eventually the chief said that it would be necessary to obtain the prior permission of the French Resident at Taiohae on Nukuhiva. The chief was clearly temporising, possibly because iron grilles (the trademark of a slaver) had been spotted on board, and after refusing to go to Taiohae as being unnecessary Captain Sasuatogui left for Easter Island.<sup>2</sup>

A much more resolute and successful attempt to recruit, or more



The Marquesas Islands

precisely to kidnap, the Marquesans was made by the three-masted 312-ton frigate *Empresa*,<sup>3</sup> which left Callao on 22 November 1862 under the command of Captain Henry Detert, with explicit though verbal instructions from her Peruvian owner, Don Francesco Carnavare, to recruit immigrants in the islands of Polynesia but to accept only those who wished to come of their own free will. Having been warned by M. de Lesseps, Don Carnavare added that particular care should be taken when recruiting in the French Pacific territories.

The vessel was chartered for the voyage to Dr Inglehart (or Englehart), who came on board as ship's doctor and to superintend operations, and two entrepreneurs Keene and Royes, the charter rate being 30 per cent of the islanders recruited, with a minimum charge of 600 piastres (\$617). The supercargo Henry William Carr and an Immigration Agent George Black Duniam were both added to the complement



9 Port of call for the recruiters: Hatiheu Bay on Nukuhiva. From *The National Geographic Magazine* (1925). NL.

on a commission basis, which for Duniam amounted to 5 piastres (\$5.15) per head recruited. As was quite usual on the labour trade vessels there were no Peruvians on board, the crew comprising four English, four Italians, two Spanish, two Chileans, two Americans and one each from Greece, Portugal, France and Malta.<sup>4</sup>

### Nukuhiva

The *Empresa* anchored in Controleur Bay on 17 December, flying a British ensign, but in trying to reach a more suitable mooring in Taipi Bay she grounded and was only refloated with the aid of the Marquesans. Trading commenced amicably but as no one could be persuaded to recruit the captain proposed the following day that the approximately 200 people then on board should be seized. This led to a dispute between the supercargo and agent on the one hand, who insisted that recruitment should be voluntary, and the captain and doctor on the other, who advocated the use of trickery and force to fill the desired total of 300–400 recruits and pointed out that any unfortunate repercussions on arrival in Peru could be avoided by landing the recruits at the port of Huacho, seventy miles from Callao.

The ship was anchored only a few miles from Taiohae, the French administrative headquarters and port of entry for the Marquesas Group, and the official pilot, accompanied by a gendarme, boarded her to demand an account of her business. The captain refused to answer their questions, stating that he did not recognise French authority over the Marquesas. Following this '*insolente fanfaronnade*' the islanders



10 Where the *Empresa* grounded: Controleur Bay from the Taipi Valley. From the *B.P. Bishop Museum Bulletin* no. 84 (1931).

were warned and virtually ceased to visit the ship. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a supply of wood and water, during the course of which the Nukuhivans nearly managed to seize the boats, the captain left for Uapou with only one Marquesan on board, a Nukuhivan woman of unstable character called Christina who had tried unsuccessfully to join the *Manuelita Costas* and who stayed on the *Empresa* at her own request to serve as an interpreter. Had they remained in the bay it appears that the islanders, with the approval of the French Resident, would have attempted to capture the ship for removal to Papeete.<sup>5</sup>

### Uapou

On 21 December the *Empresa* arrived at Uapou and was boarded by one of the local beachcombers, Henry James Nichols, who enquired what they were doing in the Marquesas. The doctor told him that they were recruiting islanders for sale in Peru and that if they could not obtain them voluntarily they were determined to use force. He then offered Nichols from two to ten piastres (\$2.06–\$10.29) a head for all he could provide, together with passages for himself and his family to Callao and help in establishing himself in business there. If he worked with them his future was assured, as they would be making many voyages to collect islanders and he could act as their permanent recruiting agent. The captain added that it would be easy, when about to sail, to seize the natives and that the fact that they had been kidnapped could be disguised by having one of the recruits sign a contract,

ostensibly as chief, after the ship had left. Referring to the supercargo and agent the captain complained that 'but for these two scoundrels, I should have had two hundred kanakas at Nukuhiva'.

Disputes coming to a head the supercargo and immigration agent were beaten up, put in irons and locked up in a 4-foot cubby-hole to cool their heels for three days, without food or water. On 28 December their irons were taken off and with their wrists tied together they were landed on some offshore rocks with their chests and a Marquesan called Phelipo, who had apparently agreed to kill them in return for four bottles of whisky and a knife.<sup>6</sup>

They were freed, however, by the man in charge of the boat, contrary to the orders of the captain and the objections of Phelipo who, seeing that they were now in a position to defend themselves, wisely left them alone. They swam ashore and eventually reached Nukuhiva, though their belongings were distributed by Phelipo and his friends on Uapou. In the meantime Nichols, who felt that he was being trapped and was loath to leave his Marquesan wife and children, succeeded in escaping at night in one of the ship's boats after his own whaleboat had been deliberately stove in while alongside the ship.

The visit had not proved entirely unsuccessful, for with the help of a man from the Republic of Colombia (some said that he was a Peruvian), who lived ashore and was known to the Marquesans as Autoro, several islanders were enticed on board with promises of food and drink. Alfred Lacombe, the ship's cook, describes the scene that followed in his evidence before the Court of Inquiry at Tahiti:

... there were about 80 on board. The doctor succeeded in enticing eight or nine women into his cabin where he locked them in; at the same time the kanakas were all together on deck, and the captain not succeeding in persuading them to go below voluntarily ordered the crew to use force. He himself, with a revolver in his hand, set the example; but only five men followed it, which explains why they were only able to seize five natives; who were thrown head foremost through the hatches into the between deck. During this period the remainder jumped into the sea. The men jumped first, and then the women before jumping in their turn threw in their infants. They were about five miles from land and the current was very strong but I learnt afterwards that no one had been lost.<sup>7</sup>

The actual tally was five who apparently agreed to sign on as recruits and six taken by force, with the eight women locked in the doctor's cabin: a total of nineteen, of whom three were boys.

At Uapou the doctor made his first experiment at stupefying the islanders by giving them a glass of brandy mixed with opium; he had evidently not perfected his technique, however, for the proportion of opium proved to be inadequate and many Marquesans who had accepted his hospitality still succeeded in evading capture.



11 Marquesans at home. From J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie* . . . (Paris 1842-6). NL.

### Hivaoa

By the time the *Empresa* reached her next island the captain was unwilling to anchor as it was feared that most of his crew would desert, despite the doctor having agreed to their demand for what would be described today as a 'risk loading' of four reals (51 cents) to each sailor for every recruit obtained. The doctor went ashore with the Nukuhivan woman and, telling the people that the frigate was a whaler, he persuaded six islanders (five men and a boy) to come on board and help to bring her into Puamou Bay. By the time they had been rowed to the ship they were effectively stupefied with a strengthened mixture of brandy and opium and offered no resistance when the captain made off to sea. The Nukuhivan woman who acted as interpreter appears to have remained ashore at Hivaoa.

### Tahuata

The next landfall was at Vaitahu Bay on Tahuata, where the doctor went ashore as usual and tried to get volunteers to help bring the frigate in. The only man who would come was taken to the captain's cabin for a drink; and by the time he left to go on deck the vessel was far from land.

### Fatuhiva

The final call was at Fatuhiva, where the ship's cook deserted.

Although about fifteen islanders went aboard they all succeeded in returning ashore and the *Empresa* left the following morning. Whether the presence of a large number of Europeans on the island made the captain and doctor unwilling to use force, or whether the visitors were warned and wary, is not known.<sup>8</sup>

### Caroline Island

It seems that after leaving Fatuhiva with the twenty-six Marquesans on board the *Empresa* called at Caroline Island, where there was a small establishment for raising pigs, fowls and turkeys for the Papeete market commenced by the Tahiti merchants Collie and Lucett in 1846.<sup>9</sup> The owner and occupier of the atoll in 1863 was J.T. Browne, who agreed to embark as mate, interpreter and recruiter, apparently accompanied by four of his entourage, including at least one Tahitian. A seaman called George William Ellis was left in his place, at his own request, in charge of four labourers. Ellis remained there for several years before moving to Tongareva and later to Manihiki, where he became a well-known and respected trader. The frigate then called off Huahine on 25 January, this time flying the U.S. flag, where she was boarded by the local pilot, who took letters from Browne for forwarding to Tahiti.<sup>10</sup>

This appears to have been the sole reason for undertaking quite a considerable deviation, for after handing over the mail the *Empresa* was headed north-west in an attempt to secure recruits at Manihiki and Rakahanga, presumably on the advice of the local expert Browne. Her activities at these islands and later at Atiu, Mangaia and Rapa are dealt with in the next two chapters.

Returning then to the Marquesas, we find that the brig *Guayas*, a Peruvian ship chartered by a syndicate in Ecuador, called at Nukuhiva from Guayaquil on 17 March, seeking government permission to recruit labourers for work in the Republic. When this was predictably refused the captain made for Tahiti to seek authorisation from the Governor of French Oceania. No contact was made with the islanders.<sup>11</sup>

The last ship which attempted to recruit in the Group was the Chilean barque *La Concepción*, which left Valparaiso on 7 February 1863 for the northern port of Caldera, where the ship's cargo was discharged, and water, provisions and several bales of clothing taken on board for a recruiting voyage to the South Seas.

The barque had first made for Easter Island, without proper papers or official cognisance, but found it impossible to obtain any recruits among a population made hostile by the December raid. The next inhabited island to be sighted was Toau in the Tuamotus where, the wind proving unfavourable, the captain gave up any attempt to land and made his way north to Hivaoa in the Marquesas.

Here a boat was sent ashore in charge of the second officer, a Frenchman named Julien Faucheux, who met one of the Brothers from

the Catholic Mission at Puamau in a canoe on the way and volunteered the information that he had been sent to obtain islanders. Despite the Brother's emphatic reply that he was wasting his time Faucheux landed, whereupon the Marquesans seized his boat and the Catholic Fathers took the crew of five to the Resident at Nukuhiva, who sent them to Tahiti.

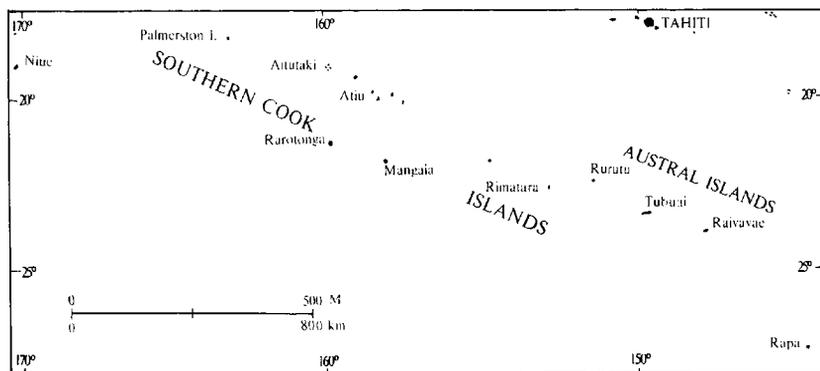
Meanwhile the captain of *La Concepción*, after waiting a couple of days for his expected boatload of islanders, sailed away for more propitious recruiting grounds, only to wreck his vessel a few days later on Tahaa, the island which shares its barrier reef with Raiatea.<sup>12</sup>

## Rapa and the Southern Cooks: the Fleet sails West

**A**FTER THE raids on Easter Island in December 1862, six of the eight vessels engaged in them—the *Rosa y Carmen*, *Rosa Patricia*, *Guillermo*, *Micaela Miranda*, *José Castro* and *Cora*—set sail for the west on or before the night of the 26th.

### Rapa

Their prearranged rendezvous was the isolated island of Rapa, the southernmost of the Austral Group: a high, fertile volcanic crater, 380 miles from the nearest island of Tubuai and not as yet under French protection though with many economic and social ties with Tahiti. As the *Messenger de Taiti* reported: 'this island, as lonely as Easter, appears to be well-known to the Peruvian navigators engaged in procuring immigrants, and without doubt it has not been chosen by chance as a port of call'.<sup>1</sup>



The Southern Cook and Austral Groups

In fact if the Peruvian ships were to reach the recruiting grounds in Central and Western Polynesia without passing through the labyrinth of the Tuamotus, and thus incurring the dual risk of shipwreck and interception by the French, they had no alternative but to sail west either by the northern route, the gateway to which was Tongareva, or by the southern, where the only convenient harbour for watering at was Rapa.

All the fleet except the *Cora* arrived and anchored together in

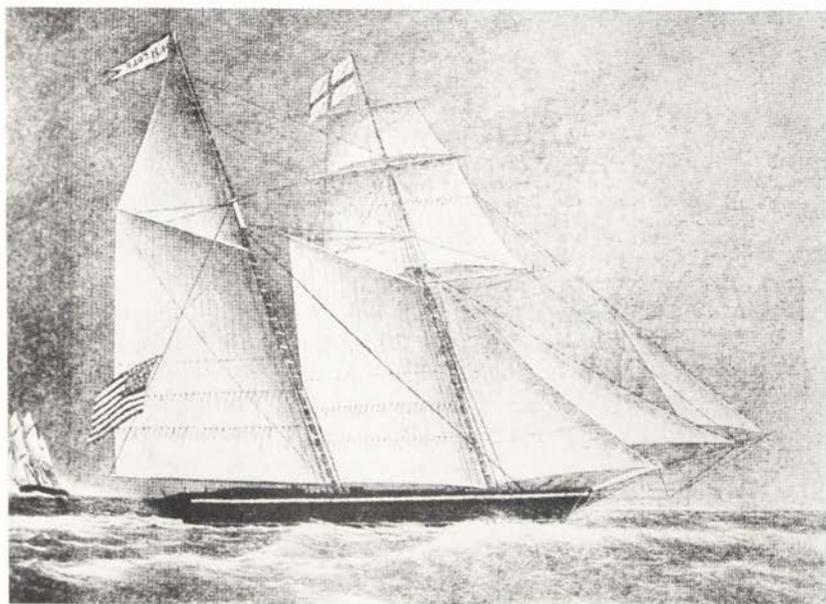


12 The raiders' rendezvous: Ahurei Bay on Rapa, showing the precipitous terrain. From Peter H. Buck, *Vikings of the Sunrise* (New York 1938).

Ahurei Bay, where they made an imposing sight, the large *Rosa y Carmen* particularly impressing the islanders. As at Easter Island a combined expedition was sent ashore in search of immigrants, voluntary or otherwise, but the Rapans were suspicious, having heard reports of abductions on other islands, and the precipitous terrain inhibited any attempt to round them up; while a Spanish-speaking Negro who met the party on the beach warned them that the woods and thickets were full of armed 'Indians'.<sup>2</sup>

The attempt to intimidate and capture the islanders by force was thereupon abandoned and although crews from two of the ships made desultory efforts to persuade individuals to recruit, without any success, the fleet left two or three days later after obtaining all the water required. It was rumoured ashore that an Aitutakian member of the *Rosa y Carmen's* crew had said that there were 300 Easter islanders on board her, but he had obviously been referring to the time when she was used as a store-ship immediately after the December raids. The only recruits actually seen were a married couple and their two children who, though kept between-decks by an iron grating, were noticed by a Portuguese beachcomber.<sup>3</sup>

When the 88-ton schooner *Cora*, the smallest vessel to be employed in the labour trade, arrived a few days later, a Rapan called Mairoto was told by a Samoan member of her crew that an Easter Island boy was held as a prisoner on board, and that the Rapans had better take care as the captain was out to capture any he could get hold



- 13 A similar ship to the *Cora*: the 98-ton topsail-schooner *H.H. Cole* of Salem. From J. Robinson & G.F. Dow, *Sailing Ships of New England* . . . (Salem, Mass. 1922). NL.

of. Mairoto had received a decoration when serving with the French army and, while the captain of the *Cora* was trying to recruit the islanders by offering lavish rations of meat, bread, rice, beans, brandy and wine, he called a meeting of thirteen chiefs, presided over by the High Chief Aperahama, at which it was decided to seize the ship and deliver her to the French authorities at Tahiti, who they felt would know best what should be done with her.

A party of armed men, with their weapons concealed, boarded the *Cora* and succeeded in securing the captain and capturing the vessel, whereupon five members of the crew, for the most part Chileans, were taken ashore as guests of the islanders. Although Captain Aguirre offered 350 francs and all the goods on board in return for the release of his person and ship the schooner was sailed to Tahiti by three Europeans engaged by the chiefs—James Connor, a local beachcomber, and the carpenter and cook of the *Guillermo*, who had deserted through dislike of her recruiting methods—helped by Mairoto and seven other Rapans. The captain and the captive boy Manuragui were taken with them and delivered to the French. Needless to say the arrival of the *Cora* at Papeete on 17 February 1863 caused a sensation among the Tahitians. At the subsequent official enquiry Connor testified that he had been offered \$5 a head for each 'Indian' procured by him. The ship was eventually abandoned by her captain and sold as unseaworthy on 5 May.<sup>4</sup>

Two other ships engaged in recruiting for Peru called at Rapa after the fleet had left. The *Misti* from Valparaiso made for Rapa with her two island recruits, where the stranded crew of the *Cora* told those on board about the capture of their vessel. The crew of the *Misti*, most of whom disapproved of kidnapping, thereupon proposed to abandon their own vessel on the grounds of her unseaworthy condition; their liability to serve up to ten years under Chilean law for engaging in criminal activities; and the imminent danger of their being seized by the people of Rapa. Not wishing to be captured or marooned himself Captain Basagoitia agreed to sail the *Misti* to Papeete, where the two Easter islanders were set at liberty.<sup>5</sup> The second ship was the frigate *Empresa*, which called at Rapa for water on her way from Mangaia to Peru; she did not stay long and her visit was unremarkable.

To the credit of the Rapans, who were admittedly helped by the ease with which they could scatter and hide on their precipitous home, no one was taken from the island despite the visit of eight ships, including some of the worst blackbirders in the labour trade; while one of the eight was actually captured by them—an exploit still celebrated in the songs and dances of Eastern Polynesia.

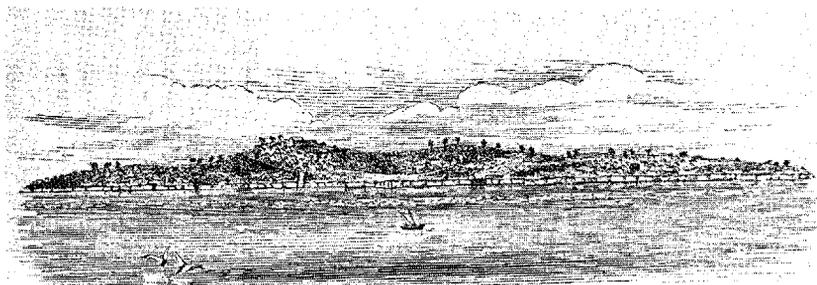
If Peruvian ships called at any of the other Austral Islands—Rimatara, Rurutu, Tubuai and Raivavae—they would seem to have obtained no recruits, for had any been taken the fact would surely have been mentioned by the Rev. J.L. Green, who made a tour of the Group in February and March 1864 in the *John Williams*.<sup>6</sup>

### The fleet disperses

The December fleet was now reduced to four ships by the capture of the *Cora* and the decision of the captain of the *José Castro* to return to Easter Island. These again split up into two pairs on leaving Rapa for the islands to the north-west; the barque *Rosa y Carmen*, with the brig *Micaela Miranda*, proceeding to Rakahanga, and probably Manihiki; and the barque *Rosa Patricia*, with the brig *Guillermo*, to Niue.

The function of the two brigs appears to have been mainly that of tenders to the barques, ready to take on board the crews of any vessels which, like the *Apurímac*, *Manuelita Costas* and *La Concepción*, might get wrecked; to supply personnel if required for armed raiding parties, as at Easter Island; and to transport any recruits surplus to the capacity of the other ships back to Callao, as had been done by the *Carolina* and the *Hermosa Dolores*. Presumably this subordinate, though important, role had been agreed to by the owners or charterers before the ships left Callao; both brigs engaged in a few recruiting operations, almost certainly under directions from the captains of their respective barques, but while the *Guillermo* retained her recruits on board, those on the *Micaela Miranda* were transferred to the *Rosa y Carmen*.

The routes of the *Rosa y Carmen* and the *Rosa Patricia* now separate as the ships visit different islands and when they converge again at



14 The Island of Atiu in 1878. From W. Wyatt Gill, *Jottings from the Pacific* (London 1885). NL.

an island it is usually on a different date; while at least in the Northern Cooks and Niue recruiting by the two barques preceded or followed similar operations undertaken by other vessels from Callao who reached the islands by the northern route, passing or calling at Tongareva on the way.

This makes it impossible to record the recruiting patterns at the various islands and at the same time preserve intact the strict chronology of each voyage; and as the island picture is by far the most important the narrative continues as in previous chapters to detail the visits of all Peruvian bound ships to each island before moving on to the next. Those interested in the reconstructed itineraries of the various vessels will, however, find them set out in Table 2 and the endpaper maps.

### Mangaia and Atiu

While the *Rosa y Carmen* and her consort sailed direct to the Northern Cooks, the *Rosa Patricia* and *Guillermo* called at Mangaia and Atiu in the Southern Cook Group on their way to Niue. As on Rapa, the rugged terrain of these volcanic islands made kidnapping operations too hazardous, while the relative material prosperity of the inhabitants made them unlikely prospects for voluntary recruitment; but they were not far off course and considered to be worth a prospecting visit.

At Mangaia the European missionary normally stationed there, the Rev. Wyatt Gill, was away and on his return he was annoyed to find that the captain of the *Rosa Patricia* (or more probably her American supercargo Pitman) had been ashore endeavouring to recruit 200 men; entering Gill's house, he had 'sat at the table where I now write, to make a false entry in the shipping list': but no one could be induced to leave the island.<sup>7</sup> At Atiu, however, the *Rosa Patricia* succeeded in kidnapping five islanders who came off to the ship, one of them being the son of a chief.<sup>8</sup>

The following month, i.e. about the middle of February, the *Empresa* also visited the two islands when returning to Peru from



- 15 The *Ariki* Numatangani of Mangaia, whose son Davida was captured but survived to return. From W. Wyatt Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles* . . . (London 1876). NL.

Manihiki and Rakahanga by the southern route. Calling at Atiu first the *ariki* (High Chief) and his wife were invited to dinner, after which the captain produced bags of gold coins which he said contained \$3000 and which he offered to any chief who would provide him with 200 men. Mindful of the recent abductions by the *Rosa Patricia* the *ariki* realised that he was on another 'man-stealing ship' and, wisely dissembling, he agreed to consider the proposition; once safely ashore, however, he prohibited all contact with the ship. Only one youth, who swam off despite the *tapu*, was taken.<sup>9</sup>

At Mangaia Wyatt Gill was still away and, mistaking the *Empresa* for the mission ship *John Williams* bringing him back, a canoe with Davida, the son and heir of the principal *ariki* Numangatini, and seven others paddled out and made fast. Five climbed on deck, including Davida, where they were given the now standard drink of brandy and opium mixed by the doctor; all were then seized. The remaining three were urged to come on board by Joseph Browne, who was known to them, but suspecting foul play they made for the shore.<sup>10</sup>

On leaving Mangaia the *Empresa* stopped briefly at Rapa, presumably for water, and then made direct for Huacho in Peru. As a result when she eventually reached Callao her recruits were at first thought to have been engaged at Rapa itself.<sup>11</sup>

## Blackbirding in the Northern Cooks

**A** PART FROM the eleven men kidnapped at Atiu and Mangaia by the *Rosa Patricia* and *Empresa* on their way to and from Rapa, the sole recruiting grounds for Peru in the scattered Cook Group were the four northern atolls of Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga and Pukapuka.

### Manihiki

The *Trujillo*, which had called briefly at Tongareva en route (see Chapter 2), joined the *Apurímac* and *Manuelita Costas* off Manihiki on 10 November 1862, but left again the same day to recruit at the sister island of Rakahanga only twenty miles to the north while the other two anchored off the reef.<sup>1</sup> Two days later both the *Apurímac* and *Manuelita Costas* were driven ashore in a storm to become total wrecks, though no lives were lost and the villagers helped the crews to salvage everything possible; this was left in charge of the mission teacher at Tauhunu with a letter signed by Captain Grau of the *Apurímac*:

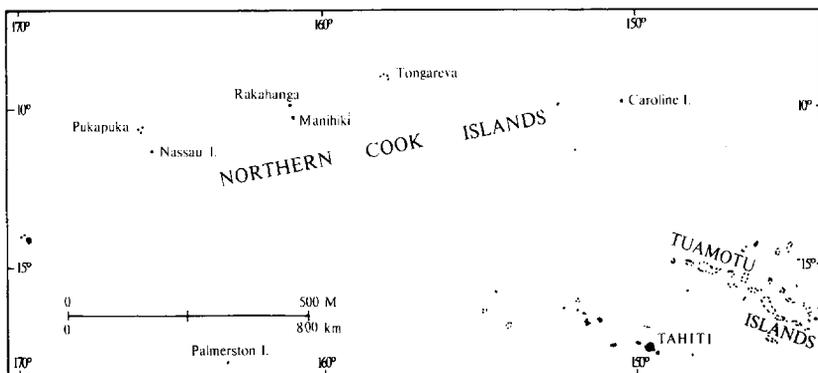
November 14th. 1862.

I beg the missionary of the village of Tafuni [Tauhunu] that he should keep for me all that remains of the provisions and the spars of the brigantine 'Apurímac,' and the schooner 'Manuelita Costa;' until I return or send an order for them to be delivered up; without such an order nothing should be given to anyone.

Cptn. Miguel Grau.  
Humphrey's Island.<sup>2</sup>

By the time the *Trujillo* returned with a number of Rakahangans and took off the shipwrecked crews the Manihiki people had been forbidden to leave the atoll by the *ariki* and not one could be induced to go on board.

The next to arrive were the barque *Adelante* on her second voyage, with about 170 Tongarevan recruits, and her consort the schooner *Jorge Zahara*.<sup>3</sup> Bribes of money and cloth were offered to the chiefs and the two teachers, Apolo and Taiti, but without success; both ships then left for Rakahanga. On the *Jorge Zahara* returning alone, the captain persuaded the *ariki* and teachers, who had stored and were conscientiously guarding the provisions, rigging, equipment and



The Northern Cook Islands

timber saved from the wrecks, to sell him the seventeen large water casks for a small sum on the grounds that 'the captains who had been wrecked were in irons for their crimes, and would be put to death'. But though the promised rate of wages in Peru was raised from \$5 to \$6 a month, and further inducements offered to the *ariki* and *rangatira* (the lesser chiefs) to cancel their *tapu*, no recruits were forthcoming and in the end the captain was described as departing 'in a rage', allegedly for Pukapuka and the Tokelau Group.<sup>4</sup>

The sixth and final attempt to recruit was made by the brig *Empresa*, which arrived off the atoll during February 1863, evidently from Caroline Island as the four recruits from that atoll were seen on board by the Manihiki people. Two Manihiki men were persuaded to come on board the frigate, after which she made off for Rakahanga where one of them succeeded in jumping overboard and swimming ashore, despite being fired on by the crew. The captain was already on shore trying to persuade the Rakahanga people to sign on as recruits, and when the islanders discovered that two of their compatriots from Manihiki had been kidnapped they seized him as a hostage until the second man had been freed.<sup>5</sup>

The tally of Manihiki islanders to leave for Peru was therefore nil and despite some oral tradition and even published statements to the contrary it must be emphasised that there is no doubt on this point. All contemporary visitors to the atoll are united in agreeing that no one was taken: among them being Wyatt Gill, who visited Manihiki on 4 March 1863 in the *John Williams*; W.H. Williams, the captain of the mission vessel; Captain Henry Richards of H.M. Surveying Ship *Hecate*, who stopped there to make enquiries on 15 May 1863; and the missionary Henry Royle, who called with Charles Barff to make confirmatory investigations in May 1865 and states categorically that the slavers 'had failed to entrap any of the people'. Alas for legend, they took none of the beautiful women who, Sterndale confidently tells us,



16 Recruiter on the *Empresa* who turned trader: George Ellis on Manihiki. From F.J. Moss, *Through Atolls and Islands . . .* (London 1889). NL.

were bought, enticed or kidnapped 'until they became scarce upon their own land'.

Eriakima, who was employed on one of the ships when off Manihiki, said that: 'The sailors were dark men, like Maoris, with black beards. In the fo'castle there were many pictures of Mary and the Saints, and some Crucifixes.' He saw no cannon aboard, but described the ships as very filthy, with patched sails.<sup>6</sup>

### Rakahanga

When Wyatt Gill reached Rakahanga on 5 March 1863 his chief informant on the activities of the Peruvian labour vessels was Tairi, the first and still the only mission teacher (or *orometua*) on the island. Tairi was a Rarotongan of considerable ability who had been converted to Christianity on Aitutaki in 1821 by the evangelist Papeiha and had accompanied him to Rarotonga when the *John Williams* landed there; in 1849 Tairi and Apolo became the first two missionaries on Manihiki. At that time the people of Manihiki and Rakahanga formed a single group, moving between the two atolls by canoe, but because of the consequent loss of life the community divided into two separate resident groups in 1852, whereupon Apolo stayed on Manihiki and Tairi went to Rakahanga.<sup>7</sup>

From Tairi, Gill learnt that the first labour vessel to visit Rakahanga had been the *Trujillo*, already mentioned as calling at Manihiki on 10 November 1862. With the consent of the *ariki* 76

recruits (42 men, 20 women and 14 children) were taken voluntarily as family groups on condition that they would be employed on light work, gathering cotton or planting sugarcane, and returned within a year. When the *Adelante* arrived later with her complement of Tongarevans, accompanied by the *Jorge Zahara*, a further party of families numbering thirty left on board the latter vessel under the same conditions. They were later transferred to the *Adelante*, which was returning direct to Callao.<sup>8</sup>



17 Loto village on Pukapuka. From Ernest Beaglehole, *Islands of Danger* (Wellington 1944).

Following this visit the chief and Tairi agreed that no further recruiting should be permitted, since 60 of the 495 inhabitants were on Fanning Island and 106 had gone to Peru.<sup>9</sup> Shortly afterwards, however, the *Rosa y Carmen* arrived from Rapa and was actually boarded by the *ariki*, with the teacher and seventeen islanders, under the impression that she was the mission ship *John Williams*. Discovering their mistake they managed to get ashore, whereupon a boat was lowered and stationed as near to the reef passage at Tauhunu Village as the surf permitted. Seven youths eventually ignored the *tapu* and got into the boat, attracted by offers of biscuits and other presents, and were rowed off to the barque, which then left for Pukapuka.<sup>10</sup>

The only ship known to have called at Rakahanga after Gill's visit was the *Dolores Carolina* in April, but as the prohibition on leaving the atoll was still in force she did not obtain any recruits. In any case by then the people had been warned to have no dealings with the slave ships by Gill himself, as well as in a letter sent to all islands by the missionary E.R.W. Krause on Rarotonga.<sup>11</sup>

Tairi told Gill that the numbers taken to Peru were 50 in the first party, 30 in the second, plus the 7 boys: or a total of 87. The chief, on the other hand, told Captain Richards that 98 were taken. Both would seem not to have counted, or underestimated, the number of children taken, for the official totals of colonists landed by the *Trujillo* at Callao were 92 men, 20 women and 14 children, of whom 50 men were from Niue, the only other island at which she recruited, leaving us with 76 taken by her from Rakahanga. This agrees with the figure of 'between 70 and 80 persons, including men, women and children' deposed to by O'Neill and Winter in a statement made to the British Consul at Callao; the 80 mentioned by the captain of the French naval transport *Dorada*; and substantially with this signed contract (the original is in Spanish) made by Captain Basagoitia with Tairi and the *ariki* Teeao on 15 November 1862, on behalf of 40 men and 12 women (presumably 2 more men and 8 women were obtained later):

#### Contract

The 40 men and 12 women who go in the *Trujillo* from the Island of Rakahanga contract with the captain of the said vessel, with the authority of the place having been obtained, to go to Peru to work in the agriculture of the country for the term of eight years, counted from the embarkation. The men will earn \$5 per month, with a pair of trousers, a shirt and a hat. The women \$2 and a dress.

We three sign for the sense, for the King, the missionary and the captain.

Rakahanga, 15 November 1862.

(Signed) José H. Basagoitia, Captain.

Tairi, *Orometua*.

Teeao, *Ariki*.

Note: The signatures are of the missionary and the King of the island.<sup>12</sup>

To these we should probably add the 14-year-old son of the *ariki* himself, who was entrusted to the care of Byrne's partner Clark on board the *Jorge Zahara*, on his undertaking to supervise the boy's education and have him returned within a year; and the Rakahangan girl with whom the captain of the *Dolores Carolina* contracted a bogus marriage. For although these were not recruited under contract, their ultimate fate was almost certainly the same as those who were.<sup>13</sup> Our final estimate of the number of Rakahangans taken to Peru is therefore 115.

#### Pukapuka

After Captain Davis of the *Jorge Zahara* had been frustrated by the *ariki* and teachers on Manihiki in his endeavours to recruit there he

left for Pukapuka, where he was successful in obtaining 85 islanders (80 men and 5 women), including the Rarotongan mission teacher Ngatimoari. The large number was due in the main to the efforts of a resident beachcomber, Paddy Cooney, who acted as recruiter, coupled with generous presents to the *ariki* and *rangatira*, and eight fathoms of cloth to the relatives and friends of each recruit. Cooney, 'a British subject and a notorious character', had lived for years on Pukapuka, as well as in Tahiti and Samoa and on Aitutaki and Palmerston Island, and for a short time on Fanning Island.

The *Jorge Zahara* left Pukapuka on 27 January 1863 and Gill, who arrived less than a month later on the *John Williams*, was told that the people were promised that in two months another vessel would bring their wives to join them and that within two years all would be repatriated. Byrne's partner Clark, who was on board the Peruvian ship as the Government licensee and charterer of the vessel, left the following certificate detailing the terms of their engagement:

\*Danger Isd.  
in Lat: 11°  
S: and Long:  
165° 50' W.

This may certify that eighty male labourers have been engaged to proceed in the brig 'George Sarah' to Callao, Natives of Poko Poko\*, that their wages is four dollars per month each, and that they engage themselves to work upon the agriculture and domestic Service of Peru during the full term of their Engagement, and according to the printed form in such cases usually prescribed.

(Sgd) B.D. Clark.

January 27th 1863.

.....  
One months Wages has been paid in advance to leave without debt.<sup>14</sup>

The *Rosa y Carmen* arrived from Rakahanga in February with her cargo of Easter islanders and Rakahangans but, instead of using forcible means to obtain recruits as he had done before, Captain Marutani appears to have taken the advice of Paddy Cooney, who had lived on Palmerston Island, that the Pukapukans should be engaged ostensibly to make coconut oil there for the well-known and respected Tahiti merchant J. Brander, with the additional bait of a trip to Sydney and repatriation within two years. Paddy Cooney himself joined the crew of the barque as interpreter and recruiter.

Gill maintained that 'the use of Mr B's honourable name deceived the remaining teacher and the people': at all events the offer was a popular one and 50 men and women were added to the 70 already on board. Before leaving, the captain allegedly kidnapped ten children, but it is probable that these, although embarked without the sanction of the chiefs, in reality belonged to those already recruited.<sup>15</sup>

Other Peruvian ships are known or suspected to have called at

Pukapuka after the *Rosa y Carmen*: for example the *Dolores Carolina*, which was off the island when the Fanning Island recruiting schooner *Marilda* called there early in April 1863. But although her captain stated that 'as soon as he had got as many people as he wanted on board he would put his hatches on and be off' there is no evidence that either he or any other recruiter was successful. For Wyatt Gill and Captain W.H. Williams had alerted the people to their danger and the configuration of the atoll should have enabled them to take evasive action in time even in the event of a raid. As late as November 1863, when the trade was at an end, Gill could report that the total number taken from Pukapuka was 140.<sup>16</sup> In fact, as we have seen, it was 145.

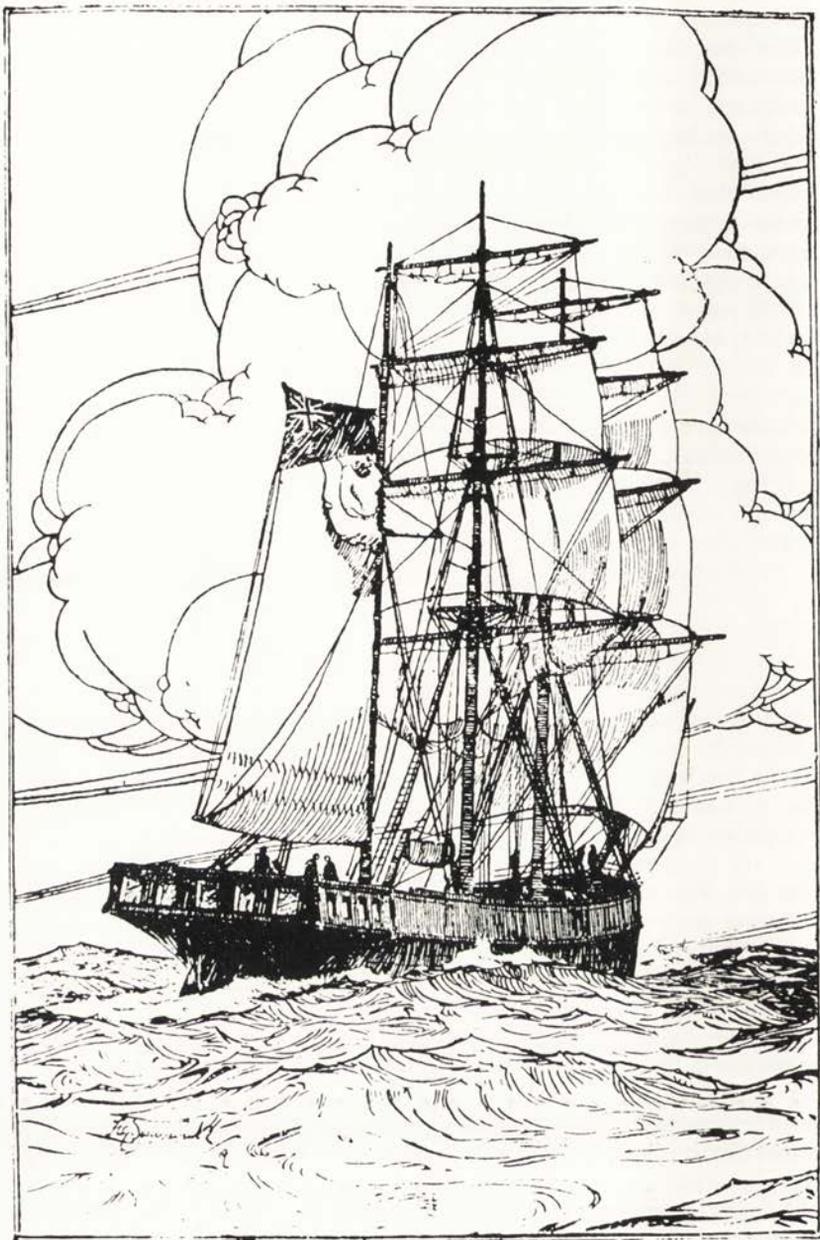
It may be wondered why no fewer than 725 Cook Islanders from the four northern atolls were permitted to embark on the Peruvian ships willingly, without the *ariki* and mission teachers stopping them; for though all of the recruits were to a greater or less degree duped, only seven were actually kidnapped.

The answer lies, it is suggested, in the prestige of the white man in the atolls; not only in the Northern Cook Islands but in the Tokelau and Tuvalu Groups as well. The contacts of the atoll societies with Europeans had been slender, sporadic and selective: one or two exploring ships; a few passing whalers; an occasional itinerant trading schooner; and on some islands a lone beachcomber living in and on the local communities.

In the four atolls with which we have been concerned this was the picture until 1852, when Captain English began recruiting the people of Manihiki and Rakahanga for work on his coconut plantation on Fanning Island; and the following year on Tongareva when the San Francisco brig *Chatham* was wrecked there and her two owners, with the captain and crew, lived ashore with the islanders for several months.<sup>17</sup>

These events helped to increase the reputation of Europeans as being kindly and considerate. Work on Fanning was popular and, despite occasional misunderstandings, the castaways on Tongareva were liked, as were the crews of the occasional pearling schooners which visited the atoll from Tahiti.

The *mana* of the European reached its highest point, however, following the conversion of the people to Christianity, which took place in 1849 on Manihiki-Rakahanga (then a single community), in 1854 on Tongareva and 1857 on Pukapuka. The visiting European missionaries, and their resident agents the mission pastors and teachers trained at the Takamoa Theological College at Avarua on Rarotonga, immediately assumed an influence in local affairs which transcended that of the *ariki* themselves. They were honoured and revered as possessing the key to secular knowledge, the talisman to success in this world, as well as to salvation in the next.



18 The barque *John Williams*, which followed the slavers round the Cook Islands. From Basil Mathews, *The Ships of Peace* (London 1919).

Unfortunately the European missionaries were too occupied in stressing the wickedness of the local unregenerate to warn the islanders, or even their teachers, that there were white men even more to be avoided than the maligned heathen. Indeed, apart from the beachcombers, and they had not proved a problem as yet in the atolls, who could have predicted a serious threat to the newly converted and now fervent Christian communities from any body of white men, least of all from slave traders hailing from South America?

As a result the people of the northern Cooks, with their *ariki* and teachers, were still completely indiscriminating in their attitude to white foreigners, unlike their more sophisticated urban compatriots in Apia and Papeete. Naïve and credulous, the teachers were as much deceived by the promises of the recruiters as anyone else and accepted whatever they were told without question. Gill, who arrived soon after the ships had gone, leaves one in no doubt on this point. On Tongareva he wrote:

The great majority of those who have left departed in the full expectation of being brought back to their own land. . . . They went with their teachers hoping to be cared for and instructed by them. How entirely deceived have the poor teachers been! I cannot help blaming them for not having written for information to Rarotonga or Aitutaki, ere taking such an important step. The few left behind seemed quite unaware of the true character of the parties who have desolated their island.

This is shown by the fact that Ben Hughes (or Beni), the local beachcomber who had collaborated throughout with the recruiters, continued to live on Tongareva without opposition from those who remained until they were undeceived by Gill, when he had to leave for Fakaofu with his family and retainers.

On Rakahanga Gill recorded that:

Tairi, like the other natives, had no idea whatever respecting the true character of these four slavers. Herein the Directors [of the London Missionary Society] may perceive one serious drawback in these excellent men our Native Teachers. Their simplicity of character, their kindness to visitors, their utter ignorance of the depths of depravity and deceit in the hearts of wicked white men, render them the easy dupes of designing characters.

Both on Rakahanga and Pukapuka the teacher Josia from Tongareva seems to have gone ashore as interpreter and at least countenanced the recruiting:

... it was mainly through the agency of Josia that Ngatimoari was led to take the fatal step of abandoning his work here. I feel greatly grieved with Okatai [Okotai, the second teacher on Pukapuka] for giving his consent. His statement is that it was impossible to restrain the people who were delighted with the fair promises made to them; and therefore they thought it advisable that Ngatimoari should go to take charge of his people and to maintain Christian worship amongst them.<sup>18</sup>

Although all recruiting was forbidden on Manihiki, and on Rakahanga after a hundred had gone, this was not because of any suspicions of trickery but because these islands were the two main recruiting grounds for Fanning Island and the *ariki* were anxious not to jeopardise their virtual monopoly of supplying workers for that popular venue by not having enough able-bodied young men available.

On the other hand the fact that the people of Tongareva and Pukapuka knew of the delights of Fanning at least by repute probably made them all the more willing to go to Christmas or Palmerston Islands, or even to Peru, in the hope and expectation that a year or two there would prove equally enjoyable. For the Tongarevans, however, the failure of the coconut crop and consequent famine were undoubtedly the main reasons for so many wanting to leave, as shown for example by those who went on the *Genara* stating that they had no intention of returning owing to the scarcity of food.<sup>19</sup>

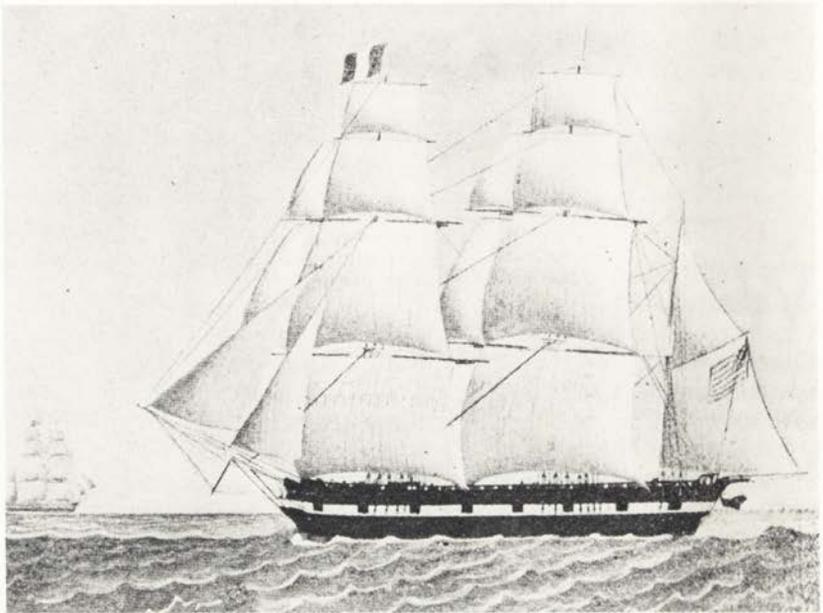
## Niue and the Samoan Islands

WHEN THE *Trujillo* left Manihiki she sailed south to the isolated island of Niue (known in the 1860s as Savage Island), a raised coral makatea-type former atoll with a forbidding 40-mile coastline of steep limestone cliffs, unfavourable in its physical configuration to kidnapping expeditions by armed ships' crews and with a population of 5021 not easily intimidated by strangers (see Map 8).<sup>1</sup> While still unevangelised the people of Niue had discouraged all contact with their island through fear of introducing disease, but with their conversion to Christianity such quarantine restrictions were abandoned. As a result the Rev. W.G. Lawes went to live on the island as the first European missionary in 1861, and was 'treated with hospitality and kindness'; naturally there were no beachcombers.



19 The forbidding coastline deterred raiders: the raised coral atoll of Niue. From F.J. Moss, *Through Atolls and Islands* . . . (London 1889). NL.

As neither the chiefs nor the church leaders were willing to agree to the young men leaving the island, recruiting operations even on a voluntary basis were impossible on shore; but by 1862 the islanders were accustomed to paddle out in their canoes to visiting ships, and



20 Resembling the *Rosa Patricia* in size and rig: the 214-ton barque *Chalcedony*. From J. Robinson & G.F. Dow, *Sailing Ships of New England* . . . (Salem, Mass. 1922). NL.

many of the younger and more adventurous were willing enough, once on board, to sign on for work in Samoa, or even farther afield, if the opportunity offered.<sup>2</sup>

On her arrival in November 1862, therefore, the *Trujillo* had no difficulty, according to the depositions of two of her crew, O'Neil and Winter, in recruiting 'about 50 men', all of whom were 'received aboard of their own desire'; a figure which may be accepted as probably correct since she arrived at Callao on 6 January with 92 males on board, of whom we have already estimated 42 as being from Rakahanga.<sup>3</sup>

Lawes also considered that the number taken was 'upwards of 50', but condemned the precipitate methods of recruiting employed:

These poor fellows were simply asked whether they were willing to 'ship'. Upon saying 'Yes', they were immediately ordered below—a man with a musket in his hand keeping guard to see that they did not come up again. In some instances, it appears that they did not even wait for a reply, but hurried them below.<sup>4</sup>

Other recruiters showed even less compunction; the next ships to call being the *Rosa Patricia* on 28 January, with her consort the *Guillermo*, which we last encountered on their way from Rapa, where

they parted from the two other members of the Easter Island December fleet and called at Mangaia and Atiu before making for Niue.

The *Rosa Patricia* hove to off the reef not far from the spot by Halangie Point where Captain Cook had landed in 1774, with the brig stationed farther out to sea. Canoes from both Alofi and Avatele came out to the *Rosa Patricia* in the hope of trading and the men were told by Captain Mota and the American supercargo Pitman that they were willing to barter trade goods for fowls, pigs and yams, which were accordingly brought on board by the Niueans. The subsequent proceedings are described by the Samoan teacher Samuela:

When the captain saw that there was a good number of men on board, he made sail, carrying off forty of the people, and moved out of sight of land. Then he fastened the people down in the hold, and went round to the other side of the island [off Mutalau] to steal more men. There other natives in their simplicity went off to the ship to sell. When the men who were fastened down below heard some of their people on deck, they called out to them to help them out of their confinement. Then seven managed to burst from their prison, and the canoes hastened to the shore with these seven men. They were fired upon from the ship.

One Niuean was wounded in the neck and another had his hand hacked by a hatchet, while the *Rosa Patricia* made off for Samoa and the Tokelaus with a net haul of forty, accompanied by the *Guillermo*, which had taken no part in the proceedings.

From Samuela's narrative one could conclude that only thirty-three men were taken from Niue but Lawes, who was on shore, states that the total was forty. This is confirmed by Taole, a Niuean who was one of the captives on the ship and whose account makes it clear that although, as Samuela says, several men escaped, others were captured at Mutalau and the final total of those kidnapped was forty. Taole also states that two men were thrown overboard as dead during the fracas, and a further three as too seriously injured to keep, but he is unlikely to be as reliable on this point as Samuela since he was injured at the outset and lay in the hold closely guarded by armed members of the crew.<sup>5</sup>

The last to arrive, and stand off Alofi Village on 9 March, was the Spanish barque *Rosa y Carmen*, described elsewhere as the most notorious blackbirder in the entire fleet.<sup>6</sup> She was already crowded with Easter, Cook and Tokelau islanders, among whom dysentery had broken out as several people suffering from the disease had been captured at Fakaofu. Lawes, who did not suspect that the visitor was a kidnapper, sent a letter by two assistant teachers in a canoe to enquire where she was bound to, whereupon the messengers were detained and the canoe hoisted on board.

A seaman was then sent ashore in one of the ship's boats to request

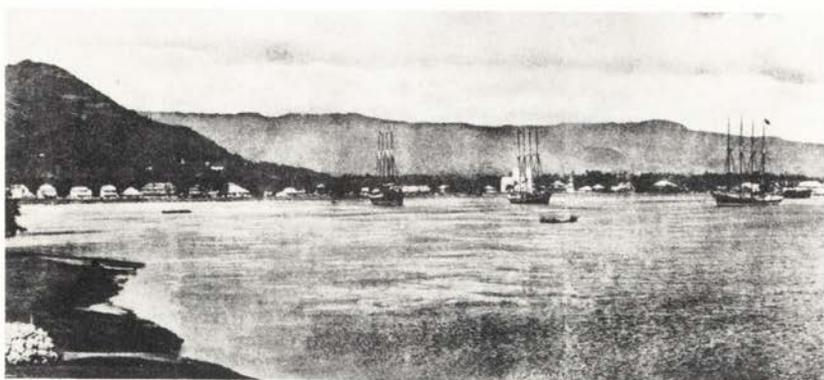


21 A Niuean in 1862. From T.H. Hood, *Notes of a cruise in H.M.S. 'Fawn'* . . . (Edinburgh 1863). NL.

medicine for dysentery from Lawes, allegedly for the captain, and on its return it was accompanied by nine canoes led by the chief Fata-iki, who hoped to retrieve the men on board. Instead they were fired on from the ship: 'some of the canoes were broken up, and whilst the people were swimming the boats pursued the men; seized them, and dragged them off to the ship'. In all nineteen were kidnapped and one killed before the *Rosa y Carmen* sailed for the Kermadecs.<sup>7</sup>

There is a further discussion of the numbers taken from Niue,<sup>8</sup> but the conclusion reached is that the three ships obtained a total of 109 islanders, all of them men.

Why these left the island is plain. Those on the *Trujillo* went, in most if not in all cases, of their own free will due to what Lawes termed the mania among the young men to emigrate, despite the opposition of the chiefs and the mission. He mentions in 1865 that 'hundreds of young men have gone away in various ships, most of them to return no more'; and again three years later that 'the



22 Apia in the mid-nineteenth century. From N.A. Rowe, *Samoa under the Sailing Gods* (London 1930). NL.

continual loss of so many young men causes the women to be about twice as numerous as the men on the island'.<sup>9</sup>

Those taken by the *Rosa Patricia* and *Rosa y Carmen* were, of course, simply kidnapped. The fact that only men were taken was because no recruiting was done ashore and on Niue it was not customary for women to visit ships by canoe. According to oral tradition those taken came from Avatele, Alofi, Tuapa and Mutalau.<sup>10</sup>

### Samoa

As one would expect, the Peruvian ships made little or no attempt to recruit at the main centres of European activity in the South Seas, such as Tahiti, Rarotonga or Samoa, where the local communities were more sophisticated and alert to the danger of intercourse with the visitors, and the expatriate authorities, whether administrators, consuls or missionaries, were only too anxious to frustrate, or at least report, any attempts at kidnapping. As the mission meeting held at Matautu on Savai'i assured the LMS Directors in London, there was 'no fear but that the Samoans will be prepared to defend their liberties'.<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless several ships passed through the Samoan Group, keeping an eye out for the occasional inter-island, or deep-sea fishing, canoe which could be run down and the occupants impressed. 'The natives frequently go many miles out to sea to fish, and for other purposes', wrote the missionary A.W. Murray, adding that in the case of the Samoans and similar large societies the Peruvian recruiters 'content themselves with prowling about the coast, in the hope of falling in with canoes at a sufficient distance from land to render resistance hopeless'.<sup>12</sup>

The *Rosa Patricia* was, however, the only vessel actually to stand off and on Apia, from 7 to 9 February 1863, when en route from Niue to the Tokelau Islands (see Map 8). She was not accompanied this time by the *Guillermo*, which was sent ahead to recruit at Nukunonu in the

Tokelaus, most probably because there was little risk of shipwreck, or at least of being marooned, in Samoan waters but an appreciable danger of being intercepted by a warship.

The American supercargo Pitman went ashore ostensibly to obtain medical assistance for a wounded Niuean but in reality, it was thought, to ascertain whether there were any warships in the area likely to interfere with his operations; and also to endeavour to secure the services of a local European to enable him to fill his intended complement of 250 recruits, who were to be signed on for a 6-year term at \$8 a month.<sup>13</sup>

Pitman offered an Apia merchant \$10 a head for every Samoan induced to recruit and \$1000 if he took the ship to an island 'where he could obtain a goodly number', explaining that an English firm (presumably the company Higginson and Santiago, part-owned by the British merchant Higginson of Callao, which had chartered the vessel) had a contract 'to furnish 10,000 South Sea Islanders for the mines'; and he promised to return in five weeks to see if any could be procured.<sup>14</sup> The Rev. H. Gee requested the British and German Consuls to prevent the recruitment of Samoans and secure the liberation of the Niueans already on board the *Rosa Patricia*, but was informed that the ship's papers had been examined and appeared to be in order.<sup>15</sup> J.C. Williams, the British Consul, said later that had the ship entered the harbour and anchored he considered that he would have been justified in detaining her; but there was little chance of her doing anything so foolish.<sup>16</sup> On the 9th, when the *John Williams* left Apia for Pukapuka, she met the *Rosa Patricia* sailing north for the Tokelaus.<sup>17</sup>

Towards the end of February the *Rosa y Carmen* arrived in Samoan waters from the Tokelau Islands. Her first landfall appears to have been off Falealupo at the western end of Savai'i, where four Samoans were captured while out fishing.<sup>18</sup> Sailing along the north coast of Savai'i and Upolu the Spanish barque passed Samusu Point, and soon after Captain Marutani

took a native out of a trading boat that was returning to Apia, as well as what money there was, and some oil, and afterwards sent the boat adrift with one European in it, when land was just visible from the ship, without food or water.<sup>19</sup>

Still heading east the *Rosa y Carmen* called at Tutuila early in March for water, a necessity for the estimated 300 recruits on board and one not procurable on the atolls. A boat was sent ashore with the casks but when the Samoans discovered that it was from a '*va'a ngaoi tangata*' (man-stealing ship) they seized them, allowing the crew to return. The captain thereupon sent six Fakaofu islanders ashore as an inducement to release his casks, but in the event he had to sail without them. Three of the six Tokelau men were already ill with dysentery, which was rife on board, and soon died, while the others eventually returned home.<sup>20</sup>



23 An encounter at sea in Samoan waters. From J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie* . . . (Paris 1842-6). NL.

Before leaving Samoa for Niue Captain Marutani appears to have anchored off the main village on Ta'u, the largest island in the Manu'a Group, where a substantial payment was offered to a European living ashore if he would help to procure 200 islanders by persuading them to accept an invitation to dine on board 'and inspect some curiosities'. It was arranged that the crew were to be armed but kept out of sight, and when enough people were on deck they were to be forced below and the hatches fastened. The local European, however, alerted the people to the captain's intentions and no one was caught.<sup>21</sup>

The only other ship known to have made contact with the Samoans ashore arrived in April 1863 off Sataua, not far from Falealupo on Savai'i, and sent a boat ashore which traded on generous terms for local produce, a European who had formerly lived in Samoa acting as interpreter. According to the account given by the Sataua people to the Rev. G. Pratt on his next visit:

By promising a dollar a head, the interpreter induced 20 young men [actually two chiefs and 18 youths] to go off to the ship [which they were told was a whaler] in a native boat, professedly to get a fresh supply of goods. Immediately on their getting on board, their boat was hoisted up, the yards squared, and they were told they would go to Sydney. The natives, seeing the trap, immediately cast about for a

way of escape. On counting they found that the crew only numbered 16 to their 20. One got his eye on a hatchet, and another on something else. Five down below got between their oppressors and a number of cutlasses; then, and not till then, they called the interpreter and told him they would take the ship and kill him first unless their boat was lowered. This was instantly complied with on his communicating with the captain, and they got into it only too glad to escape to think of their articles which they had brought for barter.<sup>22</sup>

Consul Williams stated that when he left Samoa for Sydney in May 1863 three Peruvian vessels were sighted in the Group: 'endeavouring to carry off the natives, and one of them forcibly took two Samoans out of a trading boat whilst she was outside the reef'.<sup>23</sup> The only Peruvian recruiting ships known to have been in the Central Pacific at that late date, when the trade was practically at an end, were the *Dolores Carolina*, *Polinesia* and *Honorio*, so the three seen by Williams were presumably these, on their way from Callao to the Tuvalu Group. Which of them was off Sataua in April is not known.

The recruiters might have been wise to avoid Samoa altogether, for though they gained seven islanders there, they had lost six.<sup>24</sup>

## Depopulating the Tokelaus

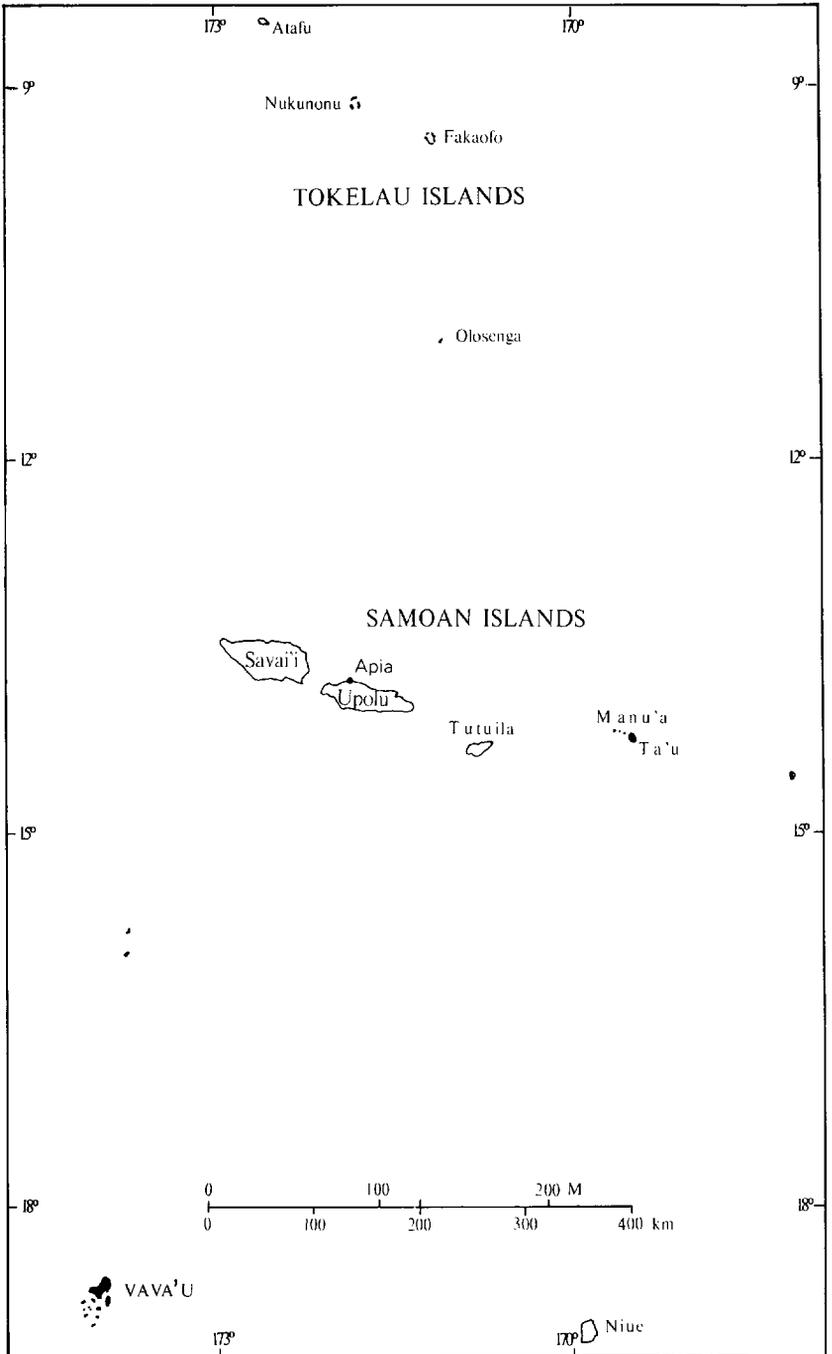
THE ROUTES of the four remaining ships in the December fleet now converge again as the *Rosa y Carmen* and *Micaela Miranda* sailed from the Northern Cook Group, the *Guillermo* from Niue and the *Rosa Patricia* from Samoa to seek recruits in the Tokelau Islands (then also called the Union Group), possibly by some previous arrangement made before leaving Rapa or conceivably even earlier at Callao.

The three permanently inhabited atolls of this isolated group lie in a line running south-east to north-west, Fakaofu, the most easterly island, being 270 miles north of Upolu in Samoa, with Nukunonu, the central island, about thirty-five miles to the north-west and Atafu, the western island, at least another forty-five miles away. The land area of each atoll is small, and consists of a number of islets surrounding a lagoon without any reliable boat passage: Atafu, the smallest, having a total area of about 502 acres; Fakaofu has about 612 acres of land; and Nukunonu about 650 acres. The best estimate of the population in 1863, immediately before the Peruvian raids, is 261 for Fakaofu, and 140 each for Nukunonu and Atafu.<sup>1</sup>

Approximately half-way between Samoa and the three atolls is a fourth island, Olosenga (also called Olohega, Quiros or Swain's Island), which geographically, though no longer politically, forms part of the Tokelau Group. Although regarded by the Tokelau people as under the suzerainty of Fakaofu an American, Eli Hutchinson Jennings, settled there in 1856 and developed the existing coconut plantations for his own benefit. Known as Ilae, or Ilai, by the islanders he is described in a Fakaofu account as 'cruel' and 'exceedingly brutal'.<sup>2</sup>

The people traditionally live together in a single village on each atoll, probably to facilitate control over their limited food resources; but not, as sometimes stated, 'for protection against Peruvian slave raiders', for whom the concentration of the population in one place merely facilitated their speedy rounding up and removal.<sup>3</sup>

The proximity of the three atolls to each other resulted in a good deal of inter-island canoe sailing. Not all voyages were successful, due to sudden storms or changes of wind, when those who survived were apt to land in such places as Uvea (Wallis Island), Fiji, or more often somewhere in the Samoan Group. On 25 December 1862 eight canoes left Nukunonu for Atafu but missed their landfall, and eventually six canoes with 33 men, 11 women and 15 children reached Apia; the seventh with 4 men, 3 women and 8 children, all from Fakaofu,



Niue and the Samoan and Tokelau Islands

reached Savai'i; and the eighth with 5 men from Atafu and a woman from Fakaofu reached Tutuila.<sup>4</sup>

This drift voyage is of considerable importance to our narrative because the LMS ship *John Williams*, which visited all four Tokelau Islands between 19 and 31 January, just prior to the arrival of the recruiting vessels from Peru, returned the passengers on the six canoes which had arrived at Apia (but not those in the last two). Unfortunately several of those from Fakaofu were suffering from dysentery contracted in Samoa and the disease spread rapidly among the local population; within three weeks 64 of the 261 inhabitants had died and many of the survivors were still infectious when the Peruvian recruiters called, thus causing an epidemic among the other passengers on board the ships.<sup>5</sup>

### Olosenga

Both the *John Williams* and the *Rosa Patricia* left Apia on 9 February 1863, and early the following day the mission barque could see the Peruvian vessel making for the Tokelaus.<sup>6</sup> On her way the *Rosa Patricia* called at Olosenga, where her Salem supercargo Pitman signed on his American compatriot Eli Hutchinson Jennings as recruiter for the round trip of the Group. According to Tokelau tradition Jennings was accompanied by a Fakaofu labourer on Olosenga, who helped to persuade his fellow-islanders to recruit.<sup>7</sup>

It seems likely that Pitman was advised in Apia to try to secure the services of Jennings, after failing to obtain anyone in Samoa, for he spoke the Tokelau dialect and was known to and trusted by the people. In all probability Pitman offered him also the same terms as he had suggested at Apia—\$10 a head or \$1000 for 'a goodly number'<sup>8</sup>—for there was no one else suitable, since the American beachcomber William on Atafu, the only European in the three Tokelau atolls, had left on one of the canoes which drifted from Nukunonu on Christmas Day 1862, and making a landfall at Tutuila had decided not to return.<sup>9</sup>

### Fakaofu

The best authority on the visits of the Peruvian labour ships to Fakaofu is the Samoan mission teacher Mafala who, with his colleague Sakaio, was resident on the island throughout the period. Both of them had arrived in the *John Williams* on 23 January, as until then the chief Lika had refused to allow his people to be converted to Christianity. Sixteen islanders had, however, become Catholics when compelled to leave Fakaofu for Uvea through famine in 1852. These had been returned in 1861 by Mgr Bataillon, who had appointed three of them teachers, though they were unrecognised as such by the chief.<sup>10</sup>

The *Rosa Patricia* arrived from Olosenga on 12 February, only ten days after the *John Williams* had finally left and while the islanders were still suffering from the dysentery brought by the drift voyagers returned from Samoa. Her crew landed, armed with guns and swords, and selected 16 of the strongest men to add to the 40 Niueans and 5



24 Why Tokelau islanders were easy to round up: Fakafo village on its tiny and isolated islet. New Zealand National Publicity Studios.

from Atiu already on board; as soon as these were safely in the hold she sailed off.<sup>11</sup>

Not long after, the *Rosa y Carmen* arrived from Atafu, with Paddy Cooney from Pukapuka on board as interpreter, and landed a second armed party, who assembled the remaining people in front of the teacher's house and chose a further 44 men for embarkation. These were escorted to the boats by the crew, who 'frequently struck the natives as they drove them along with the flat side of their swords'.<sup>12</sup> Several were ill with dysentery, which soon spread among the other over-crowded and under-fed passengers.

Captain Marutani evidently changed his mind about taking only men from Fakafo for he sent his tender, the brig *Micaela Miranda*, back to the island to pick up the women. She returned with 4 men and 76 women and children who were all transferred to the *Rosa y Carmen* before the latter finally left the Group.

Mafala mentions that four other recruiting vessels called later, and these could have been the *Guillermo* in February, and the *Dolores Carolina*, *Polinesia* and *Honorio* on their way to the southern Tuvalu Islands shortly before his departure, since no other Peruvian ships are known to have been in the locality. It is not a matter of importance, however, for they were all unlucky: there were no pickings left.



25 Twenty-six years later: the children left behind on Fakaofu reach maturity. From *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain & Ireland* (1892).

Mafala himself left Fakaofu in May as he felt that there was no point in remaining as Sakaio could easily care for the remaining members of the community, now reduced to 'six men, and thirty women and a few children . . . left because not worth taking, being diseased, or old and infirm'. While neither of the Samoan teachers or their wives had been interfered with by the recruiters, two of the three local Catholic teachers had been taken and the third rejected as diseased.<sup>13</sup>

Mafala's detailed figures of the number taken from Fakaofu are probably as accurate as can be expected under the circumstances: he was living on the island at the time and in intimate contact with the people, the numbers involved were small enough to be readily counted, and he would have anticipated being questioned on the subject by his missionary superiors in Samoa; the only other figures given are improbable totals estimated during later missionary visits.<sup>14</sup>

We have already seen how the *Rosa y Carmen* had called at Tutuila and landed six Fakaofuans with dysentery, of whom three died almost immediately from the disease. The brother of the chief of Fakaofu and his son were two of the three who survived to return home. Deducting these three Mafala's total is 137, from which it appears that 60 (9 men, 30 women and 21 children) were left on the island out of the 261 alive when the *John Williams* arrived on 23 January.

To this total we must, however, add 4 men, 3 women and 8 children from the Fakaofu canoe which beached at Savai'i and one Fakaofu woman in the Atafu canoe which reached Tutuila, as they got to Apia too late to board the *John Williams* in January and were consequently returned to their island after the last recruiting ship had called there.

In addition at least 4 men and 4 women, with an unknown number of children, returned from Olosenga to become the progenitors of four of the main genealogies on the island, while others still may have returned from Uvea. One can say, therefore, that the total number of Fakafoans from which a new community could be regenerated in the years to come was at least 84 (17 men, 38 women and 29 children).<sup>15</sup>

Due to the paucity of adult males the returnees from Samoa (and presumably those from Olosenga and all others who were physically capable) fathered numerous children, the chief's brother by five different women.<sup>16</sup> As a result the missionary A.W. Murray was able to report in 1868 that although the population was still under 200 and the total of adult males comparatively small the number of children and young people gave the impression of 'quite a thriving community'.<sup>17</sup>

### Nukunonu

Unlike the wholly Protestant Atafu and predominantly Protestant Fakafo, Nukunonu was entirely Catholic, and as a consequence it was not normally visited by the LMS itinerant missionaries, and only infrequently by a Catholic priest, usually from Uvea though the island had been nominally converted by a Nukunonu man called Takua (or, on his baptism, Justin) who had worked with the Catholic mission in Samoa. The Protestant missionaries landed on the atoll on 27 January 1863 and estimated the population at 140, presumably a fairly rough guess as they had no teacher ashore to make a count at his leisure.<sup>18</sup>

Our knowledge of the activities of the Peruvian recruiters is therefore mainly dependent on the fortuitous fact that the Rev. P.G. Bird of Savai'i happened to be visiting one of his outstations when 5 men, 5 women and some children (according to another report they comprised about 15 in all) arrived from Nukunonu in two or three canoes lashed together to form a raft, including Ulua the chief and apparently Justin himself.

They reported that five vessels recruiting for Peru had called and had 'inspected them like animals, casting aside the old and diseased and bundling off all the others on board ship'. The first arrival took 60 people; the second 6; and the third 10. Although the evidence is not conclusive it seems most probable that the first ship was the *Guilermo*, the second the *Rosa Patricia* and the third the *Rosa y Carmen*, the priority of calls being based on the probable sequence of visits to Fakafo and Atafu and the Peruvian official figures of numbers landed by each ship at Callao.<sup>19</sup> For the two remaining vessels one can take a pick of the *Micaela Miranda*, the *Dolores Carolina*, *Polinesia* and *Honorio*; but it is, of course, always possible that the same ship was sighted more than once.

According to Bird the remnant feared further visits and decided to leave (probably about April), heading south to make a landfall on Savai'i. They were taken to Apia, where they were looked after by the



26 A typical coral atoll, showing its vegetation-clad islets, inner lagoon and outer reef: Atafu from the air. New Zealand National Publicity Studios.

Catholic mission and returned by the first trading vessel to leave for the Group, two men, a woman and several children having died in the interim; but according to a Catholic account they had actually left Nukunonu not to escape the raiders but in search of a priest to baptise them.

In 1868, when Father Elloy visited the atoll from Samoa, thinking that his ship might be another raider no one appeared on the beach until Justin recognised him wearing his soutane on deck. It seems that the Father found that the population was now 80.<sup>20</sup>

The total taken from Nukunonu to Peru would therefore appear to have been 76, a figure which agrees reasonably well with the Catholic count of 80 left. A Protestant estimate of 40 made in 1868 may be discounted, as Murray, who recorded it in a report, did not land and being a LMS missionary was probably *persona non grata* with the islanders.<sup>21</sup>

### Atafu

Atafu was a wholly Protestant island, the people having been converted by Maka and another Samoan teacher left by the LMS missionary Samuel Ella of Samoa in 1861. By far the most detailed accounts of the Peruvian visits are to be found in letters written by Maka himself to the Revs. H. Gee, P.G. Bird and H. Nisbet.<sup>22</sup> In fact Maka's vivid description of recruiting procedures during the *Rosa*

*Patricia's* visit is the most reliable and detailed report we possess for any of the thirty-four islands from which recruits were taken: representing as it does the narrative of an eye witness, written immediately after the event and checked by information obtained from two islanders who were actually taken captive on board and only released by the captain as the ship got under way. Under the circumstances it is understandably a somewhat poignant document; it is quoted in full to afford an insight into the feelings not so much of those who were recruited but of those who were left behind.

The *Rosa Patricia* arrived at Atafu on 16 February and Eli Jennings (Ilae), the recruiter embarked at Olosenga, showed those who came on board samples of cloth, shirts and trousers, inviting the islanders to bring their coconuts and fowls to the ship to barter for them, as the main stock was on view there. Trusting in Ilae, who was known to them, the chief Foli (called Oli by the Rarotongan Maka) and thirty-six other men went on board; only two of them reached the shore again: discharged as being too old and weak.<sup>23</sup> After questioning the two, Maka wrote this letter to Henry Gee the same evening:

Sir, all the people of this land are carried off. They have taken the chief Oli, who was in Samoa, and thirty-four other men. All that now remain here are women and children, and six male adults . . . Such, Sir, has been the cruelty of this ship to the people of this land. The good work which has been begun on this island is now destroyed. Had we known the character of this vessel no one would have gone aboard. We are startled that such a thing should be done to this people. Two men who were returned to the shore by the captain, told us that when the people reached the ship with their things for sale, one of the crew collected these things together. Then the captain said to the men, 'Go and look at the cloth for your purchases'. But this was the contrivance of the captain: he placed some things into the hold of the vessel—the best of the cloth, red cloth, and shirts, and trousers, and white and blue calicoes; and some things he kept on deck. Then the captain said to the men, 'look to the cloth on deck and that in the hold, and see which to choose'. Some of the people were looking at the cloth in the hold, then all went below. The captain told them to go below, and all went down. Then one of the crew gave them wrappers and shirts, and trousers and hats to put on. So the men rejoiced that they had got such clothing to attend worship in. But some of the crew were hidden in the hold, armed with cutlasses. They were hidden so that the people did not know that they were there. All these things the captain had arranged. None remained on deck except the chief; he continued on deck. He called down to his people to return to the deck, and not remain below lest they

should injure anything in the vessel.<sup>24</sup> The chief was standing over the hatchway, when some of the crew seized him and threw him down into the hold, and he fell into the middle of the hold. Then the hatchway was immediately closed down upon them all. These two men also told me they saw one of the people struck down by the crew with a sword. They saw the blood flow like water. They do not know if he was killed for the ship hastened off.

Sir, there is nothing that we do now but mourn and weep for our island is destroyed. But we think now that they have taken all the strong people of this land, they will return with the ship to fetch the women and children. This is my enquiry, what shall we do if the ship comes again? Tell us what to do, lest the vessel quickly returns. This is the end of my letter.<sup>25</sup>

Another ship did come: only two days later. The second recruiter was a two-masted vessel, identified as the brigantine *Micaela Miranda* since the captain told Maka that he had been to Tongareva, Manihiki and Pukapuka but that the inhabitants had been taken from these islands by other ships. He offered Maka four pieces of gold and a large quantity of cloth for recruits but was told that the men had been taken and only women were left.<sup>26</sup>

Nightfall came while they were talking, and they could then see the lights of yet another ship approaching the island. The captain hurried back to his vessel, saying that he would return the following day. Apparently he did not, presumably because the third vessel proved to be the *Rosa y Carmen*. Captain Marutani sent a boat ashore to tell the people to bring coconuts the next day to barter for trousers and shirts; and in the morning two more boats brought him and his crew, whom Maka mistook for Frenchmen, possibly because the captain mentioned that he had authority from the French Government at Tahiti to take men, if necessary by force.

Using an Aitutaki sailor and a 'Pole' (presumably Paddy Cooney, who had many aliases) as interpreters the captain instructed Maka to get men for him, for which he would be paid in cash. Refusing the money and the promise of 'lots of clothes when be brought two or three men', Maka said that he had no control over the islanders. He also declined to go with the *Rosa y Carmen* to Fakaofu and Nukunonu to procure men, but in the end agreed to write this rather ambiguous note for the captain to take to the teachers on Fakaofu: 'The Captain of this vessel is about to go to you two—to seek men. There is no man left on our land. Do as you please in the matter; you and the chiefs.'

Captain Marutani then said that if there were no men left he would take the women; and when they hid in the bush he announced that he would bring the entire crew ashore, destroy the village and kill the inhabitants. This threat brought them out of hiding and the captain was eventually satisfied with taking two youths 'of great use in the



27 The generation who lost their fathers: young women of Atafu in 1886. From F.J. Moss, *Through Atolls and Islands . . .* (London 1889). NL.

feeding of the women of the land' and terrifying the remnant with the guns and swords of his crew.<sup>27</sup>

In all probability other ships working in the area called later, but if so they are unreported and took no one: indeed, as Maka wrote 'only women and children remain'. To summarise, the evidence indicates that 37 people, all men, were taken from Atafu and 6 males left, through age and infirmity, to look after their families.<sup>28</sup> This is in substantial agreement with the total of 'about 30' given to the Rev. A.W. Murray in 1868; by 1899, however, the estimate had grown to 'the chief of the island and about 200 other men', or more than the entire population at the time of the Peruvian removals.<sup>29</sup>

It will be remembered that the Niuean Taole was on board the *Rosa Patricia* during her visit to the Tokelaus and in later years, talking to the New Zealand writer James Cowan, he gave a graphic though generalised account of her activities in the Group:

The people of Tokelau were captured in great numbers, more than those that were taken from Niué, and there were some women amongst them. Many of the unsuspecting islanders were made captives on board, when they came expecting to trade. Some of them broke loose in the struggle and leaped overboard, but most of these were recaptured by the ship's boats. The armed boat crews pursued them, and they were seized and hauled inboard; those that resisted were shot or were killed with cutlasses. The boats also

chased the canoe crews and caught many, and armed men went on shore and brought off those they could secure. As the men and women were brought on board they were thrust down the ladder into the hold to join the Niue people, and then the ships sailed away eastward with the hundreds of captives.<sup>30</sup>

Since Taole, with the others from Niue, was incarcerated between-decks in semi-darkness for the whole period of the ship's stay in the Group his story of events is necessarily based on what he learned from the kidnapped Tokelau islanders who joined him in captivity. It is doubtful, for instance, whether many (or even any) people were shot by the *Rosa's* crew, if only because one does not lightly kill someone worth \$300 or more on the Callao market; but the captured islanders were in no position to be accurate observers at the time.

As the four ships left the Tokelaus their captains could congratulate themselves on having carried off the best of the able-bodied population of the three atolls within a few days and with very little trouble: Fakaofu had lost 140 (64 men, and 76 women and children), though 3 returned from Samoa later; Nukunonu 76; and Atafu 37 (all men), a total of 253, or 247 if one deducts the six put ashore later in Samoa. This total may be relied on as substantially accurate as it is identical with that obtained by the veteran missionary G.A. Turner during his visit to the islands in 1878 and repeated by Newell in 1895.<sup>31</sup>

The figure represents 47 per cent of the estimated population when the raiders arrived, but probably close to 100 per cent of the able-bodied males; a catastrophic denudation whose effects are discussed in Chapter 22. It should be recorded here, however, that owing to the dysentery brought on board by the recruits from Fakaofu the three raiders (for the *Micaela Miranda* took away no one from the Group) lost almost as many through deaths during the voyage to Callao as they had gained in all three of the Tokelaus: the *Rosa y Carmen* with 290 on board, lost 162 (or 56 per cent); the *Rosa Patricia* with 102 lost 59 (or 58 per cent); and the *Guillermo* with 62 lost 18 (or 29 per cent).

Mortality statistics convey a cold and impersonal picture of human affairs but one can glean some notion of what it must have been like on shipboard during the epidemic of the captives imprisoned in the hold through the laconic and matter-of-fact statement of the Polynesian Taole: 'We had not been sailing many days before a great sickness arose. What the *papalangi* call it I cannot say, but it was a terrible sickness. Day after day dead men were hoisted up from the hold and cast overboard.'<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile the *Rosa y Carmen* had set sail on her ill-fated course south to Samoa, Niue and the holocaust on Sunday Island, while the other three vessels, the *Rosa Patricia*, *Guillermo* and *Micaela Miranda* left direct for Callao, with only a slight deviation by the first to drop Eli Jennings at Olosenga; he had served his employers well, having obtained fifty-seven recruits which at \$10 a head would have netted him \$570—more than a year's income for a few days' work.

## Kidnapping for God in Tuvalu

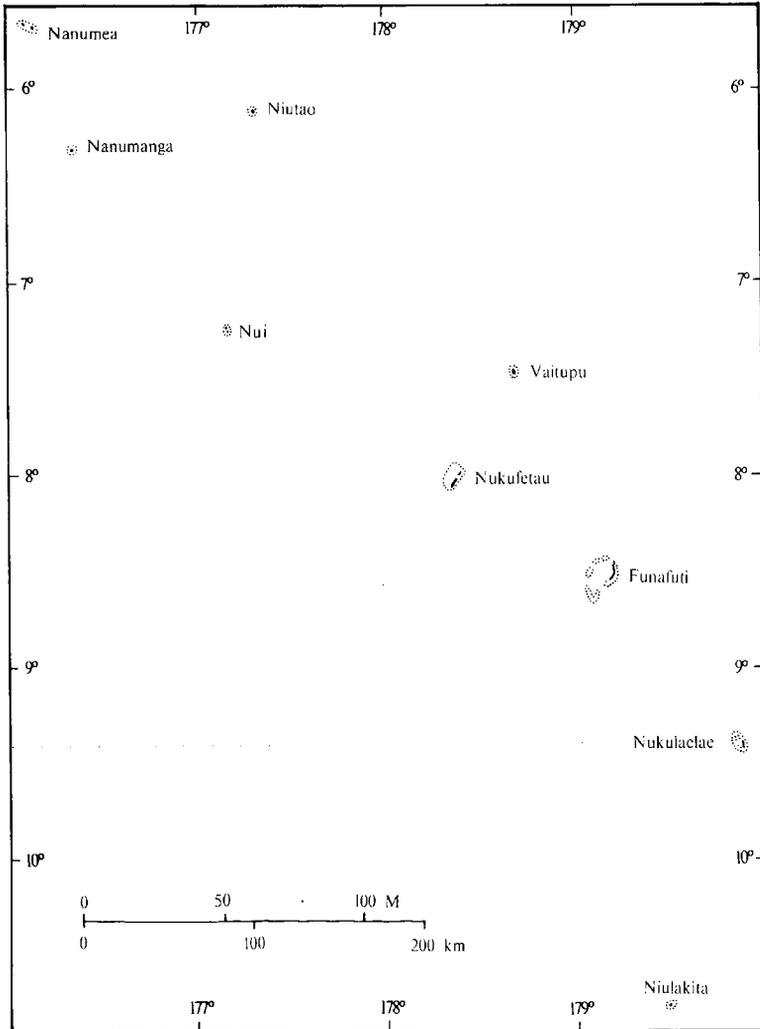
SOON AFTER the commencement of the year 1863 it was becoming evident to the commercial speculators in Lima and Callao that the palmy days of the trade in Polynesian colonists were coming to an end. Public opinion both in Peru and abroad was hardening against what was becoming increasingly recognised as a barely disguised slave trade, the immigrants themselves were dying at a rapid rate and those who survived were considered by their employers as uneconomic labour since they either could not or would not work. Furthermore all the suitable islands in Eastern and Central Polynesia had been picked clean of able-bodied men or else had been alerted and were considered unsuitable, if not dangerous, for further recruiting ventures.

Nevertheless, a few ships left for Easter Island, where even if pickings were meagre transportation costs were low for the short haul. In addition six ships sailed for other Polynesian islands. One of them, the 198-ton brigantine *Margarita*, left Callao on 26 January and seems to have vanished without trace; she is thought to have been captured and scuttled by the people of 'Uiha in Tonga (see Chapter 11), though she may have been lost at sea or left her timbers on some coral reef. Perhaps we shall know her fate some day, but all that one can say at present is that she does not appear to have obtained any recruits before disappearing.

Of the others the barque *Dolores Carolina*, which left Callao on 25 January, has been mentioned as being off Pukapuka early in April, still without any recruits. She had sailed by the northern route through the Marquesas and Northern Cooks, presumably combing those now thoroughly alarmed islands without success. At Pukapuka or thereabouts she was joined by two other barques, the *Polinesia*, which had left Callao on 14 February, and the *Honorio*, which left on 1 March, both evidently also by the northern route.

The Ugarte y Santiago barque *General Prim*, which was on her second voyage, sailed from Callao a day after the *Honorio* and presumably for the same destination, but somewhere along her way (probably also near Pukapuka) she came into contact with the Tasmanian whaler *Grecian*, purchased and transhipped her 174 Tongan recruits and returned to Peru (see Chapter 11).

Continuing their search for potential colonists the three remaining barques appear to have made for Samoa where they were sighted by the British Consul in May and one of them succeeded in capturing two



The Tuvalu Group

Samoans. According to a statement made by Mafala, the teacher on Fakaofu, they seem to have also called there, without success, and may have visited the other Tokelau islands; for the visits of ships were not always recorded unless people were taken away on them.

### Nukulaetae

The barques then sailed west to the Ellice Islands (now called Tuvalu), the only inhabited group of atolls in all Polynesia still untapped by

recruiters for Peru. On arrival at their first island, Nukulaelae, the *Dolores Carolina* and one of the other barques stood off and on at some distance from the shore, without attempting to anchor, while the third remained on the horizon and took no part in the recruiting operations. The date would have been about 29 May, as the *Dolores Carolina* stated on her arrival at Callao on 14 August that she had taken 105 days from Mutchells (clearly Mitchells, which Nukulaelae was then called).

It so happened that the people of Nukulaelae were anxiously awaiting the arrival of a promised mission pastor who was to teach them about Christianity. As long ago as 1856, under the influence of a visiting trading captain called Stewart (or Stuart), they had burnt their own deities. Five years later they had been taught more about the Gospel by a Cook Islands deacon, Elekana, who had landed on the island after a remarkable drift voyage from his home in Manihiki during 1861.

Elekana had left for Samoa to train for the ministry after four months, promising to return with a teacher; but before he went he acceded to the pleas of the community by carefully tearing the pages from his Rarotongan New Testament and leaving a few with each adult member. While he was away Tom Rose, a Negro beachcomber living on the atoll, acted as a stopgap religious instructor, no doubt in return for payment in kind, as had several of the beachcombing fraternity on Samoa.<sup>1</sup>

The community was thus in a ferment of excited suspense when the ships arrived and their two captains, using Rose as an interpreter, tried out the usual story about wanting to take everyone to a neighbouring island to make coconut oil, a fiction which had by now become such a frequent feature of the recruiters' spiel that the authorities at Tahiti believed that it was an invariable one. In their state of expectancy the Nukulaelae people were naturally not interested, for who would want to be missing when the way to their spiritual salvation was so soon to be revealed?

At this juncture Rose was able to suggest a more promising ruse, and acting as the islanders' friend and religious instructor he promised to go with them to a place 'where they would be taught about God and religion' while engaged in coconut oil production; after six months they would be returned with their Christian teachers and an 'abundance of property in payment'.<sup>2</sup> It worked:

The people flocked on board the ships. Those who could not obtain passages in the boats from the vessels went in canoes, and others swam; so great was their eagerness to be taught about God. One of the boats got stove in the passage and was rendered useless. Some who were in it were picked up by other boats or canoes, and some swam back to the shore.<sup>3</sup>



28 With their trader and a Jamaican beachcomber: Nukulaelae islanders of the generation following the raid. From Mrs Edgeworth David, *Funafuti . . .* (London 1899). NL.

Once on board the vessels, still in many cases clutching their most precious possession—the pages from Elekana's New Testament—the islanders found themselves trapped. As they would only be away for a short period they had been advised to leave their wives and children behind, or at least to leave their small children in charge of their aged relatives: and this was what in fact many of them did. The three barques set sail immediately, but before they had gone far on their course for Funafuti two young men succeeded in escaping by swimming ashore; one of them, a Tokelau islander named Iusama, who was living with his wife and children on Nukulaelae, managed to jump overboard when the island was barely visible from the deck and eventually reached the shore after swimming for two days and a night.<sup>4</sup> Moresby met one of the swimmers nine years later.<sup>5</sup>

For the reasons detailed in Note 6, the figure of 250 given by Dr George Turner and his son Dr G.A. Turner is accepted as the best estimate of the numbers taken from Nukulaelae—from the Peruvian immigration totals it should not have been out by more than, say, 20 either way—and the 65 as quoted by G.A. Turner appears the most probable total for those left on the island.<sup>6</sup> By 1866 they had increased to 92, but this was largely due to an influx of temporary workers, with their families, to work on the coconut plantation leased on an islet by Weber of the Samoan company Godeffroy and Sons, for whom Peter Laban was the local trader and agent; Laban had arrived at Nukulaelae in 1857, but was away from the atoll from 1860 to 1864 and therefore absent when the raiders called. Of these men five bachelors became permanent settlers after marrying women left widowed by the kidnapping of their husbands.<sup>7</sup> The total of 250 taken represents 79 per cent of the estimated total population in 1863, a substantially higher figure than for any other island visited by the Peruvian ships.



29 In the leaf skirts they would have worn on the recruiting ships: women and children of the nineteenth century on Funafuti. From *The National Geographic Magazine* (1908). NL.

### Funafuti

Proceedings at Funafuti were in many ways a repetition of the Nukulaelae recruit. It appears that one ship, with Rose now on board, entered the navigable lagoon and anchored while the other two remained outside the passage, and therefore out of sight of the village.<sup>8</sup>

From contemporary accounts and oral tradition it would seem that the sole European living ashore, the trader Jack O'Brien, had been a shipmate of Tom Rose on an American whaler from which both had deserted at Nukulaelae. With Rose acting as interpreter and recruiter the islanders were invited, as at the other atoll, to recruit for coconut oil making, then apparently for gold digging and finally to go with their Nukulaelae neighbours 'to learn about God'.<sup>9</sup>

O'Brien was allegedly deceived at first as to the real nature and intentions of the Peruvian kidnapers, whether by Rose himself or the captain of his ship, and by the time he had discovered what they were and had warned the islanders 171 were already embarked and only 146



30 Jack O'Brien and his family on Funafuti. From Mrs Edgeworth David, *Funafuti* . . . (London 1899). NL.

remained, a remnant that 'consisted chiefly of women and children'. G.A. Turner was told in 1878 that those who left were promised that they would be taken to school on a island close by and would be brought back in a month.<sup>10</sup>

According to another tradition, reported to be favoured by some of the islanders not connected with O'Brien's numerous descendants, he arrived with the kidnapers and persuaded the people to come on board, telling them that they were mission ships. There are good reasons, however, for rejecting this story as implausible; certainly it cannot be reconciled with the account given to Murray in 1865, which credits O'Brien with saving those who remained.<sup>11</sup>

As on Nukulaelae, the figure of 171 for the total number taken and 146 for those who stayed behind given by George Turner in 1876 is accepted, and for much the same reasons: he had a scientific interest in statistical accuracy and the advantage of being helped by Tema, the resident teacher.<sup>12</sup> Murray's totals of 180 and 'about 100' are clearly rough estimates only, while Moresby is not even consistent in his guesses: he gives 250 and 140 in his 1872 report, but 140 and 'over 140' in his book.<sup>13</sup>

### Other Tuvalu Islands

On his pioneering missionary journey in 1865 Murray enquired at each of the other islands visited—Nukufetau, Vaitupu and Nui—whether anyone had been blackbirded to Peru and found that the recruiters had been only to Nukufetau. On this atoll, apparently thanks to the good judgment of the chief, the people 'had been put on their guard, and only three were captured, and two of these escaped at the island of Rotuma, and found their way back to their own land.'<sup>14</sup>

Captain Moresby was sent in 1872 on H.M.S. *Basilisk* specifically to check on the activities of kidnappers and reported that no one had gone from Nui, Niutao or Nanumanga nor, on the assurance of Captain E. Keats of the trading brig *E.K. Bateson*, from Vaitupu, but that 17 had been taken from Nanumea 'by a Spanish barque about eight years ago'. George Turner, with his usual thoroughness, amended the figure to 21 and this is considered more accurate, especially as Moresby did not land but obtained his information at second-hand from the beachcomber-trader Tom Day, who was notoriously unreliable.<sup>15</sup> The barque would appear to have been the Ugarte y Santiago *Adelante*, en route from Callao to Beru in the southern Gilberts (see Chapter 12).

These, and the other Tuvalu Islands, were visited by Murray in 1866, Whitmee in 1870, and Vivian and Powell in 1871 (most of them by more than one of these missionaries), and it is clear from their negative reports that the inhabitants had not been recruited for Peru, particularly as the one visit of a 'slaver'—to Niutao on 16 November 1866—was described in detail; and she was not in any way connected with the Peruvian labour trade.<sup>16</sup>

It appears, therefore, that the Peruvian barques *Dolores Carolina*, *Polinesia* and *Honorio* visited Nukulaelae and Funafuti late in May 1863, and that one or more of them went on to Nukufetau. If any ship from Peru called at the other five islands in Tuvalu, apart from the *Adelante* at Nanumea, they made no impact on the inhabitants and obtained no recruits at any of them. The total number of people taken from Tuvalu, including Nanumea, was approximately 445, of whom 2 escaped before the vessels had left Polynesia and returned to their atoll. In considering population figures from any island in the Tuvalu Group one has, of course, to keep in mind that the islanders were inveterate travellers—in 1865, for instance, there were 20-30 Vaitupu people living on Funafuti—so everyone who left for Peru from an island was not necessarily locally born or even locally domiciled.

Statements in successive Gilbert and Ellice Islands Colony Biennial Reports that the Tuvalu population was reduced from about 20,000 to 3000 by blackbirders may consequently be dismissed as fictional, while remarks by Roberts that the blackbirders were responsible for 'considerably reducing the number of the inhabitants', and Luke that the islanders were 'snatched away literally by the thousand', appear to be based on this inaccurate secondary source.<sup>17</sup>

### Rotuma

If we cannot be sure whether one, two or all three of the barques visited Nukufetau, there is little doubt that they all sailed south from the Tuvalu Group to a prearranged rendezvous at Rotuma, where it was hoped to obtain sufficient water and provisions to enable them to complete their complement of recruits before returning to Callao.

It is true that there is no report of their visit from mission sources, for the local political situation had forced the Catholic mission to

withdraw from Rotuma in 1853 and operations were not resumed until 1868; while by 1860 the chiefs had also insisted on the removal of the local Wesleyan teacher from Fiji and it was not until 1865 that the Rev. W. Fletcher arrived to resume the work of evangelisation.<sup>18</sup>

But, fortunately for the record, the Sydney merchant J.C. Malcolm had his main trading station on Rotuma, with another store on one of the Gilbert Islands. In the early 1860s Malcolm's captains were trading up and down the Tuvalu and Gilbert Groups and in 1863 the missionary on Abaiang, Hiram Bingham, met one of them, Captain W.H. Weiss of the schooner *James*, who informed him that when at Rotuma he had come across four of the 'slavers from Chile or Peru, or perhaps from both' and that 'he judged that there were at least four hundred natives on the vessel nearest him'.<sup>19</sup>

Another of Malcolm's captains, Ross Hovell of the schooner *Clarence Packet*, claimed to have seen no less than six Peruvian and Chilean slave ships off Rotuma when he called at the island on 2 June, a date which we can fortunately confirm as the *Polinesia* arrived at Callao on 16 August after a passage of 74 days from 'Rotumah': she would therefore have left there on 3 June. One of the ships was apparently at anchor, with the rest standing off and on, and her captain boarded the *Clarence Packet* seeking food for the alleged 400 islanders on board. This was refused, although 'the natives on board were almost starving'.

Captain Hovell was told that one of the other vessels at Rotuma had 150 islanders on board; that thirty-five ships in all were engaged in the trade, many being on their second voyage; that Nukulaelae, Funafuti and Nukufetau had been 'almost depopulated by the kidnapping process—all the young and middle aged people having been taken off'; and that the fleet was off to the Gilbert Islands before going home.<sup>20</sup>

It seems certain that Captain Hovell was either mistaken or misunderstood when quoted by the newspaper reporter as saying that he saw six ships and that one had 400 on board and another 150. It would have been theoretically possible for five recruiting vessels to have been there in June: the three barques from Tuvalu, the *Ellen Elizabeth* from the Gilberts and the *Margarita* which left Callao on 26 January and had not been heard of since. But such a concourse is unlikely; while the rest of the recruiting fleet had either returned to Peru by 2 June or are known to have been well on their way back.

My conjecture is that Ross Hovell saw only four ships, as did Captain Weiss, but that those standing off and on drifted away during the night, as is usual in the islands, and were counted by him as newcomers when they made up to the land during the course of the next day. The fourth ship was undoubtedly the *Ellen Elizabeth*, making for Rotuma to provision.

George Newbury, an interpreter on the *Ellen Elizabeth*, mentions her meeting the barques and an incident narrated by him indicates that the meeting took place at Rotuma. Furthermore, Captain Weiss speaks of seeing the four vessels at Rotuma in the context of a state-

ment about Peruvian or Chilean slavers recruiting in the Southern Gilberts, and Captain Hovell speaks of an apparently sudden decision by their captains to make for that Group; evidently Captain Muller of the *Ellen Elizabeth* had been telling them that he had experienced no difficulty in obtaining recruits there.<sup>21</sup>

As to the alleged numbers of recruits on board the vessels, it would have been impossible to make more than rough guesses with people coming on deck and going below all the time. Most probably the figure of 400 was given by one of the captains and referred to the estimated total on the barques from Tuvalu, which would have been approximately 427, with the 150 being a round number for the 161 on the *Ellen Elizabeth*. The fact that the ships did not, as planned, go to the Gilbert Islands is readily accounted for by their lack of success in obtaining provisions; as they were already on short rations this would have necessitated a return to Callao without further delay.

Despite its failure, the attempt to buy provisions at Rotuma was a sensible one for any ships to take when recruiting as far from home as Western Polynesia. Indeed where else could they go, since purchasing stores in the main urban centres of Apia and Levuka was out of the question owing to the presence of European consuls and missionaries, and conceivably of visiting warships? What surprises one is the fact that one of the ships succeeded in kidnapping three Rotumans, not an easy feat since, although the islanders readily signed on as sailors with captains known to them, they were wary of strangers and not in the habit of responding to the blandishments of labour recruiters; as Benjamin Boyd's *Velocity* and *Portenia* found in 1847 one was more likely to lose recruits there than to gain them.<sup>22</sup>

In fact two men from Nukufetau were lost, as already noted, and eventually made their way to their home island. Yet a Rotuman called Charley, testifying before the 1869 New South Wales Royal Commission on Kidnapping, stated clearly that: 'a ship come from Callao, took three Rotumah men, put them down below, and shut them up; they never come back'.<sup>23</sup> Charley was a sophisticated Rotuman, who had lived in England as well as in Australia, and assured the Commission that he had never heard of any of his fellow-islanders being abducted save on that one occasion. The Peruvians' net gain at Rotuma, therefore, was as meagre as at Samoa: one man.

The three barques commenced the long beat back to Peru early in June, with an approximate 428 recruits on board: 1 from Rakahanga, 2 from Samoa, 250 from Nukulaelae, 171 from Funafuti, 1 from Nukufetau and 3 from Rotuma. The *Honorio* arrived at Callao on 27 July with 110 (32 men, 40 women and 38 children), the *Dolores Carolina* on 14 August with 130 (55 men, 43 women and 32 children) and the *Polinesia* on 16 August with 113 (63 men, 40 women and 10 children). The ships thus landed a total of 353 islanders out of the 428 estimated to have left Rotuma: a loss of 75 (or 17.52 per cent), which would not appear unreasonable since food, and probably water, was in short supply. It was fortunate that there was no epidemic, as had occurred on the two *Rosas* after leaving Fakaofu.

## Tonga: the Tale of the Hobart Whaler 'Grecian'

CAPTAIN THOMAS James McGrath, master of the 209-ton Tasmanian whaler *Grecian*, left Hobart on 17 December 1861 for a whaling voyage to the South Seas. With the exception of one islander his crew of twenty-seven were all of European extraction and for the most part old hands at the whaling game.<sup>1</sup>

After picking up a lady friend at Botany Bay the captain spent over a year on the whaling grounds, selling more than six tuns of whale oil at Wellington in January 1863.<sup>2</sup> Here, and also at the Chatham Islands, the crew were changed: it seems probable that in fact they left the ship voluntarily. These were replaced by fifteen Maoris and Portuguese and ten others, who were to be discharged at the first Australian or New Zealand port called at after 20 May.

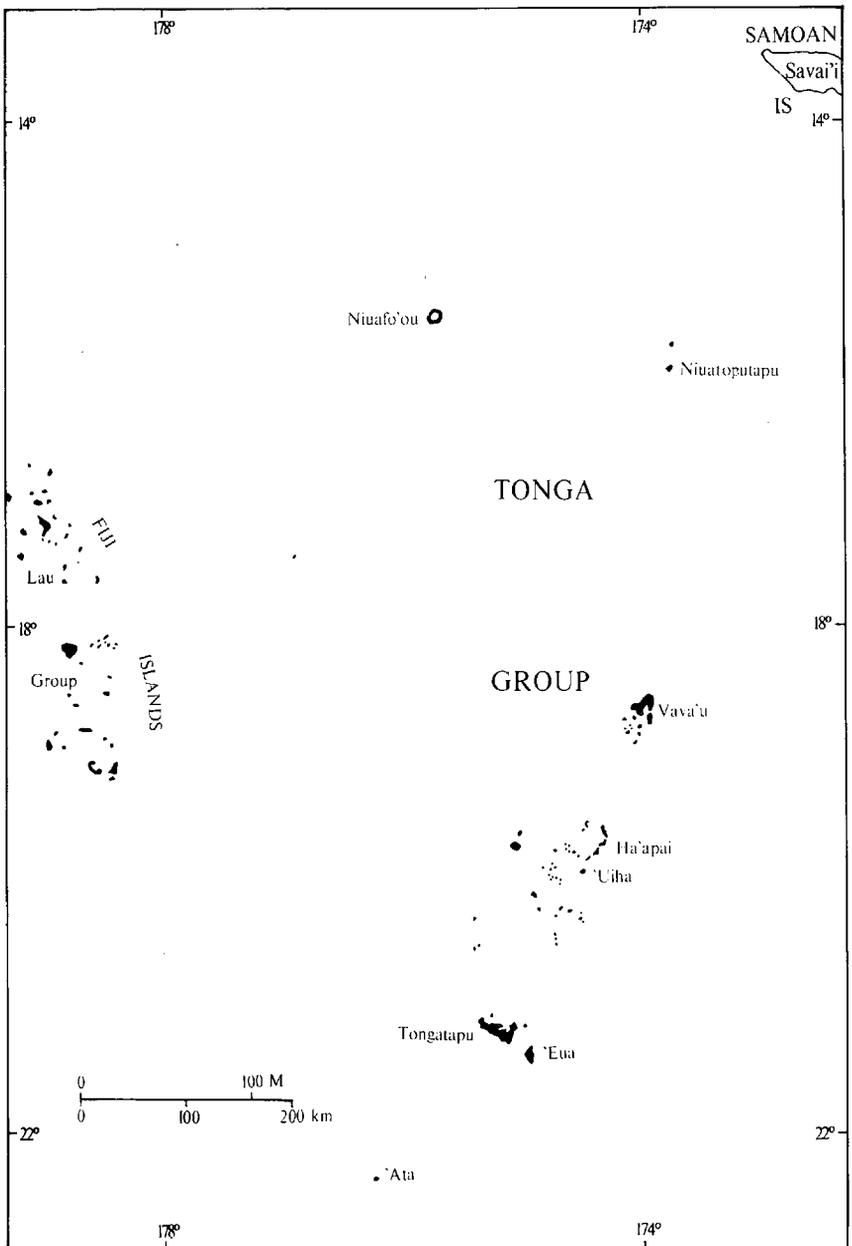
McGrath then headed for the islands and on 17 May 'he proposed to the crew that they should enter on the slave trade as being more profitable', adding that 'the islanders could easily be sold on the South American coast'.<sup>3</sup>

A seaman named John Turner and seven others refused and were landed at Niue Island three days later, their articles having by then expired. While they were disembarking, the Niueans, accompanied by the missionary W.G. Lawes, arrived on the scene and gave them five minutes to leave; the second mate, who was in charge of the ship's boat, agreed to take them on board again, only to be charged by the captain with disobeying orders 'in not leaving the men on the rocks as he was told to do'.<sup>4</sup>

Ten days later they were put ashore at Tutuila, and on reaching Apia they were joined by another shipmate, John Bryan, who had been landed at Levuka when he also objected to serving on a slaver.<sup>5</sup> Bryan told them that after leaving Samoa the *Grecian* had gone to Tonga and that:

the captain there induced a large party of natives to come on board to trade, and while they were dining on the 'tween decks, closed the hatches upon them, men, women and children to the number of about 130, and sailed with them for the Peruvian coast.<sup>6</sup>

This kidnapping could only have taken place at 'Ata, the isolated southernmost outlier in the Tongan Group, for apart from a few men from Niuafo'ou no other Tongan island lost any of its inhabitants. In



The Tonga Group



31 Uninhabited since the *Grecian's* raid: lonely 'Ata Island in the Tonga Group. By courtesy of Mr K.G. Willey, Canberra.

1929 an anthropologist, Edward Gifford, published this account of the 'Ata abductions, obtained from two informants who were school children on the island at the time:

When the Peruvian raider appeared she was black with white doors painted on her sides to make her look like a man-of-war. Vehi went aboard and presumably arranged the kidnapping. When he returned ashore, he made a proclamation that each family was to send a good-looking man aboard with provisions to sell. There was to be no selling on shore, and furthermore the selling on the ships was to take place below decks. Once the Ata people were aboard they were sent to various rooms to select the goods they wanted in exchange. After entering the rooms the doors were locked.<sup>7</sup>

The Vehi referred to was a Tongan named Paul Vehi, who had lived for two years in Sydney; he claimed to have been appointed Mayor of 'Ata by King George I and was generally blamed for the kidnapping, though it seems probable that he too was deceived by the captain.

It is significant that the people of 'Ata should have remembered that the *Grecian* had white doors or ports on her bulwarks which made her look like a warship, for in actual fact she had formerly been a 6-gun brig-of-war and when in Wellington she had been refitted 'in a suspicious manner, but no notice was taken by the authorities, as the master was well-known to them as an experienced whaler'.

Captain McGrath was decidedly hazy as to his movements between June 1863, when he got rid of Bryan, and about December, when he turned up again with his ship at Stewart Island, where he settled with the lady from Botany Bay. He was strongly suspected of having been engaged in slaving operations, but although in a Court action for arrears of wages claimed to be due from the owner's agents he stated that he had taken fifty Tongans from Niuatoputapu to Vanua Levu, he denied that they had been sold.<sup>8</sup>

Captain Moresby, of H.M.S. *Basilisk*, called at Niuatoputapu in 1872 specifically to enquire whether any islanders had been kidnapped but was told by the local trader that apart from an unsuccessful attempt to obtain labour two years previously no recruiters had visited the island; on the other hand Axman, the German trader on nearby Niuafou, informed him that five years before his visit a ship had called there

and under pretence of taking the islanders to Fiji, where they would earn plenty of money, induced 30 of the men to go on board; not one of the 30 have ever since been heard of. It is supposed that they were taken to Sunday or Rasue [Raoul] Island for the purpose of being sent to work the Peruvian guano islands.

The statement was confirmed by the head missionary teacher, who spoke a little English, and apart from the fact that the date of the visit is incorrect, as it often is in hearsay verbal accounts of past events, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the report.<sup>9</sup>

The *Grecian's* route from 'Ata to Levuka would have taken her close to the isolated southern Lau Island of Ono i Lau and Captain McGrath apparently made an attempt to obtain recruits there also, for it was reported in July that 'the Peruvian slavers have been to Ono' and no recruiting vessel from South America came anywhere near Fiji. He was, however, unsuccessful as is clear from the British Consul's report in October that no one had been taken from the Fiji consular district.

That it was McGrath who also called at Niuafou is even more probable: for no captain from South America is likely to have known that Fiji would be a place of work both plausible and attractive to the men of Niuafou, whereas McGrath evidently knew the Tongan and other Western Pacific Groups intimately through his whaling voyages, had just been to Fiji and would have been passing near the island on his way, as Turner said, to the Peruvian coast.

Perhaps fortunately for McGrath, since she had not been licensed by the Peruvian Government to engage in the Polynesian labour trade, the *Grecian* did not have to arrive at any Peruvian port with her recruits, where her appearance would have excited considerable attention, particularly from ships of the French Pacific Fleet and the British Pacific Station at Callao. For on 19 July the barque *General Prim*,

owned by Ugarte y Santiago, arrived with 174 recruits (101 males and 73 females) from 'the island of Frinately'.<sup>10</sup>

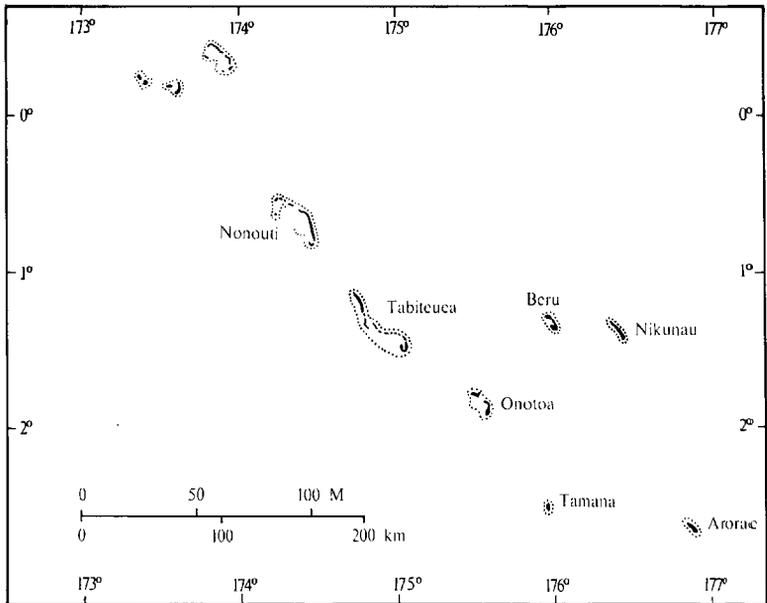
What seems to have happened is that the *Grecian*, making for South America with a full load of passengers, met the *General Prim*, which had left Callao in March in search of recruits (who by the middle of 1863 were becoming hard to obtain), most probably at or near Pukapuka, and sold them outright, to the mutual advantage of both parties. Captain Olano, of the *General Prim*, on being told that his new passengers were from the Friendly Islands, would have transcribed this information as best he could.

Offers to buy recruits and transfers between ships were quite frequently made by those engaged in the Peruvian trade, and the fact that the *General Prim* had obtained her complement by purchase would have occasioned little comment.<sup>11</sup> As regards the numbers taken from 'Ata it is suggested that a more exact figure than the 'about 130' given by John Bryan could be 144, i.e. 174 landed by the *General Prim*, less 30 taken from Niuafo'ou.

According to an account given to the Rev. A.H. Wood, one other attempt was made to kidnap Tongans at about the period of the Peruvian labour trade. The ship involved called at 'Uiha, one of the Ha'apai Islands, and some of the islanders had actually been taken to her when their compatriots ashore, by banging on an iron pan, succeeded in luring the sailors to return: presumably under the impression that more wished to recruit. Once ashore they were successfully ambushed, the ship seized and their friends released. The tradition is well known in Tonga and in evidence of its authenticity the 'Uiha people point to five small cannon, allegedly from the ship, and still preserved on their island.<sup>12</sup> If true, it could account for the fate of the *Margarita*, which left Callao on 26 January, bound for the islands: and vanished.

## Micronesian Afterthought: 'Ellen Elizabeth' in the Gilberts

WE DO NOT know the date on which the Chilean brig *Ellen Elizabeth* left South America for the islands under the command of Captain Muller, with John Holm as supercargo and a crew of eleven, but from the fact that she arrived at Tongareva on 25 January 1863 it was probably about the middle of December.<sup>1</sup> By that time it would have been impossible to reach the more promising recruiting areas in Polynesia before they had been exploited by others, or the local inhabitants had been warned by missionaries and consuls to keep away from visiting ships not known to them, the only exception being the Tuvalu Group, which remained in ignorance of events elsewhere until the *Dolores Carolina* and her sister-ships called in May.



The Southern Gilbert Islands

It is doubtful if the owner of the *Ellen Elizabeth*, a well-known shipping magnate in Valparaiso named José Tomás Ramos, knew all



32 A southern Gilbertese family, sketched in 1851. Webster Collection, Auckland Public Library.

this, but in any event it was decided to send her to the Gilbert Islands, whose Micronesian inhabitants had a large Polynesian strain in their racial composition and who had not been visited by labour recruiters since 1847, when Benjamin Boyd's ships the *Portenia* and *Velocity* recruited seventeen Gilbertese at Tamana and five at Arorae.<sup>2</sup>

Leaving Tongareva on 3 February the *Ellen Elizabeth* made a good passage to the Southern Gilberts, where fifty islanders were obtained at Onotoa. The next island visited was Nonouti, in the Central Gilberts, where George Newbury and Adolphus Bassett were signed on as interpreters on 9 March (the former on a salary of \$30 a month) and accompanied the party to Peru. Newbury was an American from Long Island, New York, who had been living in the Gilbert Group for two years as a trader for the Sydney-based firm of Smith, Randall and Fairclough and was accompanied by his Gilbertese wife and their child; Bassett was a beachcomber.<sup>3</sup>

Two months were spent in cruising around the Gilberts though the brig anchored only once: for two or three hours at Nonouti, where 25 recruits were engaged. Sailing south another 13 (a man and 12 women) were engaged at Tabiteuea, and about 50 at Arorae. One hundred and sixty-one recruits in all were taken from the Gilberts, so it will be seen that there is a shortfall of 23 in the island totals. The evidence suggests, though it is inconclusive, that these were obtained from Tamana.

As the *Ellen Elizabeth* stood off and on to the lee of each atoll the islanders sailed out in their canoes and were easily persuaded to come on board to trade, in the hope of pilferage, or out of mere curiosity, as they had been accustomed to do on their visits to passing whaling ships since the 1820s. Once on deck many of them were willing to sign on as recruits, misled by what Newbury terms the 'fallacious promises' of the captain, for the pressure on food resources in the well-populated but arid islands of the Southern Gilberts made them ideal recruiting country.

When persuasion failed Captain Muller used more forcible means, towing the canoes out to sea and scuttling them when too far from the land for anyone to swim ashore; which Newbury describes as 'the usual way of capturing natives'. While we do not know the brig's tonnage she was evidently a small vessel for after leaving Arorae she became uncomfortably crowded and, with provisions already short, she was headed for Rotuma in the hope of obtaining supplies there for the journey to Peru.

At Rotuma the *Ellen Elizabeth* met the *Dolores Carolina*, *Polinesia* and *Honorio*, with their Tuvalu recruits on board, early in June, but finding it impossible to replenish her stores there the captain set sail for Lambayeque in northern Peru. It was a long voyage—over five months from the Gilberts to Peru—and an unhappy one during which 33 of the recruits died from lack of food, overwork—for they had to pump the leaking craft continuously—and the cold. Admittedly it was the southern winter and the equatorial islanders were not used to low

temperatures but the particular mention of cold weather during the voyage suggests that the ship must have gone well to the south to get her easting.<sup>4</sup>

One other ship was routed to the Gilberts, the Ugarte y Santiago barque *Adelante*, but unfortunately we know nothing of her voyage except that she left Callao on 1 March on her third visit to the islands and returned from the island of Beru in the southern Gilberts on 16 August, after a quick direct passage of 72 days. She would therefore have left Beru on or about 5 June.

One can identify the 'Isla Perú' as Beru since that is how it is termed in a reference to 1869 documentation relating to the activities of the Tahitian barque *Marama* at that atoll, and the authenticity of the record is confirmed by the fact that it is taken from the Peruvian naval records formerly in the Naval Museum.

It seems probable that on her long journey from Callao to the Gilbert Group the *Adelante* was set to the south and made her landfall at the northernmost Tuvalu island of Nanumea where, as we know from Chapter 10, 21 recruits were carried off 'by a Spanish barque'. That she took them is far more likely than the hitherto held view that they were taken by one of the three Peruvian ships operating in the southern Tuvalu atolls, who would have had to make a major deviation impossible within the period during which they are known to have been in that Group.

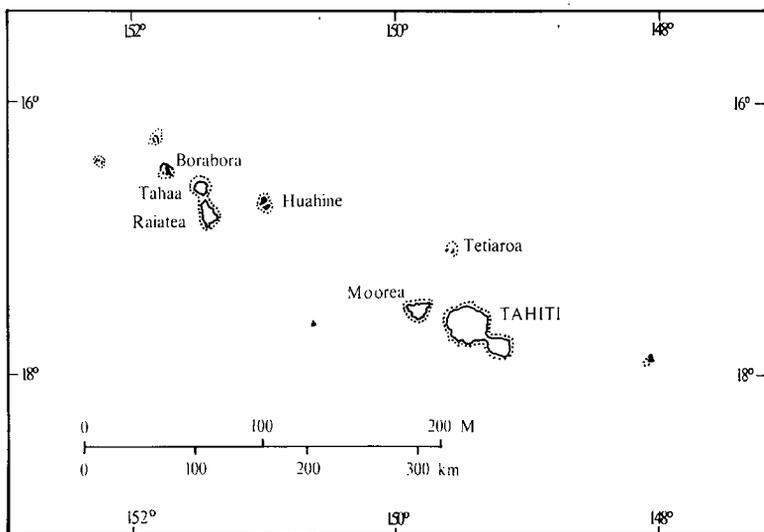
The *Adelante* returned to Callao with 172 recruits and after deducting the 21 Nanumeans we have listed the remaining 151 as coming from Beru. This is quite possible, since we know that the population pressure on Beru at the time made the inhabitants as eager to be recruited as the Tongarevans had been on the *Adelante's* two previous voyages. It is conceivable, however, that some of them could have come from Onotoa or Nikunau, or other neighbouring islands, as mission records south of Tabiteuea did not commence until 1870.

As in the case of the neighbouring Tuvalu Group the number of Gilbertese taken by the Peruvians became incorporated in local tradition in an exaggerated form. Before the year was over Captain Weiss was assuring the Rev. Hiram Bingham on Abaiang that slavers from either Chile or Peru had achieved the partial depopulation of Tabiteuea and some other islands in the southern Gilberts and considered that 'thousands must have been taken from the Group'. His statement concerning Tabiteuea was confirmed by Captain Hugh Fairclough, the respected shipping manager for Smith, Randall and Fairclough, whose local headquarters were on Butaritari. Yet all the *Ellen Elizabeth* actually took from Tabiteuea were twelve women and a single man out of an estimated population of between 7000 and 8000 on the atoll.<sup>5</sup>

In more recent years the Peruvians have clearly come to be blamed for much of the depopulation caused by recruiting for Fiji, which commenced only a year after the visit of the brig, and for Tahiti, which started in 1867. Thus the 312 recruits taken by two ships became the thousands taken by a Peruvian fleet.

## The View from Tahiti

THE ACTIVITIES of the *Serpiente Marina* at Mangareva, the capture of the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* while recruiting in the Tuamotus, the taking of the *Cora* by the people of Rapa and the troubles of the *Misti's* captain at the same island—all these incidents had one feature in common: they resulted in the departure of the vessels concerned for the port of Papeete in Tahiti, the capital of Eastern Polynesia and the headquarters of Louis Eugène Gaultier de la Richerie, Commandant of the French Establishments in Oceania and Imperial Commissioner for the Society Islands [hereafter called the Governor].<sup>1</sup>



The Society Islands

The news of the first *Adelante* recruitment from Tongareva and the rapid development of the labour trade which followed reached Tahiti early in November by the American schooner *General Hornet*, which arrived from Peru on the 6th. The barque *Serpiente Marina* came the following day from Mangareva and was immediately branded a slaver by beach rumour, as was the *Barbara Gomez*, which came direct from Callao on the 12th.



33 Louis Eugène Gaultier de la Richerie, Governor of French Polynesia. By courtesy of the Archives de France, Section Outre-Mer.

In the absence of any convention between France and Peru or the United States for the suppression of the slave trade or similar activities, it was difficult for the Governor to know what to do about any of these ships (for the *General Hornet* was also, though wrongly, under suspicion) except to inspect their papers and keep them under close observation in the hope of discovering some incriminating evidence which would enable them to be prosecuted in Protectorate Courts. The *General Hornet* and the *Barbara Gomez* were soon allowed to leave, as nothing could be found to justify their detention apart from some minor irregularities on the muster roll of the latter

# AUX CHEFS DES ILES TUAMOTU.

J'apprends à l'instant que des bâtiments étrangers parcourent vos îles et, se servant d'agents pris parmi quelques résidents, embauchent des naturels au moyen de promesses fallacieuses.

Savez-vous ce qui attend ces malheureux? C'est l'esclavage; ils ne retourneront jamais leur pays! Hâiez-vous de détronquer ceux qui seraient tentés de céder à l'appât grossier d'un gain illusoire, et opposez-vous à de pareilles tentatives.

Ces opérations sont criminelles dans le code de toutes les nations.

La Reine et le Commissaire Impérial vous prescrivait, aussitôt que vous auriez reçu la présente, de faire connaître, par tous les moyens possibles, qu'ils défendent, sous quelque prétexte que ce soit, l'embarquement des sujets du Protectorat sur ses navires qui, d'après leur allure, doivent être montés par des pirates.

Arrêtez ceux qui donnent de si perfides conseils: menez-les sous bonne garde à Papeete.

En attendant que j'aie plus de renseignements sur ce qui se passe, ne recevez d'avis à l'avenir, le *Latouche-Tréville*, dans vos îles, à la poursuite des pirates. Aidez le capitaine de ce navire à les capturer, afin que la juste punition de leur crime puisse leur être infligée!

Salut à vous.

Le Commandant, Commissaire Impérial,

Signé: E. G. DE LA RICHERIE.

Papeete, 21 novembre 1862, 5 h. du s.

PAPEETE. — IMPRIMERIE DE GOUVERNEMENT.

## NÁ TE MAU TAVANA O TE MAU FENUA TUAMOTU.

Io ora na,

I teie noa iho nei tou i te raa e, te faatere haere na te pahi no te fenua e e mai na rotopu i to outou na mau fenua, e mai te apiti aua mai i te feta i rave hia no rotopu i te mau papaa e parahi i te nana mau fenua, te haavare haere noa na i to te nana mau fenua, na roto i te parau tumu ore e te tia ore hoi.

Ia i te mai ra outou e, e faatiro roa hia taua ficia aroha ra ei titi: e ore roa ratou e i te faabou mai i to ratou fenua.

Faaitoitó iho ra outou i te faaité papu atu i to outou na mau taata, ia ore ratou ia vare e ia faaita noa 'tu i ta ratou mau parau taparu, e te riro roa ei mea faufaa ore, mai te mea e, ia faaita noa hia 'tu. E mau ohipa teireira o te faatiro hia ei hara rarahi i te mau fenua 'toa.

I teieni ra, te faaué atu nei te Arii vahloé e te Auvaha o te Emeperu ia outou, ci te tae raa 'tu o teie nei parau i roto i to outou na rima, e faaité haere ia outou, e e poro haere na roto i te mau raves'toa, e te faasore roa hia nei, eiaha roa 'tu te taata o te Ifau Tamaru nei e tae noa 'tu i oia i taua mau pahira, e boe hi ae; i ta ratou ra hoi haapao raa, e Eia haru ia ratou.

A tae pa hua iho ia ratou te ao mai ia outou i te nana ao raa haavare e te tia ore, e e uta mai i Papeete nei mai te tiai maie á, eiaha ia ora.

A tiai atu ai á ra vau i te parau api no ona mai, no te huru o te mau mea e rave hia na i oia, te tano oia atu nei au i te pahi Auahi ra o "*Latouche-Tréville*" i to outou na mau fenua, e imi i taua ficia eia haru na. E taururu atu outou i te Raatira o te pahi ra o "*Latouche-Tréville*" i te haru raa ia ratou, ia tia hoi te tou raa 'tu i oia iho ia ra tou i te utua e au i ta ratou mau hara.

Io ora na,

Te Tomana' te Auvaha o te Emepera,

Papahia: E. G. DE LA RICHERIE.

Papeete, le 21 novembra 1862, hora pae.

## 34 Proclamation to the Chiefs of the Tuamotu Islands prohibiting embarkation on the Peruvian 'pirate' ships. *Tahiti British Consulate Papers*, vol. 10. ML.

which, as instructed, returned to Callao without any recruits.<sup>2</sup>

The *Serpiente Marina* was also permitted to leave on the 24th; but on the same day, and before she could get away, the schooner *Pere* arrived from the Tuamotus with news of the recruiting activities of a further Peruvian ship, and the barque was again detained under suspicion of being engaged in the same trade, and possibly in collusion. The *Latouche-Tréville* left immediately to search for the new vessel and to convey the following warning to the chiefs of the archipelago:

To the Chiefs of the Tuamotu Islands

I have just heard that foreign vessels are going through your islands and, using a few residents as agents, are engaging natives by means of misleading promises.

Do you know what awaits these unfortunate people? It is slavery; they will never see their homes again! Be quick to undeceive those who may be tempted to yield to the clumsy enticement of an illusory gain, and oppose any similar endeavours.

These actions are criminal by the codes of all nations.

The Queen and the Imperial Commissioner order you, as soon as you receive this letter, to make it known, by all possible means, that they forbid under any pretext whatsoever the embarkation of Protectorate subjects on these ships, which it appears are equipped as pirates.

Arrest those who give false advice; take them in proper custody to Papeete.

While waiting for more information about what is happening I am sending the despatch-boat *Latouche-Tréville* to your islands in pursuit of these pirates. Help the captain of this vessel to capture them, so that they can be properly punished for their crime!

Greetings to you.

The Commandant, Imperial  
Commissioner,  
E.G. de la Richerie

Papeete, 24 November 1862,  
5 p.m.<sup>3</sup>

The Queen's husband and son travelled on the ship to convey her concern to the islanders and at the same time warn the chiefs that the edict must be strictly enforced; while the captain, on the Governor's instructions, advised them to use force in combating the kidnappers if necessary—agreeable advice which the Mangarevans and Marquesans made use of with alacrity.<sup>4</sup>

The *Latouche-Tréville* caught up with the ship she was seeking which, though without a name on her bow or stern, proved to be the *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, about six miles off Makemo on 3 December and brought her to with a cannon shot. Ari'iaue, the Queen's son, later Pomare V, distinguished himself by being the first to board the 'pirate', as she came to be known, despite a rumour that she was manned by thirty well armed men.<sup>5</sup> With a prize crew in charge she arrived at Papeete on 7 December, and instantly became the main topic of Tahiti gossip. Eighty-four of her 151 recruits were disembarked at Faaite; the remainder were brought to Papeete for questioning.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, the evidence against the *Serpiente Marina* mounted fast: a Chilean frigate, the *Mathias Salvinus*, arrived on 29 November from the Gambiers and Marquesas bringing news of the fracas arising from her dubious proceedings at Mangareva; while the two Easter islanders were discovered on board but not on the muster roll, together with 104 'couchettes', or temporary plank bunks, arranged in two rows in the hold, a brick stove presumed to be for the intended 'tween-deck passengers, the two large coppers for cooking and about sixty tons of fresh water. She was described as being 'fitted like a slaver' with, besides the usual conversions, 'a strong open barricade across the upper deck a little abaft the mainmast' and with her 'between-



35 Queen Pomare of Tahiti, who sent her husband and son to warn the Tuamotu chiefs to avoid the Peruvian slavers. From J.T. Arbousset, *Tahiti et les îles adjacentes* . . . (Paris 1867). NL.

decks extremely low, ill-ventilated and much encumbered with the extensive arrangements for berthing her expected passengers'.

Although the Spanish Captain Martínez now claimed to have called at Mangareva for water while en route to China there was at least a *prima facie* case that he was in reality engaged in the labour trade and, on receipt of a report from the Chief of the Judicial Service, de la Richerie ordered the Public Prosecutor to proceed to Mangareva on the *Latouche-Tréville* and to hold a Judicial Enquiry into the proceedings of the *Serpiente Marina* while there. Martínez and the supercargo Saco were invited to go too, but only the latter did so; the Easter islanders were freed.<sup>7</sup>

At the enquiry, during which sixteen witnesses gave evidence, the Public Prosecutor found that the Easter islanders were clearly being held as recruits; that attempts to obtain more had been made at Mangareva, leading to a conflict for which the captain and supercargo were to blame; and that their ultimate lack of success was due only to the good sense of the Mangarevans. For attempting to violate the human rights of the islanders it was recommended that Captain Martínez and the supercargo Alexander Saco should be tried for contravening Articles 265-7 of the Penal Code. However, after considering all the circumstances, de la Richerie doubted whether their alleged acts were cognisable by Protectorate courts and therefore decided to let them leave Tahiti: he considered both to be educated men who appeared ashamed of their part in the trade and hoped that on their return to Callao they would publicise the measures being taken by the French to suppress it; however he kept the *Serpiente Marina* pending a decision as to its disposal by the Ministry in Paris. This attempt to hold the ship as a hostage against further Peruvian aggression, or at least to keep her from taking part in it, was later the subject of strenuous protests from the owners of the vessel, the businessmen Bernales y Saco of Lima, in which they asked how their ship could be guilty of a crime when the personnel on board were not.<sup>8</sup>

The case of the *Mercedes* was not so difficult in one sense in that she had been caught *in flagrante delicto*, but there was some doubt as to whether the captain and supercargo should be tried for piracy or for breach of the Protectorate laws. The Governor eventually decided against pressing a piracy charge, since his interpretation of the rather obscure legislation promulgated under Article 8 of the Consular Decree of the Sixth Germinal, year VIII, was that only the Imperial Prize Court in Paris could declare on the validity of acts of piracy and captures of prizes while the actual trial would have to be removed to the Marine Court at Brest, which seemed to be an unnecessarily slow and cumbersome procedure when the crimes and misdemeanours alleged to have been committed by those in charge of recruiting on the *Mercedes* were readily cognisable by the Protectorate Courts.<sup>9</sup> The captain, on the other hand, maintained that his ship had been captured as a pirate and that he could therefore only be tried for piracy, reasoning that he was unlikely to receive an impartial trial in Tahiti, where he had already been condemned by public opinion, while if tried for piracy in France legal and diplomatic moves might well result in his acquittal.

In the event Captain Unibaso was charged before the Criminal Tribunal of the Society Islands with the crime of *séquestration* (seizing possession) of 150 Tuamotu islanders, French protected subjects, contrary to Article 341 of the Penal Code. Lee Knapp, officially pilot and interpreter, and the Frenchman Charles Grandet, were charged as accomplices. Both Unibaso and Lee Knapp were also charged with infractions of the port regulations and Grandet with defrauding his creditors, while the captain's plea that he should be charged with

piracy was dismissed. As Grandet had died in hospital his creditors were left to take their civil remedy against his estate.<sup>10</sup>

The trial commenced on 9 March and the report of proceedings takes up three supplements to the *Messenger de Taiti*: for 14, 21 and 28 March. Despite its interest—and it was the most important trial that had taken place in Tahiti—only a brief summary of the evidence of the accused and the twenty-four witnesses is given here, as those interested can read the verbatim account in the *Messenger*, or the abridged English translation in the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Empire*.<sup>11</sup> The captain in his defence maintained that the recruits came on board voluntarily and that no one was retained by force, while in any case Lee Knapp, as the special agent of the owners, was solely responsible for the conduct of recruiting affairs; whereas Lee Knapp affirmed that Unibaso was responsible for the acts with which he was being charged since the owners had given the captain full authority over the means to be employed in recruiting the islanders.<sup>12</sup> Numerous Tuamotu witnesses gave evidence showing that they had been recruited by fraud in that they were assured that they were being engaged for agricultural work whereas their contracts permitted them to be employed in any work at the discretion of their employer; that the locality to which they were to be taken was falsely represented; that they were falsely promised repatriation when they so desired; and that an assurance was given to them that their contract was made with the compliance and in the name of the local Government and with the consent of the local Catholic mission.<sup>13</sup>

The highlight of the trial was undoubtedly the production of the Peruvian Government Licence showing that the recruits were in fact being recruited for work in the Chincha Islands guano industry. This Licence had been deposited by Brolaski, the ship's doctor, with the American Consul, who handed it on request to the Tribunal. If it was hoped that the action would serve to prevent Brolaski's prosecution it had initially the opposite effect, since the doctor was immediately charged with perjury for having stated on oath that he had no knowledge that the islanders were destined for the Chinchas: the charge was subsequently dropped, however, on representations made by the Consul to the Governor.<sup>14</sup>

When the Licence was produced in Court Thomas Reilly, pilot on the *Mercedes*, who had owned an eating-house in the Chinchas, was asked how the labourers there were treated, and replied that it was 'un affraux travail' (a frightful employment): that they were given a little rice 'of the worst quality' to eat; ill-used and treated 'absolutely as slaves'; and as punishment were kept with irons on their feet and an iron collar with teeth on their necks. Many committed suicide in despair, throwing themselves from the top of the cliffs. On the interpreter, the missionary Orsmond, translating this evidence for the benefit of the Tuamotu islanders recently rescued there was a 'profond sentiment de stupeur' (a profound sensation of amazement) in Court. Many must have realised for the first time the nature of the fate from

which they had escaped at the eleventh hour.<sup>15</sup>

In pronouncing judgment at the end of the fourth day's sitting the President of the Court alluded to the Licence as proof of the criminal manner in which the islanders had been

entrapped by a promise of easy work and good wages in a country near Pitcairn, where they were told that they would be employed in cultivating coffee, sugarcane and rice; whereas in reality they were destined for work in the Guano Islands.<sup>16</sup>

The assessors decided unanimously that Captain Unibaso and Lee Knapp were guilty of co-operating by trickery and false pretences in the carrying off and *séquestration* of Tuamotu islanders on board the *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, and that neither had committed these acts under legally pardonable circumstances. The captain was also charged with anchoring at islands in the protectorate closed to external shipping and with having embarked 150 islanders and one Frenchman without official permission. On the first count Captain Unibaso was sentenced to five years hard labour and on the other two to a fine of 3500 francs (\$679) and 15,000 francs (\$2913) respectively; Lee Knapp was given ten years hard labour. The *Mercedes* and her contents were sold by public auction. The islanders were empowered to take civil action for damages for their detention on the ship and the creditors of Grandet to sue his estate; M. Langomazino, who represented them, intervened and spoke at length during the course of the trial.<sup>17</sup>

Even before the *Mercedes* trial began the Tahitians had been thrown into a ferment of excitement by the arrival from Rapa on 17 February of the Peruvian schooner *Cora*, which had been captured by the Rapans themselves under the leadership of Mairoto. Navigated by a few deserters from other ships, including two from the Peruvian recruiter *Guillermo*, the *Cora* had been fitted like a slaver with end-to-end bunks linking the 'tween-decks, large copper boilers, a temporary brick galley, provisions and water for the intended recruits and arms and ammunition to keep them in order; and there was a 6-year-old Easter Island captive on board.<sup>18</sup>

The capture of the *Cora* struck a responsive chord in Polynesian hearts: here was clear proof that using only their traditional weapons the islanders could still prove more than a match against European would-be oppressors; and now that they had no cause to fear reprisals from the French Government the chiefs and people throughout the islands of Eastern Polynesia were looking forward to an opportunity to emulate the Rapans.

Amongst the natives, [reported the captain of the *Latouche-Tréville*], all those who speak Castilian, whether Spanish, Chilean or Peruvian, etc., are always *Hispanoles*. Thus it is much to be feared that if a vessel belonging to Spain or one of the republics on the west coast of America should call at these islands, her crew will be massacred.<sup>19</sup>



36 Papeete in the mid-19th century. From A.W. Murray, *Wonders in the Western Isles* (London 1874).

Captain Antonio Aguirre and three crew members had been brought to Papeete on the *Cora* and were interrogated at an official enquiry held on 19 February when many incidents connected with the December raid at Easter Island came to light, including the captain's shooting of two islanders who were trying to avoid capture. Aguirre and the ship's cook thereupon succeeded in escaping from Tahiti on an American whaler, one suspects to the Governor's relief as he did nothing to prevent them from going: had the captain stayed public opinion would have condemned him as a slaver and murderer and yet it would have been impossible to try him for crimes committed outside territorial jurisdiction against people who were not under French protection. As the Governor surmised, the captain no doubt feared that the uncovering of his conduct at Easter Island made it desirable for him to leave for some country where he felt safer—he was next heard of at Concepción in Chile. The schooner was found to be in a bad state of repair and was sold by auction with everything on board for 23,430 francs (\$4550) and the proceeds deposited in a Treasury Trust Account. The Rapans were awarded \$600 for their courage and skill.<sup>20</sup>

Lieutenant C. de St-Sernin, commanding the Protectorate steamer *Latouche-Tréville*, returned from taking the Public Prosecutor to Mangareva on the day following the arrival of the *Cora*. On his way there and back he had visited as many of the Tuamotus and Marquesas as possible, searching for further Peruvian raiders and helping the local Government Resident in the Marquesas, de Kermel, to urge the islanders to resist all attempts to recruit them. When in the Marquesas St-Sernin had obtained details of the abduction of twenty-six islanders by the *Empresa* and brought with him letters from the Resident

containing the depositions made by the Uapou beachcomber Nichols, the marooned Immigration Agent Duniam and supercargo Carr, and Alfred Lacombe the Swiss cook who deserted the ship at Fatuhiva, with a petition from six Marquesan children for the return of their parents. Duniam, Carr and Lacombe arrived on the *Latouche-Tréville* and were subjected to a more detailed interrogation by the judicial authorities.<sup>21</sup>

There was little that the Governor could do about the *Empresa*, now that she had left French Polynesia, except to send full particulars to de Lesseps, the French Chargé d'Affaires in Lima, with the three ex-crew members as witnesses, in the hope that he would be able to retrieve and return the islanders and persuade the Peruvian authorities to institute legal proceedings against the ship's captain and doctor. They left on 5 March by the naval schooner *Aorai*, with an outstanding Marquesan interpreter called Hoki, who spoke French and Spanish and was to be of material help to de Lesseps in his work of locating and caring for the islanders awaiting repatriation.<sup>22</sup>

The whole of the following week Tahiti was enlivened with news from the daily sittings of the Court hearing the *Mercedes* case, and before this excitement had died down the Peruvian recruiting vessel *Guayas* arrived from Guayaquil on the 23rd. She had been chartered by the Spanish firm Iarré and the Commercial Society of Guayaquil under licence from the Government of Ecuador, which had given them the sole concession to recruit labour for agricultural work in the Republic. She called first at Nukuhiva, seeking official permission to recruit Marquesans and when this was refused she made for Papeete, where the supercargo wrote a rather peremptory letter to the administration demanding 'the same privileges to recruit as given in other countries and as obtained by the French Government at Tongareva' and enclosing a printed contract.

The Governor was understandably annoyed at what seemed the impudence of yet another Peruvian pirate but when he granted an interview to the supercargo, M. de Garide, he found that he was actually ignorant of the activities of the Peruvian speculators and innocent of any intention of acting other than in accordance with the law. After receiving his apologies and a well-phrased explanatory letter from the captain, and finding them both well-educated and intelligent, de la Richerie was mollified and decided to let the *Guayas* return to Guayaquil on the captain undertaking to proceed there direct without any further attempt to recruit. That his leniency was justified seems evident from a letter written by the French Chargé d'Affaires in Quito saying that on the return of the *Guayas* the Government of Ecuador had withdrawn the licence to recruit, refused to grant any more, and requested him to thank the Governor for his courteous treatment of all concerned in the affair.<sup>23</sup>

Three weeks later, on 11 April, a second Peruvian recruiting vessel, the brig *Misti*, arrived in distress from Rapa, under the command of her owner and captain, José Antonio Basagoitia, who had bought her



37 The roadstead at Papeete. From J.S.C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage au pôle sud et dans l'Océanie* . . . (Paris 1842-6). NL.

from the Chilean owners and left Valparaiso on 26 February ostensibly to take on a cargo of coconut oil at Papeete. Captain Basagoitia (formerly master of the recruiter *Trujillo*) informed the crew when at sea that they were in reality on a voyage to get Polynesians. The visit of the *Misti* to Easter Island and Rapa has already been mentioned. Feeling that they had been deceived by the captain and resenting being cast against their will in the unsavoury role of kidnappers—and after speaking with the *Cora*'s crew whom they found ashore at Rapa—the seamen forced Basagoitia to navigate the ship to Papeete as being too unseaworthy to proceed farther on her voyage.

Here the now usual enquiry was held by the Public Prosecutor, who remarked in his report that if the *Misti* had stayed any longer at Rapa the islanders would have in all probability tried to capture her as they had done the *Cora*, in which case the crew would have assisted them. As in the case of the *Cora* and the *Guayas* the Governor decided to take no action, other than to free the two Easter islanders found on board; but in view of her condition the captain decided to sell his ship in Tahiti. In any case his crew refused to sail on her and were threatening to sue him for misrepresentation.<sup>24</sup>

By June it really seemed as if the influx of recruiters looking for Polynesians was at an end, when news arrived from Raiatea that the Chilean barque *La Concepción* (captain Thomas Gervasoni) had been wrecked on Tahaa in May after having made an unsuccessful attempt to recruit Marquesans at Hivaoa. Again no official action was necessary, and de la Richerie was content to report to Paris that he considered that the venture 'had ended in the most appropriate manner from the standpoint of justice and humanity'. Captain Gervasoni

arrived at Papeete by inter-island schooner, only to have 8000 francs stolen from him in his boarding house by a compatriot. He left shortly afterwards for Valparaiso with most of his crew, although some apparently elected to settle on Tahaa instead, where their descendants are still living.<sup>25</sup> *La Concepción* was the last of the ships in search of Polynesian recruits to call at any island in French Oceania.

Throughout the seven months which had elapsed since November 1862 de la Richerie had played his hand with considerable skill. It was not an easy game to play, for he was isolated on the other side of the globe from his superior, the Minister of the Navy and Colonies in Paris; and even his communications to the Chargé d'Affaires in Lima and the Commander-in-Chief of the French Pacific Fleet would take months before an answer could be received: from 4 December onwards he wrote letter after letter to de Lesseps, seemingly into a void for it was not until 14 June—over half a year later—that he received his first reply from Peru.<sup>26</sup>

The Governor's letters show how worried he was lest the many decisions he was having to make, without any precedents to guide him and with no one to consult whose judgment he could trust, might not be approved in Paris; and his anxiety was increased when he was reproached by de Lesseps for lacking firmness and consistency in his treatment of the captains of ships other than the *Mercedes*, and in particular the captains of the *Serpiente Marina*, *Cora* and *Guayas*, thus adding to the Chargé d'Affaires' difficulties in his dealings with the Peruvian Government. As he explained, it was difficult to know what to do, isolated as he was in Tahiti without any particular expertise in the politics of Lima, and his primary consideration had in any case to be the welfare of the ninety-seven islands under his charge.<sup>27</sup>

Any attempt to direct the Governor from Paris, except in the most general terms, was impossible, for speedy decisions by him were essential and nobody could anticipate the situations which might necessitate them; while by the time the Ministers for the Colonies and Foreign Affairs had agreed on the instructions to be sent in answer to de la Richerie's request for guidance the situation had in all probability changed. The main concern of the Ministers was to ensure that the Protectorate Courts took judicial notice only of offences committed in territorial waters; the sole exception being islands like Rapa within the French sphere of interest, where recruiting ships might be detained and brought to Papeete for interrogation of their crews. It was agreed, however, that ships arriving in Papeete whose crews, after enquiry, appeared to have been engaged in kidnapping outside the Protectorate should be escorted by French naval vessels to Callao and handed over to the Peruvian Government for action by them: which de Lesseps was to be instructed to urge them to take.<sup>28</sup> It was a sensible and humane policy, justified by the interest which the French Government had in ensuring as far as it could that exemplary measures were taken against those engaged in kidnapping Polynesians whether inside or outside the French zone—it was also considerably

more than the British Government was prepared to do.

But by the time directions to implement these decisions could be sent, the Polynesian labour trade had been proscribed by Peru and the captains of the *Serpiente Marina* and *Cora*, who were particularly cited in the inter-Ministry correspondence, had left Tahiti for more congenial climates.<sup>29</sup> De la Richerie's personal apprehensions were eventually laid to rest by receiving his Minister's despatch of 27 August 1863 approving the measures taken by him in regard to the *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, *Serpiente Marina*, *Cora*, *Guayas* and *Misti*, and thus everything of importance that he had done which might have affected French relations with Peru. Many months later he was to learn that in fact the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had expressed the opinion that, despite de Lesseps' strictures, his handling of the *Cora* and *Guayas* affairs deserved nothing but praise. Clearly the naval captain had pleased both his own Minister and the Quai d'Orsay.<sup>30</sup>

In the meantime de la Richerie had the satisfaction of seeing his measures to counter the Peruvian blackbirders proving effective as deterrents to further recruiting of French-protected subjects, once they became known in Peru. 'You may be sure', wrote an Englishman living in Lima, 'that they [the recruiters] will keep at a respectable distance from Tahiti, for Captain Penny of the *Barbara Gomez* has come back and has reported all that occurred in regard to the detention of the *Serpiente Marina*'.<sup>31</sup> They kept away not only from Tahiti, but from all French Polynesia, for after the *Empresa* left for the Marquesas on 22 November not a single recruiting captain touched at any island under French protection except the hopelessly naïve (the *Guayas* from Ecuador and *La Concepción* from Chile) or those who had no option (the *Cora* and *Misti*); none of these gained any recruits, and only one of the four succeeded in returning to South America.

To reinforce the steps taken against the ships which came within his jurisdiction the Governor kept the island people aware of what was going on by publishing full—and usually verbatim—reports in the official weekly, *Le Messager de Taiti*; by warning chiefs and officials to take all measures possible to resist the intruders; and by requiring contracts between islanders and expatriates to be written in duplicate in French and Tahitian and witnessed by a government interpreter.<sup>32</sup>

His policy was undoubtedly a practical success in deterring would-be recruiters, for although his ninety-seven French-protected islands in the Society, Marquesas, Tuamotu and Gambier Groups were the nearest to Peru, apart from Easter Island, and stretched over a large part of the Eastern Pacific, the recruiters only succeeded in inveigling or kidnapping (and getting to Peru) 26 islanders out of over 3000 taken from the rest of Polynesia. Furthermore, and to de la Richerie's justifiable satisfaction, the success of his measures spread the prestige of French administration far and wide. The *Cora* affair, as he was quick to point out, showed that Tahiti was now considered the centre of authority and justice for all the neighbouring islands, whether within or outside the French protectorate; he had indeed hoped to capitalise

on this goodwill by visiting both Easter Island and Rapa in person but was eventually compelled to abandon the idea owing to other preoccupations.<sup>33</sup>

On 6 April, however, the Governor ordered the naval ship *Diamant* to visit the Marquesas and Tongareva to find out what the recruiters had been up to, as the captain of the mission vessel *John Williams* had reported that they were kidnapping the people of the northern atolls. At the same time the *Latouche-Tréville* was sent to Mangaia, where the captain met Wyatt Gill and was told about the capture of the high chief's son Davida, and also to Atiu, where the *ariki* asked him to take two islanders to Tahiti and to request the Governor to send them on to Peru, in an attempt to find the lost Atiuans and Mangaians and arrange for their return.

The Governor welcomed this indication that Cook islanders were also looking to France for help in their troubles. The Atiu delegates were sent to Callao on the Protectorate schooner *Favorite*, where they joined the Marquesan interpreter Hoki: and with their departure the scene of action moves from Tahiti to Peru.<sup>34</sup>

PART II

*Polynesians  
in Peru*

## Journey to Servitude

ONCE A ship had obtained as many islanders as the captain or supercargo considered possible, or at least expedient, the normal practice was to confine them between decks by closing the iron grilles or, if there were none fitted, by battening down the hatches to prevent both the crew being attacked while the ship was being got under way and the recruits from jumping overboard and swimming for the shore while their island was still in sight.

All accounts agree that the initial shock of finding themselves helplessly trapped and realising, perhaps for the first time, that they were being carried away as captives to an unknown destination and an unknown fate resulted in a feeling of utter hopelessness and desperation. Perhaps the following first-hand account obtained from men of Avatele on Niue who escaped after a night aboard the *Rosa Patricia* gives an insight into what it must have been like after a typical recruitment:

When the ship sailed on the night of the capture, the natives on board thought she was only making a big tack; but they soon found that they were really off. They held a council as to what was to be done; the young men were for the seizing of the captain and crew, tying them all up and then taking the ship in and, when the natives were all safe on shore, untying the crew and letting them go; but the old men overruled this lest any of the foreigners should be killed in the affray. Two white men, armed, guarded the hatch-way, which was shut down and the poor creatures below were in total darkness. They kept knocking at the door, deck, and sides of the ship, and calling to be let out. After a while, some of the white men went down and beat them with great pieces of wood for making a noise. When the poor captives thought it was about the time of their evening worship, they united in their wretched confinement in singing and prayer.<sup>1</sup>

The next day the *Rosa Patricia* stood in to recruit at Mutalau, on the north coast, where two or three canoes came off to trade. The captives succeeded in breaking a hole in a door, got on deck and jumped overboard. Despite being fired on from the deck seven reached the shore, the rest being recaptured by a boat's crew from the barque.

Taole, son of the High Chief Hegatule of Avatele, was one of those who reached the deck and years later, after his escape from Peru, he recounted how he had been stunned on the side of his head by a weapon brandished by one of the crew and thrown back into the hold, and that: 'Three of our men were killed in the struggle, and two others were terribly wounded; and overboard they went, dead and dying'.<sup>2</sup>

Even when islanders came on board voluntarily to sign on as recruits the sight of their home disappearing in the distance was often enough to make them change their minds about leaving it; as for the captives, as long as their island was visible from the deck, and even after that if they knew its position, there were men who would try to swim for it if they could break out of their confinement. On Nukulaelae Murray met one of them three years later:

He could see the island from the deck of the ship when he slipped overboard, but had great difficulty in doing so when in the water—being able to only when on top of a large wave. He swam a night and two days before reaching the shore completely exhausted.<sup>3</sup>

The restrictions placed on recruits, once their island had been left behind, varied very widely between ships. By far the best conditions seem to have prevailed on the pioneering voyage of the *Adelante* where Byrne's 251 charges were allowed the run of the ship once it was realised that they were essentially inoffensive and anxious to please, a fact which, coupled with their good looks, occasioned much surprise on their arrival in Peru. *El Comercio* reported that:

To give some idea of the goodness of their character, suffice it to say that they were transported in complete freedom, without it being thought necessary to guard them as is done with coolies . . . These new emigrants are of a race infinitely superior both physically and morally to the Chinese. They have nothing of the slanting eyes and coarse look of the latter, and in many ways are like the Chino-cholos [Chinese-Peruvian Indians] of our coast. Their eyes are large, their teeth very white, and the air of innocence and humility that one notes in their appearance makes a favourable impression on those who look at them.<sup>4</sup>

In all probability such benevolent treatment was seldom repeated for as deceit and force came increasingly to be employed to overcome the reluctance of the islanders to leave their homes greater restraints had to be enforced on their freedom during the voyage. Nor were these precautions altogether unwarranted, for as Taole tells us:

. . . for many days afterwards our faces streamed with tears and we raised the *tangi* [death lament] for our loved ones

and for the homes that perhaps none of us would ever see again. And we meditated vengeance too, and took counsel as to how we could escape on deck and attack our captors. But every hope was in vain.

Not always in vain, for the disarming of the officers of the *Serpiente Marina*, the successful capture of the *Cora* and the escape of twenty Samoans off Satava and others at Niue and Rotuma showed what resolute Polynesians could do.

Shipboard routine on a typical recruiter can be glimpsed from this account of life on the *Rosa Patricia*:

Twice a day our gaolers lowered food and water to us, ship-biscuit and vessels containing cooked rice, and buckets of water. After the first day we were allowed to come on deck for a while, not more than five at a time; but for this we would have died. We had no chance of escape, for there was no land to be seen; everywhere around us the ocean . . . The great heat and the stifling air of the hold, the close confinement and the scant and unaccustomed food killed many of the slaves.<sup>5</sup>

The *Rosa Patricia* may be regarded as an average ship; on the worst class of slaver accounts indicate that the passengers were confined between decks for most of, and sometimes all, the time. Irons seem to have been provided on many vessels, but usually only as a precautionary measure against recalcitrants, though again a pilot who boarded the *Rosa y Carmen* at Mangareva reported that: 'between decks of this vessel there were several, tattooed on the face and hands, and all ironed'; and in the Chinese coolie trade, the prototype on which many of the Polynesian trade practices were modelled, 'passengers could be confined to their bunks—if required', at least on the ship inspected.<sup>6</sup>

Food was invariably the main problem, though water was often short enough: even on the *Adelante* they ran out of supplies and had to obtain them from an American clipper and a Hamburg merchantman on the return voyage, before calling at Huacho for yet more. On the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* rice and biscuits were supplemented by salt meat, but nowhere does the bill of fare come up to the standard of an 'abundant supply of rice, bread, beans and meat, as well as brandy and wine' promised by the captain of the *Cora* to anyone willing to sign on as a recruit. On the worst ships there was nothing but rice or coconuts: the interpreter Newbury stated that on the *Ellen Elizabeth* the recruits were given a measure of cooked rice 'as big as a little cup of tea' and a little salt fish twice a day, which being insufficient forced them to steal any food they could find; if caught they were 'whipped vigorously'. For drinking they were rationed to about three tumblers a day.<sup>7</sup>

Near-starvation conditions on so many vessels appear to have been due to the parsimony of the speculators and an expectation that captains would be able to purchase, barter for or, better still, commandeer supplies in the islands. As the Easter Island raiders soon found out, this was in fact impossible, whether at Rapa, where they first tried, or at the atolls, where all they could filch was a limited number of coconuts. It was inadvisable to call at Papeete, Apia or Levuka, where supplies could have been purchased if captains had the necessary money, and even raids on the remoter high islands for much-needed water—unobtainable at the atolls—ran the risk of retaliation from the incensed inhabitants.

On the longer runs to the atolls the critical decision to return to Peru had to be made before (in some cases long before) the legal passenger complement of one recruit for each registered ton had been reached; for the small atoll populations were unable or unwilling to supply a ship with the number of immigrants required, while island hopping was time consuming and, with passengers on board, used up the provisions and water required for the voyage back. Only the *Adelante* consistently exceeded her legal complement on all three voyages, though her first two were special cases. The regulations were changed to one recruit for every two tons in 1868, and this revised limit had been exceeded on eighteen voyages by vessels carrying Polynesians, an indication that many ships were in fact overcrowded.

The last ships left in Western Polynesia made an attempt to obtain supplies at Rotuma and when they found that nothing could be purchased or purloined from the local trading station, the Sydney trading ships which called there or the Rotumans themselves, they also had to make tracks for Callao, rationing the recruits to the bare minimum necessary to sustain life. Even before they left the island Captain Hovell of the *Sydney Packet* said of one of them that the natives on board were nearly starving and called out to him for something to eat, their allowance being only one coconut each a day.<sup>8</sup>

Despite their meagre rations observers at Callao were known to remark on the smart appearance of the recruits on their arrival, with the men in their shirts and trousers and the women in frocks. These clothes, described as 'slop clothing suitable to the native taste', were issued to them usually a day or two before arrival, though occasionally, as on the *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, as soon as they came on board. Accounts in which the passengers are described as naked are presumably due to the rapid deterioration of any tapa cloth, coconut or pandanus leaf skirts, or other clothing made from local materials.<sup>9</sup>

As one would expect, the treatment of recruits on board varied, the crew no doubt taking their cue from the officers, and they in turn from the captain. Quite frequently those questioned had no complaints and even the kidnapped, as on the *Empresa*, eventually cheered up and apparently accepted their lot philosophically. Hell ships were the exception: the *Rosa y Carmen* was one; and another the *Ellen Elizabeth*, where 'one of the greatest pleasures of the captain was to

cover the women with tar, pull their hair and have them beaten by seamen', while the men died from starvation, overwork at the pumps and exposure to the cold wind without clothing.<sup>10</sup>

If some crew members, allegedly including the celebrated Ross Lewin, later recruiter for Robert Towns in the Queensland labour trade, were content to master the profession of blackbirding while working on the Peruvian ships, others did what little they could to befriend the islanders. An interesting example is provided by these notes written by F. Ahtos, a seaman on the *Rosa y Carmen* who left them on Pukapuka. The first is addressed to Guillermo Kast and reads:

If by one of the coincidences of life you should come to land at this island, I beg you to see in these unhappy people, beings as worthy of compassion as there possibly could be; for they are simple, obliging and hospitable, and ready to receive good religious instruction. Treat them well, and do them whatever service you can.

The second is evidently intended for the captains of any ships which might call at the island, whether for recruiting or trading:

I beg that whoever may read these lines may treat these islanders well; by doing this you will be able to get whatever you need from them, for although they are docile and obliging they don't like to feel themselves brusquely treated; they are moreover, isolated creatures who should be looked upon with compassion because of the unhappy situation in which Providence has placed them.<sup>11</sup>

It would probably be fair to say that in the majority of recruiting vessels the Polynesians were treated without unnecessary brutality, but essentially as slaves. Every adult on board was worth good money if landed in sound condition at Callao and it made good economic sense not to lose any en route if it could be avoided. As Taole said of the armed guards who threatened to shoot those who made a noise: 'We taunted them and bade them fire. They would not do that while we were safe in the hold. They did not desire to deplete their cargo of slaves.'<sup>12</sup>

Not unexpectedly, however, the beauty of the younger women was not lost on the officers and, as it did not reduce their value as merchandise, they faced the age-old choice of female captives the world over: seduction or rape. Among other charges heard on appeal in the Peruvian Supreme Court against the captain and doctor of the *Empresa* was one of taking four women by force from their husbands and keeping them in the cabin during the voyage. Of another ship it was reported that the women, though kept in the hold, were brought to the cabin from time to time for sexual intercourse with the officers. The captain of the *Dolores Carolina* even announced his intention of

giving a feast to celebrate his 'pretended marriage' with a Rakahanga girl.<sup>13</sup>

Sickness was invariably a serious risk on the longer voyages, particularly on vessels where to increase profits the recruits were kept immured in grossly overcrowded and insanitary holds between decks. In reporting the arrival of the *Adelante* from her second voyage with 203 passengers the British Chargé d' Affaires at Lima remarked:

I doubt whether much cleanliness is observed on board of these vessels, for I was informed the other day that a gentleman of my acquaintance, a proprietor, went on board this or another Polynesian emigrant vessel, with the object of obtaining some islanders, but was so much disgusted with the odour proceeding from the ship and with the appearance of the people, that he did not engage any.<sup>14</sup>

At least burial was no problem, for the records indicate that the sick or wounded not considered likely to recover were, with those already dead, unceremoniously thrown overboard: in a verified case on the *Guillermo* the elderly woman concerned was not even sick, but merely considered too old to sell.<sup>15</sup>

## Death on Sunday

**A**MONG THE vessels which comprised the recruiting fleet there was one which by general consent was acknowledged to be the flagship, and her captain the commodore. The Spanish 402-ton *Rosa y Carmen* was not only by far the largest ship to engage in the trade—the *Empresa* was the only other over 300 tons—but ‘a beautiful clipper barque of the true slaver type’, heavily armed and remarkably fast.

Her master, Captain Marutani, was the epitome of the buccaneer of romance: described as ‘a terrible ogre with one eye’, invariably seen carrying a gun, several revolvers and a bowie-knife, he was a swash-buckling martinet who brooked no interference from anyone, ashore or afloat. Like several of his mainly Spanish officers and crew of twenty he was rumoured to have served his time in the African slave trade; at all events he made little attempt to obtain his recruits by persuasion, preferring to round them up at gun-point and stow them ‘tween-decks fettered in irons.’<sup>1</sup>

We have chronicled how the *Rosa y Carmen* left Callao on 7 December 1862 for Easter Island where Captain Marutani organised and commanded the eight-ship armed raid which netted, with subsidiary ventures, a total of 349 captives, of which his share was no fewer than 128 (or nearly 40 per cent). With typical arrogance he seems to have anticipated a quick procurement of his complement of 400 recruits at other islands, so he kept 63 Easter islanders on board.

His kidnapping attempts were, however, foiled by the French presence at Mangareva, the terrain at Rapa and the reef passage at Rakahanga; and it was not until he arrived at Pukapuka that, unwontedly accepting the advice of a local beachcomber, he obtained 60 more recruits by deceit. In the Tokelaus he made his main haul by kidnapping a further 136 islanders, of whom 80 were apparently transferred from his slower tender, the brig *Micaela Miranda*. When the *Rosa* left the Tokelau Group she therefore had 266 passengers on board, including 7 boys picked up off the reef at Rakahanga.

Five more were taken at sea while the *Rosa* was en route to Tutuila for water, but by now the captain’s obstinacy in kidnapping several islanders at Fakaofu who were suffering from acute dysentery had begun to turn his ship into a death trap.<sup>2</sup> At Tutuila, furthermore, her casks were seized by the Samoans when they discovered that she was a ‘man-stealer’. Of the six Fakaofu men sent ashore in intended ransom for the water casks three died almost immediately from the disease, so

it must have been already in evidence. The *Rosa* had then 271 passengers on board; there was scarcely any drinking water left and rations had been reduced to half a *popo* (an old coconut) every two days.<sup>3</sup>

It was almost certainly at Tutuila that Captain Marutani realised that with insufficient food and water his passengers, with the contagion spreading, would never make Callao in saleable condition, if indeed they were still alive. After an abortive attempt to procure 200 more recruits by force at Ta'u, in the Manu'a Group, the *Rosa's* course was therefore changed from due east to south and on 9 March she called at Niue, where a seaman was sent ashore with a letter to the Rev. W.G. Lawes requesting medicine for dysentery. At the same time the opportunity was taken to kidnap a further nineteen men.

From Niue the *Rosa* kept on heading south for Sunday (or Raoul) Island in the Kermadec Group, which was reached on the 15th. It seems probable that the island was chosen on the advice of the beachcomber Paddy Cooney, who had embarked as interpreter at Pukapuka and knew the South Seas well. At all events the captain could not have picked a better place for recuperating, as its population at the time consisted of only four part-European and part-Polynesian families, numbering twenty-two men, women and children in all, who were engaged in growing quantities of potatoes and other vegetables in the fertile volcanic soil, and raising cattle, pigs and fowls, for sale to the whalers who had been accustomed to call there over the years for refreshment and supplies.

The first priority was to clear the ship of its involuntary passengers to enable the filthy and malodorous holds to be cleansed and at the same time give an opportunity for the more able-bodied to forage ashore for anything edible. The captain of the island schooner *Emily*, on her way from New Zealand to Samoa, arrived in time to witness events. To quote his own words:

The object of the slaver visiting Sunday Island was to try and restore the health of his cargo, which must have been very numerous as 300 or more men, women and children that were in a dying state owing to their crowded condition were landed in a most deplorable plight. They were so emaciated and feeble that they could not stand, some not able to crawl. The first launch load that was landed consisted of fifty-three men; only three could stand of the number, three were found dead on reaching the beach, and the residue were hauled out of the boat in the roughest manner to be conceived, and thrown on the beach—some beyond the surf, and others in it. Several were drowned where they were thrown, and eighty died immediately after landed. Some, not having strength to crawl beyond the reach of the tide, were drowned. As soon as some of the others gained a little strength, and were able to move about,



38 Where the *Rosa* landed her human cargo: Denham Bay on Sunday Island. From *The Australian Museum Magazine* (1924-6). NL.

they eat almost anything that came in their reach and the consequence was that diarrhoea, flux and cramp seized them and carried them off in numbers. The dead bodies were buried on the beach, in the sand, and when the tide rose and the surf set in all the bodies were disinterred and strewed all over the beach and allowed to remain as the tide left them. On the 19th April a considerable number of the people had partially recovered and were able to walk about. Many of them intended to start for the high land, just before the sailing of the barque, and hide themselves; which they can do, as the island is favourable for that purpose.<sup>4</sup>

The captain of the *Emily* was an old island hand who understood Samoan and Tokelau. On going ashore he met several people from Atafu and Nukunonu known to him personally, and soon heard from their lips the sad story of their abduction. He found, too, men and women from Niue, Pukapuka, Manihiki, Easter and other islands, some of whom had been on board since December, and heard accounts which confirm the gist of much that has been already related; they confirm also that the *Rosa* had obtained part of her cargo from another ship.<sup>5</sup>

At least one visiting whaler also saw the *Rosa y Carmen* when off Sunday Island, the New Bedford *Rainbow*, whose Captain Nicholls reported that by the time he arrived there 130 of the islanders had died

and only 70 were still alive.<sup>6</sup> The figure of 70 may refer to the number actually ashore; if not it is an underestimate. His opportunity for acquiring accurate information was considerably less than that of the *Emily's* captain, especially as nothing could be learnt from the crew of the Spanish slaver, which got under way whenever a strange sail was sighted.

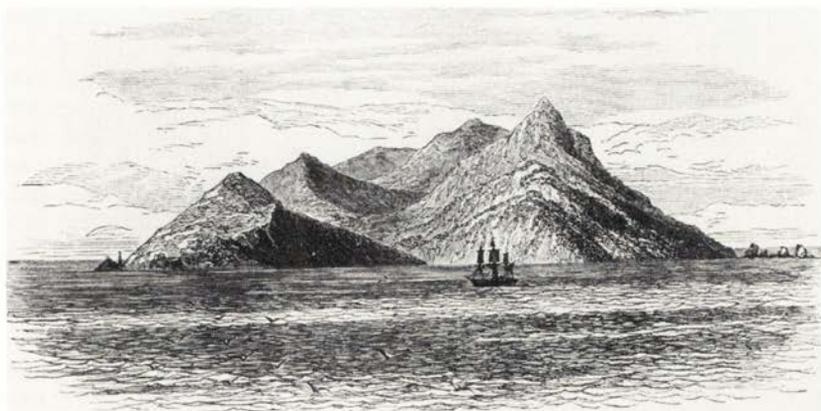
While the islanders were recuperating or dying ashore at Denham Bay Captain Marutani and his well-armed crew proceeded to appropriate the cattle, pigs, fowls, vegetables and everything else useful belonging to the settlers, with which to replenish his ship's almost exhausted commissariat for the long voyage to Peru; in return he left them with the germs of the virulent dysentery which had raged on board the *Rosa*, from which eight of the twenty-two died, the survivors being taken to Apia on the *Emily*: 'some families had lost a father, some a mother, and one both father and mother'. As a result of the *Rosa's* visit Sunday Island was left pillaged and uninhabited.<sup>7</sup>

It is not possible to say exactly how many islanders died at Sunday Island: Lawes says sixty (mainly Pukapukans); the *Emily's* captain speaks of eighty dying immediately after landing; Captain Nicholls states 130; and another report 'one hundred in a short time from landing'.

The *Rosa y Carmen* was said to have had 300 on board her at Tutuila, and again 300 on arrival at Sunday Island after having picked up an additional nineteen at Niue. These were merely rough estimates, however, and we now know that on the assumption that no one had died on board the more exact figures would have been 265 and 284. But with dysentery rife on the vessel we cannot make such an assumption and the best that can be done is to subtract from 284 (the maximum number on board after leaving Fakaofu) the total of 128 (78 men, 35 women and 15 children) who were alive on her when she arrived at Callao. The resulting figure of 156 may reasonably be considered as the number of deaths during the voyage, and while most of them would have undoubtedly taken place at or off Sunday Island it is likely that some had died on board before her arrival there. The *Rosa* did not leave Sunday Island until 1 May, by which time the epidemic had abated and one may conjecture that with the better food few, if any, died after that date.

If a few succeeded in their intention of hiding until the *Rosa* had gone they must have died on the island, for the *Emily* sailed before the barque and we have no report of any survivors. A Catholic teacher from Fakaofu who knew the captain called out as he left the shore: 'Tell the priests how we suffer, and ask them if they can do nothing for us'.<sup>8</sup>

We are able to catch a further glimpse of the *Rosa y Carmen* on her way to Callao, for she called at Pitcairn Island at a time when it was deserted except for Moses and Mayhew Young, with their wives and twelve children, who had returned there in January 1859 from Norfolk Island, where the whole community had migrated three years before.



39 The islanders were too white for kidnapping: Pitcairn Island c.1865. From W. Wyatt Gill, *Life in the Southern Isles* . . . (London 1876). NL.

Captain Marutani came ashore, saying that he wanted a load of sugar-cane for some 'slaves' whom he was returning to their homes.

Although the captain tried to persuade everyone to come with him back to his ship, where he assured them that they would be kindly treated, their suspicions were aroused, especially as they felt that he was unaccountably displeased with their fair skins and fluency in English. The two men did go on board, however, where they saw:

Numbers of poor natives of different ages, from quite young children to men and women in and beyond middle life, many of whom were entirely naked, were crowded into the close and stifling hold of the ship. Those who were not entirely naked had a waistcloth only for their covering. All seemed sad, and their countenances bore the trace of much sorrow, and had a look of hopeless misery. The atmosphere of the place where the poor natives were confined was very unwholesome from want of fresh air, and many of the slaves were suffering from a distressing cough that shook their frames. The captain told them that he was going to the Gambier Islands, on his way to restore the poor creatures to their homes.<sup>9</sup>

Long afterwards the Pitcairn community was told that the people seen on board were recruits from Easter Island on their way to Peru, and that the captain had evidently called to seek additions to his cargo. Nobody went, however, and no force was attempted to obtain anyone: presumably it was felt that English-speaking and European-looking islanders, if kidnapped, could prove more of a liability than an asset on arrival at Callao; and probably the captain noted the Union Jack which was always kept flying ashore by the little community.

Easter Island had gained such an unsavoury reputation as a recruiting ground that it is not surprising that the Pitcairn islanders should have obtained the impression later that the people they saw must have come from there: some may have, of course, since there were sixty-three Easter islanders on board her when she left that island; but there had been many more kidnapped by the *Rosa* since then—from Rakahanga, Pukapuka, Atafu, Nukunonu, Fakaofu and Niue—and many had died.

The *Rosa y Carmen* arrived off Callao Harbour on 10 July, seven months and three days after she had left the port. It was the longest voyage made by any of the recruiting fleet and she had touched at more islands. The Easter islanders taken on board on 23 December had been in the hold for over six and a half months: imprisoned without adequate light, air or sanitation, starved and naked, with part of the time a virulent epidemic of dysentery raging on board, followed by pulmonary troubles. It was the worst voyage in the history of the labour trade; and one indeed wonders if any of the earliest captives to embark could still be alive.

But the drama was not yet ended. With the return of the *Carolina* and *Hermosa Dolores* and their 282 captives from the December raid at Easter Island, news of the *Rosa y Carmen's* leading part in the exploit had spread through the Callao waterfront and was eventually reported in the leading Peruvian newspaper *El Comercio*.<sup>10</sup> The French Chargé d'Affaires pressed for action against the perpetrators of atrocities, particularly when they involved islanders under French protection.

On 1 May the Ministry ordered the captains of all Peruvian ports to put the *Rosa y Carmen* incommunicado on her arrival. But luck was on Captain Marutani's side, for there was friction between Spain and Peru and the following year the Spanish naval squadron was to seize the Chincha Islands with their valuable guano deposits, which produced three-fifths of Peru's revenue.<sup>11</sup>

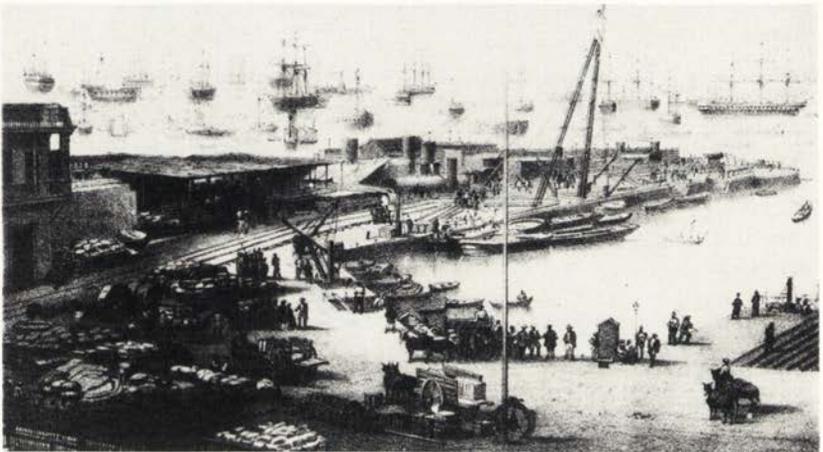
Meanwhile the Spanish squadron was at Callao and its commander, Admiral Pinzon, warned Captain Marutani that a French naval contingent in the harbour was prepared to arrest him and seize his ship under the pretext that he had caused death and violence to French protected subjects. Seeing one of the French warships get under way he prepared his squadron for action, whereupon the French vessel was recalled and the *Rosa* anchored in the harbour.

Captain Marutani was able to convince the Spanish admiral that he had duly observed all the Peruvian legal formalities and obtained the necessary authorisation to engage in recruiting; he then requested that his conduct should be examined, which 'resulted in an enquiry in which his innocence was fully proved'. 'Without the opportune intervention of the Spanish frigates', the Spanish historian Novo y Colson rejoices, 'the captain might never have recovered the ship at his command; nor would he have been able to clear himself of unjust accusations'.<sup>12</sup>

The captain may have succeeded in vindicating his character and conduct, with the help of political pressure. But his 126 recruits were nevertheless not allowed to land, and from the standpoint of his Callao employers, who were in the business for profits, however gained, he had shown gross commercial ineptitude. In obstinately grasping for inordinate returns he had taken unwarranted risks with his human cargo; as a result he had lost 55 per cent of them and arrived back too late to sell off the remainder.

## Callao Contracts

**A**T LAST', Taole tells us, 'the dreadful voyage came to an end. The ships reached a far-stretching land, with great mountains rising inland, a vast bare land, in no way like our islands of the ocean.' In common with all but a handful of the Polynesians taken to Peru, he had reached the main Peruvian port of Callao, known to many other kidnapped islanders like himself as 'the gate of hell'.<sup>1</sup>



40 The Port of Callao in the 1860s. By courtesy of Professor J.D. Freeman, Canberra.

On arrival the recruit would have found, if anyone could have explained it to him, that he had undergone a change in legal status and was now officially designated a colonist: one who had come voluntarily to Peru, presumably to better his condition in life. To this end he had signed a transferable contract to serve as a 'cultivator, gardener, shepherd, a servant, or labourer in general' for a specified monthly wage and for a stated period of years sufficient to enable his employer to recoup the cost of acquiring his services. On the expiration of the contract period he was in theory free to return to his island if he so wished, subject to some means of transport being available and to his having saved sufficient money to pay for his passage. Alternatively, and as the government hoped, he could continue to live in Peru as a free citizen.

These contracts were in all essential points similar to those signed

by the Chinese coolies, on which they were no doubt based. Even the three days a year allowed for fulfilling religious duties was copied from the three days given the Chinese for their New Year celebrations; while there was no provision in most contracts for time off on Sundays.<sup>2</sup> No particular form was laid down by the government, however, so the contracts drawn up by different companies and entrepreneurs varied in detail. One printed in Spanish and English, for example, stipulates that a free passage to Peru will be provided but omits any undertaking to provide clothing, though this was normally, if not invariably, supplied. A rather more laconic contract between the captain of the *Eliza Mason* and an Easter islander named Mapa y Panca, which was only in Spanish, provided for the recovery of passage expenses and clothing from the labourer's wages. But there is no point in interpreting the contracts literally as legal documents for, as a Peruvian authority pointed out, the administration in any case had no power to enforce them in the rural areas, where the powerful *haciendados* were a law unto themselves.<sup>3</sup>

The contract was supposed to be signed by the intending colonist at the time of recruitment and by the captain or supercargo of the ship on behalf of the consignees in Peru, who were usually also the owners or charterers. When the first immigration licence was granted to Byrne it was stipulated that the recruit's signature or mark should be witnessed by an agent authorised by the government—but appointed and paid by the licensee.<sup>4</sup> More importantly it was laid down that colonists should not be permitted to land until the port authorities were satisfied that the provisions of Article 1 of the law of 14 March 1861 had been observed and, in particular, that they had been engaged 'with their own spontaneous wish, by the persons in whose service they are to be employed' and that none were 'transferred to other persons without their consent'.<sup>5</sup>

On subsequent voyages the requirement that authorised agents should be carried to witness the signing of contracts at the time of engagement does not appear to have been insisted on. It was, in fact, an idea suggested by Byrne himself and, as critics pointed out, it afforded little protection to the recruits since it was unlikely that an employee of the charterer would exercise any serious check on recruiting procedures. George Duniam of the *Empresa*, the only agent who is known to have objected to islanders being kidnapped, was marooned at the next island visited and nearly lost his life as a consequence.<sup>6</sup>

In theory the system of recruiting seemed well contrived to protect the recruits. The recruiting entrepreneurs were licensed to engage in the trade, the recruits signed regular contracts and the government 'appointed Commissioners at the different Ports to examine the papers of the Ships employed in this traffic and to see that the conditions of the contract are fulfilled'.<sup>7</sup> But in practice the licences were sought and obtained for the protection of the recruiters, not the recruits, and the inspection of ships' papers and recruits' contracts was a farce.

The examination and verification of contracts by the harbour authorities at Callao, if conscientiously carried out by cross-questioning the recruits through a competent interpreter, would have soon led to the discovery that nine-tenths of them had been tricked or forced into leaving their islands and had little or no knowledge of the purport of the document, written in Spanish and occasionally also in English, which they had been told to put a mark on often long after they came on board.<sup>8</sup>

It may I am sure be safely assumed, [wrote the British Consul in Tahiti], that not one of the islanders obtained will possess anything approaching a clear knowledge either as to where he is going, or as to the length or description of servitude to which he may be dooming himself, when making his cross at the bottom of one of these so-called contracts.<sup>9</sup>

In any event the simple cross which was considered sufficient was a guarantee of nothing: not even that the recruit whose name appeared on the contract had actually made it.

Despite repeated injunctions by the Lima authorities, the subordinate officers at Callao who had to supervise the immigration regulations made no serious attempt to enforce them:

the only justification for this legal farce was the insistence of the Peruvian Government that if Polynesian settlers were introduced, it was to be at least accompanied by certain procedures that gave it a lawful appearance.<sup>10</sup>

Only one case has been found where the government ordered an enquiry into a charge of fraud used in recruiting a particular individual. This involved an Easter islander named Corique who was a passenger on the *Bella Margarita* and had been allegedly tricked into recruiting by being told by Don Juan M. Delgado that he was only being taken away so that he could return with large supplies of food. Should the charge be proved the Prefect of Callao was directed to arrange for Corique to be returned to Easter Island and the guilty parties prosecuted. Other cases are not strictly comparable: for instance the better-known Oaca affair concerned a Tahitian said to have been kidnapped by the captain of the *Teresa* at Paita in Peru itself, to act as interpreter on a labour cruise; while the *Empresa* prosecution dealt with the activities of that frigate throughout its stay in the Marquesas.<sup>11</sup>

As early as December 1862 *El Comercio* had come to the conclusion that the Polynesian immigrants were attracted aboard ships by hunger and curiosity and later sold without their understanding the terms of the contracts which decided their fate. As a result the colonists were considered to be legally disqualified from negotiating contracts while those completed in their names were null and void: why is it, the paper asked, 'that no one helps and protects them?'

Three months later *El Comercio* was again stating its conviction that the first Polynesian who claimed before a competent Court that his contract was null and void would gain a favourable verdict both for himself and his fellow-colonists, since the official contention that they were perfectly free to dispose of their labour under agreed conditions was incorrect, for actually the islanders had no understanding of the obligations imposed on them by their contracts, what forced labour for four, six or eight years implied, how much their passages were valued at or how they were to pay for them. This applied to all contracts, whether the islanders were required to sign them at their island of embarkation or in Peru, and especially where their signatures or marks had been forged.<sup>12</sup>

The argument was an academic one for how was any Polynesian to obtain the necessary permission, funds, expertise and leisure to test his rights in a court of law, in the unlikely event of his being told that he had any? What happened in practice on arrival at Callao was that the captain and labour consignee took the necessary steps to satisfy the port authorities that all legal formalities had been complied with, and in particular the provisions of the law of 14 March 1861, and the immigrants were then, if not already disposed of, sold to the highest bidders.

To obviate criticism that Peru was engaged in a new slave trade there was nothing resembling a slave market in Callao, where the Polynesians could be paraded before prospective buyers. Those requiring domestic servants or agricultural workers merely went on board the newly arrived ship, inspected the variety of individuals on offer and agreed on a suitable price, dependent on sex, age and other factors; even then it was not the man, woman or child who was technically bought but only his or her transferable contract of service, and the price was considered to be payment for the passage to Peru: distinctions without any practical difference.

A writer in a local newspaper describes the way in which Chinese coolies were selected and there is no reason to suppose that Polynesian workers were treated differently: 'It seems to be the correct thing to squeeze the coolie's biceps, give him a pinch or two in the region of the ribs, and then twist him around like a top so as to get a good glance at his physique generally'.<sup>13</sup>

In some instances part or all of the immigrants on board had been consigned in advance. Byrne, for example, had contracted to procure colonists for Juan Manuel Ugarte, who took delivery on behalf of a consortium of investors. But again this commercial procedure made little difference to the immigrants for the contractor would normally resell them at a profit, as witness the evidence of Antonio Guerra, who affirmed that when in Callao he went on board the *Adelante*: 'and there I saw dealers selecting natives and paying 3,000, 2,000 and 1,500 francs [\$582, \$388 and \$291] for them according to their sex, age and strength'.<sup>14</sup>

Guerra's figures seem a bit inflated, for the officially quoted prices

obtained for the first shipment of colonists on the *Adelante* were \$200 for men, \$150 for women and \$100 for boys, it being stipulated that families should not be split up by buyers; while the first consignment from Easter Island by the *Bella Margarita* fetched an average price of \$300, nearly all being men. As the unsuitability of the Polynesians for manual labour under conditions obtaining in Peru became apparent, however, prices dropped and it was said that the last colonists to be permitted to land, in April 1863, were virtually unsaleable.<sup>15</sup>

While the payments were nominally to cover the cost of the colonists' passages, at least in the case of the early shipments they clearly provided a handsome profit to the entrepreneur for the admittedly high risks involved in the trade. This is well shown by the fact that immediately after the *Adelante* sale Don Juan C. Vives offered to procure similar cargoes for only 100 pesos (or approximately \$100) a head. Since the contract period was meant to be sufficiently long for the immigrants to refund the cost of their passages by working for the employer who had bought them, as well as allowing for a small monthly wage, a lower charge for passages would, if the colonists had been treated fairly, have been to their advantage by reducing the time necessary for them to serve as contract workers.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately practice differed from legal principles, for if in passing through Callao immigration formalities the islander had become legally a colonist, for all practical purposes he had now also become a slave. However disguised by legal terminology, embodied in enactments which were not and, given the circumstances, could not be enforced, the Polynesian labour trade was in fact a slave trade; and was soon recognised as such both within and outside Peru.

As early as December 1862, when only two ships had arrived with Polynesian colonists, an article in the Valparaiso *El Mercurio* termed the importations 'a real slave trade', since 'to give an appearance of lawfulness and to comply outwardly with the regulations of the Peruvian Government, they are, by deceit, made to sign contracts they do not understand', and the islanders in reality 'know neither where they are going nor the work they are destined for'. A letter written from Papeete and published in Lima pointed out that, 'the Polynesian emigrant, like the negro, is ignorant of his destination; like the negro he is sold; and like the negro he has no real interference in the contract which is realized upon his person'; and *El Comercio* agreed that the Polynesian labour trade 'is being converted into a true slave-trade [*trata*]'.<sup>17</sup>

Many quotations such as these could be adduced from official and unofficial sources in Britain, France, Australia, the Pacific Islands, Chile and Peru itself, proving without doubt that contemporary opinion, other than that of the Peruvian Government, considered the recruitment of Polynesians as much a slave trade as the earlier traffic in Negroes from West Africa to America. Perhaps it is sufficient, however, to quote the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of a slave

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as: 'One who is the property of, and entirely subject to, another person, whether by capture, purchase, or birth; a servant completely divested of freedom and personal rights'. If we substitute 'deceit' for 'birth' this is an exact description of the state of the Polynesian colonists in Peru.



41 Children cost under \$100: a young Polynesian girl from the atolls. Bishop Museum.

## Bondage in Peru

ONCE IMMIGRATION formalities were completed the Polynesian immigrants were able to land in charge of their buyers, who arranged for transport to the place where they were to work. A comparatively few specially selected men and women were destined for domestic service in Lima and Callao households, hotels and similar establishments and had not far to go, while the greater number were taken by coastal craft or on foot to the larger country estates.

Early views on the new colonists were favourable, particularly those of the upper-class urban employers seeking presentable house servants. Instead of the truculent and stubborn savages who had been expected Peruvians were glad to find them 'superior, physically and morally, to the Chinese', and likely to prove more useful. Employers remarked on their resemblance to the 'cholos'—the relatively acculturated Peruvian Indians—and it was felt that with good treatment 'it will be easy to fashion them to the kind of occupation that may be required'.<sup>1</sup>

The Polynesians were initially credited with attributes such as candour, humility, robustness and intelligence, together with an engaging simplicity well portrayed in an anecdote which circulated in Lima society:

A Polynesian woman, seeing a lady in the ship in which she came, threw herself at the foot of the latter, and there prostrate, with palpitating heart and tears in her eyes, supplicated to be taken into the lady's service, and to remain by her side. She amused herself with examining the lady's dress, finding herself under a spell.<sup>2</sup>

Others were not so impressed, including an Englishman from Tahiti who found a boy working in the kitchen of the hotel where he was staying and also met an American woman who had bought a 4-year-old girl for sixty piastres (\$61.90); he was told that 1500 had been 'imported and sold' by the beginning of February 1863, but doubted if many of them would live. The British Consul had his doubts too and reported that although the islanders now beginning to be seen in the Lima streets were erect and well built they were clearly ill at ease in their clothes and seemed 'very primitive specimens of humanity'.<sup>3</sup>

In any case it was soon discovered that the Polynesians were not in fact attuned to the life of a servant in a continental city, so completely the opposite in its inflexible routine to everything they had known before. Furthermore, they were soon desperately lonely, even more than their former companions now in the haciendas, where the islanders worked in groups. And above all they had no immunity from the many diseases endemic in tropical cities.

So they began to die—at an ever-increasing rate which neither kindness nor medical care could arrest. The ease and rapidity with which they sickened and wasted away from what appeared to be melancholia, without making any effort to continue living, astonished the Peruvians and exasperated their employers; indeed it must have been provoking to have spent good money on purchasing labour who, to quote the Chilean Consul at Callao, 'often let themselves die in captivity and caused their owners grave losses'. 'The mortality of these [Polynesians]', deplored *El Comercio*, 'is very considerable. Many are in the hospitals, and few get well, in spite of careful attention.'<sup>4</sup>

McCall has extracted and analysed the Polynesian mortality figures from the records of the Lima Charity Hospital, 'La Beneficencia', between 1862 and 1867 and found that of 155 deaths 101 were males and 54 females, their ages varying from six months to 45 years, with nearly a fifth of both sexes stated to have been aged twenty.

Significantly 65 per cent 'died of pulmonary or intestinal diseases—the maladies of the poor and ill-kept—while only about a sixth perished from smallpox', and yet over half 'came from the middle-class Lima parish of Santa Ana, while the next largest numbers were from equally prosperous areas of Cercado and Sagrario'.<sup>5</sup>

If conditions for the Polynesian colonists were bad in the cities they were even worse in the country, where they were bought by the owners of the large coastal plantations as agricultural labourers, to take the place of the Negroes, the indigenous Indians and the Chinese, who for one reason or another were no longer obtainable in sufficient numbers to meet a demand which had increased with the growth of cotton production caused by the American Civil War.

Although only the Negroes had been legally classed as slaves, and then only until their emancipation in 1854, in practice all were essentially treated as such during their period of bondage, the large estate owners paying little attention to laws governing the treatment of labour emanating from the legislature at Lima.<sup>6</sup> Their status was indicated from the fact that they were locked up at night in the plantation labour lines, known as *galpón*, a walled area with sheds used as dormitories, often without water, sanitation or other facilities to make their lives tolerable.<sup>7</sup>

The daily routine of manual work on the Peruvian plantations was strenuous and physically exhausting, the working hours were long—usually 5 or 6 a.m. to 5 or 6 p.m.—with an hour off at midday in

which the labourer was required to prepare and eat his meal. The food was inadequate and unsuitable and the discipline harsh, with beatings and other punishments inflicted at the discretion of the owner or overseer. No one engaged in it voluntarily except as a last resort, and for the islanders, unaccustomed to sustained and unremitting toil, it was in itself tantamount to a death sentence. Early in 1863 an observer wrote that:

Many of these people are employed on field work, for which they have no aptitude, and so they fall in a very short time victims to fever, dysentery and other maladies occasioned by a change of climate. They suffer also from the jiggers (*Pulex penetrans*—a kind of tick) in their feet—so much so that in a very short time they are crippled and unable to walk. Some of the owners are exceedingly brutal, and beat them severely.<sup>8</sup>

*El Comercio* agreed that many of the employers were unduly severe in their treatment of the islanders and wisely recommended a period of acclimatisation and initiation into plantation routine:

Some farmer or other took several Polynesians, and from the first day obliged them to work in the same manner as the other 'Peones' (labourers) from morning to night, without other rest than what is allowed to men accustomed to such work. What was the result?—a consequence that could not fail to happen—two-thirds of them died. Let these people be accustomed by degrees to labour; let them be encouraged; dispense with punishment at the beginning, and then they will perform good service.<sup>9</sup>

Yet even when well treated they still died, and Jerningham was told that a respected gentleman 'who had a lot of these people on his premises in the country of whom he took great care, has lost all but two'. Nostalgia was said to be the principal cause but clearly the unaccustomed food was a contributory factor: 'many live on raw plantains, and fish when they can obtain it, but decline the diet of cooked meat'.<sup>10</sup>

By far the most detailed account of the treatment of Polynesian labour on the coastal plantations is contained in the report by M. Eucher Henry, a French engineer resident in Lima, who toured the valleys of Chillon and Chancay to the north of the capital during June 1863 at the request of Edmond de Lesseps, the French Chargé d'Affaires, in an endeavour to collect islanders for repatriation. Henry was accompanied by Hoki, the Marquesan interpreter sent from Papeete, Dr Bon, surgeon of the French despatch steamer *Diamant*, and the Comte de Chalot, both of whom had volunteered to join the expedition, together with an escort consisting of José Guevara, an

Inspector of Police from Lima, and an officer in charge of six cavalry-men, who were provided by the Peruvian Government.<sup>11</sup>

Arriving at the hacienda of Chillon in the absence of the owner they found a Polynesian, Ivi Peto, lying on a pile of rags in a pig-sty in an advanced state of illness, who informed them that with seven others he had been abandoned by the captain of the *Empresa* at Huacho, presumably out of fear lest they be called as witnesses at his trial. Being Marquesans under French protection they had started to walk to Lima to seek succour at the Legation but had been stopped by armed men who had brought them to Chillon, where they were put to work. When Peto fell ill he had been thrown into the pig-sty and left there without food to die. An agent of the owner stated that thirteen islanders had been originally bought for work on the estate but that all had succumbed, and that the eight from the *Empresa* were merely 'vagabonds' who had sought refuge there; a charge which all denied.

Four men and two women were found at Capocabana, four being without contracts and allegedly found wandering about without a master, while the other two possessed invalid contracts. At Pampa-Libre two more 'vagabonds' were found who had been purchased for an ounce of gold each and kept to work in place of twenty-five others who had died. At Caudivilla the owner, Estevan Montero, had bought fifteen islanders and readily agreed to hand over the four men and two women still alive, five being 'in a state of extreme prostration' and the remaining one working in a lady's house at Lima.

At Pueblo-Viejo a little Polynesian girl told them of ten others whom they eventually found 'stretched on a filthy manure-heap, tormented by vermin and reduced to the most extreme misery'; three more were discovered on a neighbouring property 'in a state of indescribable sickness and weakness'. Travelling by sea from Ancon to Chancay they found at the hacienda of Boza in the valley twelve islanders alive out of twenty-eight, two being seriously ill; it was discovered that they were given quite inadequate rations and whipped with lashes to make them work, the scars resulting from recent beatings being evident.

At Palpa the proprietor, Cipriano Elguera, volunteered to hand over the man and woman still living out of thirty-two he had bought. Unlike most of the other owners 'he deplored the sad results of this odious traffic and declared that those he had owned had all died of grief and in consequence of the climate without his obtaining any service from them'.

There is no point in continuing this harrowing narrative through the remaining areas visited in the province of Chancay, for it will be clear by now that the Polynesian colonists were not regarded as free men and women but merely as slaves who had been purchased by their masters—people without rights, who could be worked literally to death at the whim of those who owned their bodies and who threw them on dunghoops in their final sickness as being no longer worth feeding.

To quote again from our English informant in Lima:

Their treatment is nearly the same as negroes in the time of slavery. They are given something to eat or drink because they have cost money, but they are beaten when they do not work; and as that is altogether contrary to their habits and their thoughts, a great number have died under the lashes inflicted upon them. Nothing can be done with the women; they absolutely refuse to work. It is something really sad to see people sold like beasts, who can read their Bible, who know how to write, and who are, in some respects, superior to their masters.<sup>12</sup>

It is significant that in the whole of the Henry report there is no mention of any employer having paid wages or observed any of the terms stipulated in the contracts on which the Peruvian Government put such store, such as the provision of 'sufficient and wholesome food' or attendance and medicine during illness. A few owners, such as Señor Elguera, were clearly concerned at the wholesale decimation of their work force, and this not merely because of the capital loss incurred, but most appeared indifferent to the fate of the island immigrants and even resentful of the fact that they had proved to be bad bargains on the labour market.

The proprietor of Boza, when taxed with the foul sanitary conditions in which his twelve Polynesians were living, the probability of their imminent death owing to the total lack of a doctor, medicine and care, and the moral responsibility which rested on him for abandoning them to die, merely replied that the matter was 'of no consequence to him, that he was only disposed to give them up if he was reimbursed for the price that they had cost him and that otherwise he preferred to see them die where they were'.

Dr Bon believed that treated properly the islanders could have in time become acclimatised and habituated to the food and work. But under their present conditions they were dying from an intermittent fever (presumably malaria), dysentery, consumption and bronchitis at a rate equal to any reached in the historic epidemics of plague, cholera and typhus; but above all they were dying from home sickness. 'In a few months, a few weeks', he predicted, 'out of the two or three thousand who were brought to Peru there will remain only a sad memory':

... we did not expect to find in utter misery, barely clothed, barely fed, weakened by the illnesses for which they never received the least care, these same islanders whom Peru had invited to revive their agriculture, promising them in return the attentions which all civilized people should give to independent and free men. Instead of finding a people happy with their condition, blessing the

day on which they were brought to these distant shores, all these unfortunate people were full of bitter complaints and recriminations. What smiles one saw when the name of their island was suddenly mentioned; and on the wan, emaciated faces, barely human, what rays of unspeakable joy! They soon collected the few belongings they had so as to be ready to follow us and they left without hesitation their masters who had treated them not as servants but as slaves.<sup>13</sup>

Of those islanders who were handed over at the various haciendas in the province eighteen were delivered at Ancón to de Lesseps, who had come from Callao on the *Diamant* to receive what he described as 'human skeletons dried up by hunger, illness, running sores and abuse and scarcely alive. Several were found in pig-sties or half buried under the piles of rubbish of a charnel house.'<sup>14</sup> Two died after boarding while another was moribund; and on arrival at Callao all survivors had to be taken to the hospices of St André and St Anne and the College of Beleu, several being by then in a desperate state. A further eighteen were brought from Ancón on a later ship while nineteen were taken by José Guervara to Chancay for embarkation, three dying on the way;<sup>15</sup> and thirty-five had to be left behind as their owners refused to part with them without compensation.

In concluding his report M. Henry observed:

That in the whole country there is no doctor in any hacienda; that the sick and dying Polynesians are in a state of complete abandonment; that all the kanakas questioned by us have declared that their strongest wish is to go back to their islands; and that they complain of the bad treatment of which they are the victims and of the bad and inadequate food that is given to them.

Their owners on the other hand declared that they had never obtained the slightest work out of any Polynesian; and that indeed most of them were dead before they could be habituated to the rigorous routine of a plantation worker: as shown by the fact that not a single islander was found alive who had been more than six months in Peru.

The Henry Report covers only twelve haciendas in two valleys of the province of Chancay but there is no reason to suppose that conditions were any different in the rest of the coastal area where the Polynesians were employed, since the Peruvian Government exercised no supervision over their working conditions; and if any reports were received by them they have not been located.<sup>16</sup>

Dr L. Gautier, the French senior fleet surgeon, who visited fifty-seven of the islanders in the Lima and Callao hospitals and on board ship, wrote a scathing indictment of the way in which the island labour was being treated: the absence of all medical care; the non-

observance of the terms laid down in their contracts; and the forcible separation of mother from child and sister from brother among a people with such strong bonds of family affection. He recommended that every islander should be repatriated immediately without regard to their nationality—any delay would be fatal to most who were still left: 'there is no remedy for nostalgia and despair, except the sun of their country'.<sup>17</sup>

### The Chincha Islands

So far no mention has been made of the Polynesian immigrants being purchased for any other employment than as domestic servants or agricultural labourers. Yet many writers at the time and since, and particularly missionaries, have stated that some of, or even all, the islanders were procured, or bought on arrival, for work in the Chincha Islands guano deposits and the mining operations on the mainland.



42 Guano ships off the dreaded Chincha Islands, c.1860. By courtesy of Dr Grant McCall, Sydney.

It will be sufficient to quote one out of many of these assertions, for they are all similar in their general tenor; it is taken from a petition to Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by the Committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society, and dated 20 September 1864:

. . . several years ago large numbers of the native inhabitants of the Polynesian islands were kidnapped by Peruvian slavers, and forcibly conveyed to the Chincha Islands, where they were put to labour on the guano deposits—an employment which was at once deadly, loathsome and unintermittent . . . and on their arrival at their destination their strength was overtaxed by bad food, cruel treatment, and the poisonous effluvium exhaled from the guano beds.<sup>18</sup>

The basis for contemporary statements such as this is the licence granted on 16 September 1862 to Andres Calderón, the guano-loading contractor for the Chincha Islands, to recruit 800-1000 islanders for work in the guano deposits. The story of the assignment of this licence to Arturo de Wholey and the despatch of the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* and *Barbara Gomez* has already been told in Chapters 4 and 13; all that need be emphasised here is that neither ship succeeded in landing a single recruit in Peru and that no further attempts were made by Calderón or anyone else connected with the guano industry to obtain labourers from Polynesia. Indeed it must have soon appeared obvious that the islanders were quite unsuited for such exacting work.

While the project was abandoned the granting of the licence had become well known in west coast commercial circles and it was believed by many that the immigrants had in fact been obtained; for instance by Watson, the Valparaíso businessman formerly resident in Tahiti who kept the British Government and missionaries such as the Rev. A. W. Murray in Sydney briefed on the development of the labour trade.<sup>19</sup> Rumour soon made the failed attempt a *fait accompli* and it was apparently accepted as such by the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill of Mangaia, the principal missionary informant on the activities of the recruiters in the islands. Gill was given a great deal of information on what was happening in the Marquesas, Tuamotus and Easter Island when he met Lieutenant de St-Sernin, the commander of the *Latouche-Tréville*, who had captured the *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, and through him and others he was evidently well posted on proceedings in Tahiti.

Shortly after meeting Lieutenant de St-Sernin, Gill wrote to the London Missionary Society headquarters in London reporting what he had learnt, and his letter contains this significant statement:

Many [islanders] are employed in digging guano in the Chin Chin Islands [I am not sure of the orthography]. These poor natives are prevented from resting during the day by a *collar with spikes*. They cannot run away, as their legs are chained together. They are fed on rice of the worst description. If any die a hole is dug in the guano and the body thrown in, itself no doubt to become guano in due time.<sup>20</sup>

This piece of circumstantial evidence—the iron collar, the leg irons, the bad quality of the rice ration, the burial in a hole dug in the guano—is merely a recapitulation of the evidence of Thomas Reilly, the pilot of the *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, given before the Criminal Court in Papeete. Reilly had been the owner of an eating-house in the Chincha Islands and his sworn testimony is worthy of credence, but he was speaking of the way in which the Chinese workers were treated and *not* about Polynesians (as a matter of fact there were none in Peru when he operated his restaurant).<sup>21</sup>

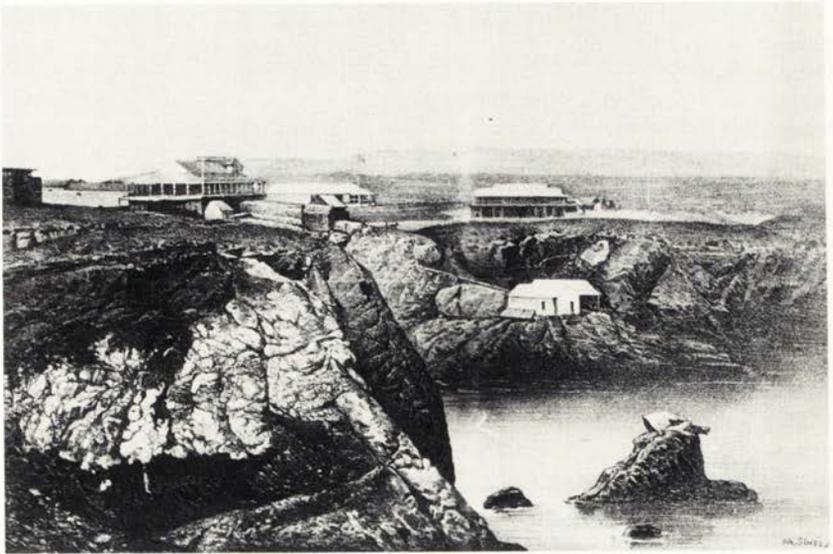
Whether Gill retailed his canard in good faith or not is not our concern; but it was through him that it reached the London Missionary Society, and was broadcast by them and other humanitarian organisations, with suitable embellishments, to become another of the myths of Pacific history.<sup>22</sup>

There are, however, two other items of evidence to support the belief that Polynesians had worked either on the Chincha Islands or in the mines: a statement by Taole of Niue that when he was a labourer at the port of Callao he saw most of his fellow-passengers on the *Rosa Patricia* 'sent away in another ship that took them to the guano islands down the coast, whence none of them ever returned'; and the discovery of an Easter Island figure with inlaid obsidian eyes on one of the Chincha Group.<sup>23</sup>

Taole's story is highly improbable. Closely guarded and treated as a slave by men who had no means of verbal communication with him he was in no position to know what was happening. He may have thought that his friends were bound for the Chinchas—he may have even been told this by a fellow-worker—but it seems none the less certain that no one from the *Rosa Patricia* went on a south-bound coastal vessel except to one of the southern agricultural estates. All recruiting contracts processed at Callao were for domestic service or agricultural work and, compliant though the local immigration officials at Callao may have been, we can be confident that they would not have permitted the sale of Polynesians for any other purpose, especially for work on the dreaded guano islands, and that if they did they would have been found out.

As regards the figurine, which is well illustrated in Thor Heyerdahl's comprehensive work on *The Art of Easter Island* it may, as Heyerdahl thought possible, have been brought by an Easter islander in pre-European times, or it may have been acquired and dropped by someone other than an Easter islander. On the other hand the Chincha Islands lie off the province of Pisco where Polynesian labour was known to be working and it seems quite possible that a few islanders were taken to join the heterogeneous gangs of free and bonded labour in the guano diggings, either by purchase or other arrangement with their owners or, more probably, by capture of some of the escaped or abandoned Polynesian 'vagabonds' who were wandering about the countryside and were periodically rounded up and put to work.

Because a few individuals from the coastal estates may have found their way or been taken to the Chinchas does not mean, however, that any islanders were recruited for work there: for this allegation there is no evidence whatever. Can we suppose that de Lesseps in Lima or Desnoyers at Callao, or for that matter the correspondents of the vigilant anti-labour trade newspaper *El Comercio*, would not have learnt had such a gross contravention of the terms of the recruiting licence granted to the ships, and of the individual labour contracts, taken place; or, if they did hear, that the maximum political capital would not have been made from such a criminal act?



43 Site of Reilly's eating house: the headquarters of the guano industry in the Chincha Islands. By courtesy of Dr Grant McCall, Sydney.

From the fact that Henry and his entourage were touring the Peruvian countryside on an assignment from the official representative of France it will be apparent that at least one nation apart from Peru itself had developed a considerable interest in matters relating to the recruitment of Polynesians. We must therefore leave their surviving remnants for the time being and turn to consider the reaction of foreign powers to Peru's recruiting experiment, and its consequences in modifying that country's own policies towards the migrants.

## Political Pressures

WHEN J.C. BYRNE was engaged in promoting his proposals for recruiting Pacific islanders to work in Peru the last thing he sought was publicity, which might have encouraged competition or engendered opposition from the representatives of foreign powers with an interest in the Pacific islands.

As a consequence the first announcement of his plans was the publication of the licence given to him to recruit colonists from the South West Pacific Islands in the government gazette *El Peruano* for 12 April 1862.<sup>1</sup> Even this excited no particular interest and it was not until 29 May that John Barton, the British Consul at Callao then acting as Chargé d'Affaires, heard of the formation of Byrne's company in Lima and the preparation of the *Adelante* for her initial voyage. He immediately notified the Foreign Office, which from then on was kept informed of developments.

Earl Russell, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, evidently thought the matter of sufficient importance to instruct W. Stafford Jerningham, who was about to leave for Lima as Chargé d'Affaires, to watch and report proceedings as 'it is not improbable that the system . . . may degenerate into the slave trade in disguise'.<sup>2</sup>

By then the *Adelante* had returned with the first batch of immigrants and seven more ships were about to sail under licence to recruit colonists. This alarmed Edmond de Lesseps, the Chargé d'Affaires of France, and Thomas Eldridge, the Chargé d'Affaires of Hawaii, since the new arrivals proved, contrary to expectations, to be Polynesians and the dispersal of recruiting operations throughout Polynesia seemed likely, sooner or later, to involve subjects of both Powers.

Eldridge accordingly wrote to José G. Paz Soldán, the Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, reserving the right to require the return of any Hawaiian subjects recruited, with compensation for damages suffered. A somewhat similar letter was sent by de Lesseps, who also claimed the right of

inspection over the transports of Polynesian immigrants which may arrive in Peru, and of indemnity for those who, subject to the Empire, may have not left their native country voluntarily and with the consent of the authorities which govern it.

Both communications stressed the improbability of the licensees or their agents having a knowledge of the political status of any particular Polynesian island.<sup>3</sup>

To these protests the Minister replied by pointing out that Peru had no power to compel anyone to leave his country but merely to permit his entry and protect him if he did so. If therefore Hawaii or France prohibited their subjects from leaving a country under their jurisdiction it was up to them and not Peru to enforce that prohibition. If they let them leave they had no jurisdiction over them in foreign territory:

If subjects abandon their own country in violation of their own laws, by the very fact they expose themselves to lose the protection of their Governments . . . it would not be just to expect of the Peruvian Government responsibility for admitting under the protection of its laws free men, whom their lawful sovereign either did not wish to or could not prevent from leaving their country.<sup>4</sup>

Eldridge was reminded that Peru had already made contracts 'with engineers, architects, manufacturers, artists and men of industry from Paris and London and other capitals' and that in such contracts between private individuals and colonists or immigrants the Government had confined itself to granting 'the simple protection which all lawful and honest industries deserve, leaving to the parties interested to give effect to their enterprise and rights in the best way they think proper.'<sup>5</sup> Both representatives were assured that if any persons should have been brought to Peru by force or fraud the Government would be ready to repress all abuses reported to it and to punish the offenders.

Eldridge was quick to point out the absurdity of comparisons between engineers and industrialists from Paris or London and the South Sea islanders, and their implied equal ability to evaluate and enforce legal contracts written in Spanish, and stressed 'the simplicity, innocence and ignorance of Polynesians and the ease with which those living in an unprotected state might be forcibly abducted'.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless from the standpoint of international law Paz Soldán was right in his main contention, and apart from recommending to the Hawaiian Government that its outlying islands should be alerted against recruiters Eldridge withdrew from the fray. This was partly because he considered it unlikely that any Peruvian ships would venture so far to the north as Hawaii but mainly because he received no encouragement from R.C. Wyllie, the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Relations, who evinced a great anxiety to propitiate Paz Soldán and little interest in the fate of South Sea islanders. Hence Wyllie's reply to Eldridge that Paz Soldán's letters 'display great ability, a high toned courtesy to you and to your French colleague, and certainly a plenary and satisfactory indication of the literal, just and humane policy of His Government, worthy of every reliance'. The key to this unctuousness probably lies in the fact that Wyllie was

personally involved in a case then before the Peruvian Supreme Court concerning a vessel, the *Petronda*, in which he stood to lose some \$30,000. In any case Eldridge failed to get the approval for his protest which he sought, though his action was never repudiated.<sup>7</sup>

Meanwhile, quite independently of diplomatic protests, the Peruvian Government itself had been shocked at the way in which the *Adelante's* recruits were being disposed of and on 13 September 1862, only two days after her arrival, the Prefect of Callao was directed to stop their landing until, after enquiry, he was satisfied that all provisions of the Law of 14 March 1861 had been observed and particularly that the islanders had been hired by 'their own spontaneous wish, by the persons in whose service they are to be employed'. The transfer of contracts to others without the consent of the colonists concerned was prohibited and offenders were to be prosecuted.<sup>8</sup>

Two days later further reports were received by the Government 'that those under age and even adult persons are publicly sold at 200 or 300 dollars' and a second letter was sent ordering the Prefect to put an end to such a scandalous crime: 'the utmost outrage that can be committed on the dignity of man'.<sup>9</sup>

An enquiry was held on board the *Adelante* by the Sub-Prefect, Captain of the port, a Fiscal Agent and an interpreter, who found that the islanders were in excellent health, thanks to the good food and medical treatment received; that they had embarked to work in Peru according to the terms of their contract; that Señor Ugarte controlled the transfer of contracts scrupulously to ensure that families were not separated; that all were genuine voluntary recruits; and that the company had observed the laws regulating immigrants.<sup>10</sup> From our knowledge of the manner in which the *Adelante's* recruiting was conducted there is no reason to doubt the truth of these conclusions, but it is improbable that a similar clearance could have been given in good faith for more than three or four subsequent recruiting ventures.

After receiving the protests from the representatives of Hawaii and France Paz Soldán asked the Minister of Government for information about the grant of licences and urged that measures should be taken to prevent further complaints and to protect the rights of the immigrants.<sup>11</sup> A Decree was accordingly proclaimed on 20 December ordering that, in view of the ineffectiveness of previous measures, a Committee composed of the Prefect, Mayor and Recorder of Callao should investigate whether in each instance all the provisions prescribed by Article 1 of the Law of 14 March had been observed; similar committees were to be formed at other ports.<sup>12</sup> This was presumably due to the arrival of the *Bella Margarita* from Easter Island, whose complement of 154 passengers was said to have been sold at an average price of \$300.

Clearly the Ministers at Lima meant well, but as Desnoyers, the French Consul at Callao, told his Department in Paris, the administration of the law by the Callao supervisory committee was quite ineffective since several of its members were themselves financially

interested in the labour trade. Indeed Cantuarias, the Chilean Consul at the port, was told frankly by the Prefect of Callao that while the immigrants on board the *General Prim* and *Trujillo* did not possess contracts: 'in view of the lack of manpower in Peru and the impossibility of forcing shipowners to repatriate unlawfully captured settlers, it was admissible to allow the traffic to continue free from obstacles that would hinder it uselessly'.<sup>13</sup> Under the circumstances it is not surprising that the subordinate executive officials at Callao took no real steps to ensure the enforcement of official edicts, despite the admonitions which emanated from Lima.

The arrival of no less than eight more ships from Polynesia bringing a further 1363 new immigrants during January and February, all or virtually all of them by this time obtained either by force or trickery, caused renewed concern to the British and French Chargés d'Affaires and on 26 February Jerningham asked Paz Soldán whether the licences now being so freely granted covered recruiting over the whole of the Pacific islands region, as some of the islands might be under British protection.

Paz Soldán replied that the present Government in Peru had been opposed to Polynesian migration and had now resolved to end all abuses by a Decree dated 20 February 1863 issued by the Minister of Government, by which the captains of vessels bringing colonists were required to submit 'a detailed statement of the said colonists, as well as the document by virtue of which their services have been contracted'. If these documents should not be authenticated as prescribed the colonists were to be 'assisted to dispose of themselves as they may think fit' and the captains or speculators using fraud or violence to recruit them would be liable to criminal prosecution. The committees established under the Decree of 20 December were to satisfy themselves that the relevant articles of the Judicial and Civil Codes had been observed in the case of the initial contracts entered into by the colonists with private parties and no one was to be disembarked until all the legal requirements had been met. As in the past the new legislation was well meant; but as usual it was ill executed.<sup>14</sup>

The Peruvian Foreign Minister concluded his interview with Jerningham by saying: 'Take care of your own house, and we will take care of ours'. Unfortunately Jerningham had no idea where the British 'house' in the islands was situated, an embarrassing position when people appeared at the Legation claiming to be British subjects.<sup>15</sup> He therefore asked the Foreign Office what Pacific islands were 'considered as entitled to be treated as under British protection'. This was too hard a question for them and it eventually reached the Admiralty's plate; months later, after the labour trade had long ceased to exist, the Lords Commissioners replied 'that they have no means of answering this enquiry, Pitcairn Island being the only island which would appear to have been actively protected or interfered with by any of His Majesty's ships within recent periods'.<sup>16</sup>

All this time de Lesseps had been lying low, partly because he



44 José Gregorio Pas Soldán, Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs when the trade in Polynesians began. From the *Historia Marítima del Perú* (1974), by courtesy of the Peruvian Government. NL.

recognised the force of Paz Soldán's contention that France had no jurisdiction over her nationals or protected subjects who had come to Peru of their own free will, but also because he realised, even if Paz Soldán did not, that not one of the immigrants had in fact come from any French or French protected territory.

By March, however, information which was now reaching him from Governor de la Richerie at Papeete and from other sources, notably the columns of the *Messenger de Taiti* published in Tahiti, removed the Polynesian question, as he put it, from the diplomatic field to that of crime. On orders from Paris, therefore, de Lesseps now renewed his attack on all fronts in a long and blistering condemnation of the Polynesian labour trade on legal, moral and humanitarian grounds written to Paz Soldán on 20 March, with sixteen enclosures covering in detail the activities of the *Serpiente Marina* at Mangareva, the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* in the Tuamotus, the *Adelante*, *Manuelita Costas* and *Eliza Mason* in the Marquesas, the treatment of the Tahitian Ocoa on board the *Teresa*, and the sequestration at Papeete of the first two ships.

As de Lesseps pointed out, the Peruvian argument that valid contracts existed for all Polynesians brought to Peru was based on Article 4 of the conditions governing Byrne's licence, which stated that 'one or more agents should be appointed at the expense of Mr Byrne and authorized by the Government to witness the signature or mark which each must place at the foot of his contract'. But this, he argued, placed the agents in the impossible position of either doing their duty or serving the interests of their employers; and in point of fact their attestations and testimony were valueless and void.

However, de Lesseps said that he felt confident that the Minister's own views on the true nature of 'this scandalous trade in human flesh' must have changed since his last note written in November, now that Peru had witnessed for over four months

these unfortunate people snatched by force or by trick from their homes, from their families, from an indolent life free and carefree, dragged violently to the haciendas, then hunted by the police and their masters when they were trying to escape by fleeing, dying decimated by nostalgia, illnesses and bad treatment.

Finally, as he had been told to controvert any attempt made by Peru to see in French recruiting at Tongareva a precedent for their own, de Lesseps forestalled such a move neatly by detailing the French operations at the atoll as an example of how such ventures should be carried out.<sup>17</sup>

It was the beginning of the end for the trade; on all sides evidence was mounting to show that it had developed into a blackbirding operation to procure slaves for work in Peru. On 14 April the new Peruvian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Juan Antonio Ribeyro, wrote apologising



45 Juan Antonio Ribeyro, who abolished the Polynesian labour trade. From the *Historia Marítima del Perú* (1974), by courtesy of the Peruvian Government. NL.

for not having replied to de Lesseps' letter due to his having only recently assumed office, and on 27 April de Lesseps forwarded further documentation on the kidnapping of French-protected Marquesans by the *Empresa*. Evidence concerning the December raids at Easter Island, published in the *Messenger de Taiti* of 28 February, was now reaching Peru; involved were no fewer than eight ships, of which seven were Peruvian.<sup>18</sup>

Public opinion both in Peru and abroad was becoming increasingly hostile to what was now generally recognised to be a slave trade apparently condoned, if no longer encouraged, by the Government,

and demands were being made for the punishment of those engaged in slaving. Advertisements had been appearing in the Press throughout 1863 offering rewards for the recovery of escaped Polynesians and for transferring the contracts of newly arrived immigrants, and as resentment built up against them the speculators in the trade were pilloried in satirical announcements such as the following:

POLYNESIANS AT FOUR REALES. Two are for sale, female and male—the woman is old, has false teeth, plaited hair like a corpse, drooling mouth and makes cries like a guinea-pig. The man is a gander of first class hide, does not suck much, who can be managed like any ignorant thing.

THE POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE is taught grammatically and in a short time in Polvos Azules Street Number 192. Also, wanted to buy a Canaca who has come voluntarily to Peru, under stipulated conditions and with a contract signed by him.<sup>19</sup>

The anger of *El Comercio* was particularly aroused by an advertisement notifying landowners and others that all sales made by D. Juan Dockendorff or any other person of Polynesians arrived by the *Genara* were invalid 'as are all contracts for the cargo not signed by the undersigned'. How is it possible in this day and age, the journal asked, to publish openly an advertisement referring to the *sale of men* and of them as *the cargo* of a schooner?

How is it that the blood shed in torrents in a popular revolution to restore the laws of national sovereignty, to shatter the chains of the slave and the shameful servitude of the Indian, has not been enough to put an end to the vile and degrading traffic in men. How is it that the public is still made aware of the sale of human flesh and there is no one to launch an attack against this practice which is an insult to our culture and civilization . . .

*El Comercio* expatiated at length on the need for enforcing the law to save the honour of Peru, now stained by the traffic in Polynesian slaves; and while it was not the first attack on the labour trade by this newspaper, it was possibly the most effective in influencing public opinion.<sup>20</sup>

As one would expect there were people who would have nothing to do with the trade. An English merchant in Lima wrote that pressing solicitations had been made to him to join the speculators, since he had once lived in the islands and was consequently regarded as an authority by Peruvian contacts who had no knowledge of Polynesia whatsoever; they also tried to charter his firm's ships, of which there were four in Callao harbour. In reply he emphasised the risks and difficulties of the enterprise—but to them 'every Polynesian (naturel) was worth 200 piastres [\$206]; that was all they cared about'.

Chile had been against the trade in Polynesians from its com-

mencement when, through information received from the British Legation at Santiago, the Government warned all Consulates that a Chilean ship, the *David Thomas*, had 'captured' about 200 Tongarevans and taken them to Callao: it eventually transpired that this was the barque *Adelante*, which had been under Peruvian registry since January. Articles and announcements appeared in the Chilean press under such titles as 'Slave Traffic under the Chilean flag' and 'The Human Flesh Dealers', and Chilean shipowners and captains were warned that everyone, by virtue of treading on Chilean soil, including the deck of a Chilean ship, instantly recovered his freedom if he had lost it; which caused Cantuarias at Callao to enquire how he was to enforce the edict. The opposition of the Chilean Government resulted, according to Véliz, in 3746 tons of Chilean shipping being transferred to Peruvian ownership and registry.<sup>21</sup>

Opinion in France, and indeed throughout Europe, was hardening against Peru, and the French Government, as the Peruvian Ambassador in Paris found, was quite unimpressed by complaints from Lima against the attitudes and actions taken by de Lesseps. In England, too, pressures were being brought to bear by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Aborigines' Protection Society, and missionary societies operating in the islands; while public protest meetings were held in Sydney, Melbourne and Hobart, and petitions were sent from numerous bodies throughout Australasia and as far afield as Jamaica, through the Governors of New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania or direct to the Foreign Office.

The British Government had been urged to send warships in search of the Peruvian vessels furnished with slave trade warrants, but on legal advice being sought it was found that Britain had no powers by treaty to interfere with any but African slave traders; a restriction which did not prevent Captain Richards of H.M. Surveying Ship *Hecate*, who had reported on the depredations of the recruiters in the Northern Cooks, from stating that 'should he fall in with any of the vessels carrying on that unlawful traffic he should have no hesitation in capturing them, when he would set the natives free and treat the crews of these vessels as pirates'.<sup>22</sup>

By 30 April Jerningham was able to support his colleague de Lesseps by asking for a strict investigation into the *Empresa* affair, since George B. Duniam, Immigration Agent on the frigate, who had been marooned by the captain on a rock in the Marquesas, was a British subject. At the same time, in an unusually forceful letter, he took the opportunity of commenting on the 'most piratical act' and 'outrage' perpetrated by the December raiders at Easter Island, led by the *Rosa y Carmen*.<sup>23</sup>

The evidence piling up was too damning: the Polynesian labour trade, sanctioned originally 'with the intention to work our fields and to improve the condition of those unhappy beings by the blessings of civilization' had ended in disaster.<sup>24</sup>

Once Ribeyro was convinced that despite legislative tinkering the

whole Polynesian immigration scheme was an economic failure, in that the islanders could not or would not work as wage labour in the haciendas, and that its continuation was increasingly damaging the credibility and international standing of the Peruvian Government, he had the courage and good sense to persuade the Council, of which he was President, to rescind the whole licensing system overnight.

On 27 April, less than a month after taking up office, Ribeyro wrote to the Minister of Government:

All, or at least a large proportion, of these wretched people are without knowledge of our civilized customs and possess the bad habits of a roving and inactive life. They do not suffer the hardships which would stimulate them to exercise their physical strength, and they are ignorant of their moral being. They have come to give up their lives in a foreign clime, victims of either a fatal homesickness or of other diseases which have had their cause in absence from their homeland. . . . The kind treatment given them and the efforts which many employers have made to plan specially so that they may be congenially occupied have not succeeded in saving them. Neither has the relief allowed them from the tasks to which they were assigned, nor the many methods employed either to make them happier or to modify their harmful habits. Nothing has worked; nothing has produced a beneficial effect. The mortality figures of these unfortunate islanders has risen to a figure which causes as much compassion as it does amazement.

The administration, Ribeyro added, had done nothing discreditable in licensing the traffic, for the encouragement of immigration was a legitimate activity, but the time had now come when 'the Government of Peru, which always attempts to fulfil its high mission for the honour of the country and the approbation of civilized nations, must prohibit the introduction of Polynesian settlers . . .'.<sup>25</sup> Under the new regulations, dated 28 April, no labour ship could disembark crew or passengers without a special licence, 'which would only be granted after it had been made evident that the labourers had been freely contracted and that no crimes had been committed during the voyage'.<sup>26</sup>

In reply to Jerningham's letter, therefore, Ribeyro was able to inform him that the Government had of their own accord become convinced that the introduction of Polynesians into Peru had been of little advantage to the country and that the legislative measures to control the trade and protect the immigrants had proved ineffective: the trade had consequently been abolished.<sup>27</sup>

Apart from the satisfactory result that no more labour ships would now leave, the legal position of the Polynesians who might arrive on those still engaged in recruiting operations was now as favourable as could be expected under the circumstances, provided the new regula-

tions were rigidly enforced. This was a matter of some importance since by 28 April eighteen ships had landed a total of 2116 recruits, or an average of 118 per ship. But a further nineteen vessels had left for the islands on recruiting ventures and of these only seven were known to have been wrecked, abandoned, sequestered or ordered to return without a 'cargo', leaving twelve at large and still unaccounted for. If these also brought the same average number of recruits there could thus be in the order of 1400-1500 islanders whose lives might now be saved.

As we have seen, much of the credit for bringing about this political *volte-face* was due to a number of humanitarian individuals and organisations within and outside Peru, but above all to Edmond de Lesseps, the French Chargé d'Affaires in Lima, who in the words of his British colleague Jerningham: 'has taken the chief part in all the attempts to put an end to these Polynesian abuses, . . . has exerted himself principally in getting the Government to act as they have now done, and to his activity and decision much praise is due'.<sup>28</sup>

De Lesseps and Jerningham now agreed that it was highly desirable that the diplomatic corps should: 'meet and announce publicly their opinion upon the inhuman conduct of some of the parties concerned in this traffic', and eventually both the diplomatic and consular heads were convened. After much discussion and several adjournments they finally drafted a Declaration which all but the Swedish Consul-General were willing to sign:

THE Diplomatic and Consular Corps resident in Lima met on the 13th of May, 1863, in this city and declared:

1. That the Diplomatic and Consular Corps deplore as deeply as the Government of Peru, the horrible abuses committed in the Polynesian Islands by expeditions that tried to obtain labourers, in violation of the laws and of the licences given to bring those labourers to this Republic.
2. That they are happy to express their satisfaction at the suitable measures taken by the Government of Peru to prohibit said traffic, carried on in violation of the laws and of the licences conceded.
3. That they are also happy to assure their respective Governments, that the measures taken by the Government of Peru have supported morality, justice, and humanity.<sup>29</sup>

The wording is perhaps not so condemnatory of the Government as de Lesseps would have wished but at least the publicity it received was calculated to prevent any future change in policy by Peru.

## De Lesseps v. Ribeyro: Collecting the Survivors

TO MOST of the fifteen members of the diplomatic and consular corps at Lima who had met on 15 May to convey to the Minister of Foreign Affairs their 'satisfaction at the suitable measures taken by the Government of Peru' to prohibit the Polynesian labour trade, the whole distasteful incident was now over. Peru was considered to have done the handsome thing when Ribeyro received the collective *procès-verbal* politely and replied with evident satisfaction that 'Peru and its present administration have deeply deplored these abuses committed on the introduction of the Polynesians', a project which, he said, had originally been approved with such high hopes that it would lead to their moral and material improvement. While fulfilling its duties by ordering judicial enquiries into offences committed by the speculators and their agents the Government 'would not cease to take measures which, respecting at the same time all rights legally acquired, shall satisfy the laws of humanity, the prescriptions of social morality, and the respectability of the Peruvian nation'.<sup>1</sup>

De Lesseps, however, was fully aware that, while these protestations were a step forward, his battle to achieve the liberation and repatriation of the Polynesians in Peru had scarcely as yet begun. It was, as he had come to realise, very much a personal battle of wits between himself and Ribeyro, for while he could rely on the general support of his opposite numbers in the British and Hawaiian Legations neither country had any nationals involved as immigrants, while the United States, preoccupied with the Civil War, took little interest.<sup>2</sup>

France, on the other hand, was directly concerned with the trade from its very inception since French citizens, subjects and protected persons from every part of her Polynesian territories and spheres of influence had been drawn into its ramifications. De Lesseps, who kept in touch both with the Quai d'Orsay and de la Richerie, the Governor of French Oceania, could therefore rely on full support even when, as often happened, his actions infringed the sovereign rights of the Peruvian Government, thus incurring the anger of Ribeyro and resulting in complaints to Paris made through the Peruvian Ambassador.<sup>3</sup>

To Ribeyro's surprise and frustration these complaints failed to impress the French Government; public opinion in France was decidedly antagonistic to what was believed to be Peruvian condonation of a slave trade. Galvez, the Peruvian Ambassador in Paris, was at



46 Edmond de Lesseps, from his bust in the Lima Cemetery. By courtesy of Mlle de Dampierre.

pains to point out to Ribeyro that the French Minister appeared less concerned at de Lesseps' behaviour than with the protection of French Polynesians threatened by the activities of Peruvian vessels; Peru had granted the licences to recruit and therefore Peru was held responsible for the consequences rather than the actual recruiters, who were no doubt the real culprits but had nevertheless not been subjected to any severe punishment for their actions; and in the final passage of one of his despatches the Ambassador hinted at the possibility of demands being made for humiliating reparations and large indemnities.<sup>4</sup>

Mutual understanding between de Lesseps and Ribeyro was made even more difficult by the fact that they were poles apart in the way in which they felt about, and responded to, the whole problem of Polynesian immigration. To the warm-hearted and sympathetic Frenchman the Polynesians were essentially individual human beings who had been entrapped and enslaved by pirates and were now helplessly lost in an alien and pitiless world far from their homes and friends. De Lesseps had been instructed to confine his intervention to

cases in which his assistance was solicited by French-protected islanders and in his official correspondence with the Peruvian Government he at least tacitly did so. But in his compassion for all mistreated islanders he chanced his arm time and again with Ribeyro and his own Minister by making no distinction in practice between French subjects, of which there were in truth only twenty-six among the kidnapped recruits, and any other islanders needing help.<sup>5</sup>

Ribeyro also professed, and from his correspondence one feels that in the abstract he probably possessed, humanitarian sentiments of a high order. But to him the Polynesians were essentially units of labour and the problems their introduction posed were primarily legal ones. The fact that the islanders had proved unsuitable and unadaptable as labour meant that it would be foolish to permit the trade to continue, especially when there was so much opposition to it; once again Peru would have to make do with the much-maligned but relatively robust and hard-working Chinese coolie.

But, like his predecessor Paz Soldán, Ribeyro was convinced that the laws governing recruitment, as amended, were equitable; and though the Government deplored the fact 'that some men, under the shelter of licences legally conceded for lawful purposes, exposed the dignity and honour of the country' this was essentially a matter for the Courts, and the Government had fulfilled its duties by ordering, as in the case of the *Empresa*, 'judicial inquiries to be made into these offences'.<sup>6</sup>

De Lesseps was anxious to ensure that Ribeyro would live up to his affirmation that the law would in future be more strictly enforced, and in particular that none of the twelve recruiting vessels still expected would be granted special licences to disembark Pacific islanders unless in each case it was proved that they had signed their contracts voluntarily and with a full knowledge of their meaning.

He was even more concerned, however, with the position of those already in Peru, since the Legation figures showed that of approximately 2150 islanders who had entered the country only about 800 still survived.<sup>7</sup> He therefore requested the setting up of a Franco-Peruvian Commission with powers to demand for scrutiny labour contracts from both shippers and employers and to hear evidence throughout the country, as well as on board the labour ships, with a view to placing all islanders who proved to have been illegally recruited under proper care until their repatriation: so that 'humanity is satisfied'.<sup>8</sup>

Not surprisingly Ribeyro rejected this suggestion completely, pointing out that such a Commission would be carrying out judicial functions affecting private citizens, contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. Furthermore, the objects desired could not, in his opinion, be achieved by such an extraordinary tribunal, whereas they could be in legally permissible ways. The Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris himself considered that there was some justification for this demur provided the Peruvian administration acted promptly and

effectively to retrieve all Polynesian labourers who had been recruited by fraud or violence. If they did not do so then he felt that pressure should be brought to bear on the Government by urging the appointment of a Mixed Commission as being the only remedy.<sup>9</sup>

Ribeyro's reply to the Declaration sent to him by the Diplomatic and Consular Corps contained what transpired to be a significant proviso that the Government, in regulating the labour trade, would continue to respect 'all rights legally acquired'. It was this proviso that constituted the main point at issue between the protagonists, for Ribeyro considered that the employers of Polynesian labour who had arrived in Peru before 28 April had acquired, in the absence of any legally valid proof to the contrary, a legitimate right to their services for the period of their contracts; only islanders 'in complete liberty' or voluntarily surrendered by their owners without compensation could be repatriated.<sup>10</sup>

The tenor of Ribeyro's correspondence leads one to conclude that while he was anxious to do what he could to help the unfortunate islanders, within the limits of political expediency, he was not—or perhaps the government of which he was a member was not—prepared to alienate the support of the politically powerful *hacendados* by confiscating by compulsion workers who had been brought to Peru under official licence and whose contracts they had acquired with official approval.

He felt, on the other hand, that many were of such little use that their masters might well prefer to release them for repatriation, and in a letter to the Minister of Government he recommended that the Prefecture should encourage them to do so. General Freyre thereupon directed the local authorities throughout Peru that:

the colonists who are in complete independence, and the masters who may wish to release these immigrants voluntarily and without any compensation whatever, may be invited to present themselves to the said authorities, so that the Government may restore them to the country from whence they came, on board . . . a commodious and safe vessel.<sup>11</sup>

When shortly afterwards the administration went further and agreed to add a financial inducement of 50 pesos (\$48.50) for each contract surrendered, Ribeyro felt justified in claiming that the Government had spent a lot in searching out and repatriating Polynesians—going further than most other governments would have done.<sup>12</sup>

To de Lesseps, however, the islanders were for the most part engaged by fraud through false promises and their contracts, with signatures or signs verified by agents paid by the licensees, were almost all void.<sup>13</sup> The report of Eucher Henry on his tour of the province of Chancay enquiring into the condition of the Polynesians

employed on the haciendas reinforced him in this opinion. Henry's memorandum has already been quoted in detail and it is sufficient to repeat here that, after examining numbers of them, he affirmed: 'the complete and absolute invalidity of the so-called contracts by which it is said the Polynesians agreed to sign on', their invalidity being patent from no less than five alleged defects found on every contract seen by him. In any case de Lesseps considered the situation far too serious to wait for employers to give up their workers, for by then most of them would be dead. He urged the Government to take immediate action to step up the scope and pace of repatriation, appealing to humanity, justice and morality.<sup>14</sup>

It appears that many of the recruits themselves became aware that their main prospect of redress in their seemingly hopeless situation lay in the efforts being made by the French. On two recorded occasions the sight of the French flag flying from ships in Callao harbour resulted in spontaneous demonstrations from the islanders on recruiting vessels. By way of contrast de Lesseps received a threat against his life, presumably from people who resented his interference in what many regarded as Peru's domestic concerns. 'Don't worry', he wrote to his cousin Charles in Paris, 'the measures I have taken make it unlikely that I shall be caught unawares. The Government has been warned that if these gentlemen come to talk with me I shall reply with revolver shots.'<sup>15</sup>

Not that the French stood alone in the campaign against the retention of the Polynesians, for within Peru itself it was ably and energetically carried on by *El Comercio*. At first the newspaper adopted a neutral wait-and-see policy, commenting, for example, on the apparent physical and moral superiority of the early Polynesian immigrants to the Chinese; but by December 1862, when Byrne's licence was superseded by free competition, it condemned the trade as disguised slavery and degrading to humanity.<sup>16</sup> To its credit *El Comercio* never deviated from this stand, deploring the inept manner in which the Polynesian incident had been handled and its ultimate material and moral cost to the nation.<sup>17</sup> In this attitude the Lima daily was supported, on a more literary level, by the periodical *Revista Americana*, while the official *El Peruano* naturally reflected the government viewpoint.<sup>18</sup>

The Government protested that it was anxious to, and in fact did, take action whenever reliable evidence was produced of specific violations of the law, and the *Empresa* case was adduced in proof (see Chapter 5). In this instance both the French (who had twenty-six Marquesans on board) and the British (Duniam being a British subject) made representations, while Duniam's wife wrote to the Peruvian Naval Command. Orders were given to hold the *Empresa* incommunicado on arrival and to apprehend the officers and crew, and in particular Captain Detert and Dr Inglehart.<sup>19</sup>

The *Empresa* called first at Huacho, where Dr Inglehart disembarked, ignoring the objections of the Customs authorities who

had ordered the ship to proceed to Callao. At Callao the captain, finding it impossible to land his thirty-six recruits, put them on board the coastal ship *Paquete de Huacho* which took them back to Huacho where they were later rescued by Eucher Henry and his party—but not before several had been captured as 'vagabonds' and put to work on local estates.

Meanwhile, despite the efforts of Ribeyro and the French, Dr Inglehart succeeded in escaping from Huacho, it would seem with the connivance of the local authorities, and was last heard of in Chile.<sup>20</sup> Captain Detert and the crew were arraigned before a Judge of the Court of First Instance at Callao, and Ribeyro requested that he should be notified daily of the trial's progress.

The Judge found the captain guilty, with Inglehart and Cole (a British seaman), of using force and violence to retain thirty-six Polynesians on board, contrary to the Penal Code. The captain and doctor were also found guilty of using force to take four women from their husbands and keep them in the cabin for their own use during the voyage.

Detert was sentenced to six years imprisonment and Cole to four years, with loss of their civil rights and a further four and two years respectively on probation, while Duniam was allowed to retain his right to claim civil indemnity. The remainder of the crew were released and the *Empresa* returned to her owner, Francesco Carnavare, who was proved to have given orders that all recruiting operations should be conducted in conformity with the law.<sup>21</sup> Captain Detert appealed against his sentence and on 29 October 1862 was again sentenced by the District Supreme Court to six years imprisonment with the same provisos as before but under a different section of the Code.<sup>22</sup> Clearly the Peruvian Courts, given the evidence, were prepared to see that justice was done.

Unfortunately the only other instances in which action is said to have been taken against recruiters concerned the *Rosa y Carmen* and the *Guillermo*. As regards the latter, Ward states that her captain and supercargo were arrested on evidence arising in the course of Court proceedings in Tahiti (presumably the evidence of Nichols and Fletcher in the *Cora* enquiry that they had thrown an Easter Island woman overboard as too old to sell at Callao).<sup>23</sup> No documentation has been found, however, to support Ward's statement.

Probably the best example of the Government's uneasiness over the Polynesian problem, and incidentally of its ignorance of the geographical, political and social situation in the South Sea islands, was their decision to appoint Manuel José Pálaciòs as Peruvian Consul-General in Polynesia, with Antonio B. Carrasco, an official in the Continental Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as Chancellor.<sup>24</sup>

Pálaciòs was to have his headquarters at Tahiti and to represent Peru in the principal islands of Polynesia, including the French, British and Hawaiian Polynesian territories, his main duties being to find out exactly what the recruiters had been up to, whether any of

them were being subjected to legal proceedings and, if so, whether the charges against them were legally justifiable, and to intervene on their behalf if warranted and diplomatically expedient; in addition he was to report whether recruiters flying other national flags were at work, how they had been received and if they had been successful. If necessary the Government contemplated despatching some sort of official commission of enquiry to follow up his findings.<sup>25</sup>

This project, praiseworthy in conception, was bungled. Pálaciòs' credentials were addressed to the King of Hawaii but sent to France for processing and the grant of his *exequatur*, to the embarrassment of the Peruvian Ambassador. In any case accreditation other than to France was unnecessary, for no Hawaiian or British subject had been recruited; in fact the only British island in Polynesia was Pitcairn, though admittedly Jerningham could not have told Ribeyro this for he did not know it himself. Apparently no thought had been given as to how Pálaciòs was to move around his vast consular district in the absence of regular shipping services, or whether he would prove welcome there in the light of Peruvian depredations; the French authorities were particularly exercised lest the now thoroughly aroused Polynesians should prove hostile.<sup>26</sup>

In the end Pálaciòs went to Paita to find some means of transport and succeeded in sailing to Hawaii with Miller, his secretary, who was the nephew of the former British Consul there. At Honolulu he showed a surprisingly accurate knowledge of the labour trade and its activities; and then, like the trade itself, he faded away, returning to Peru without visiting a single island touched at by the recruiters.<sup>27</sup> The Governor in Tahiti, when notified that Pálaciòs had been duly accredited and would be coming to establish his headquarters at Papeete early in 1864, kept several difficult matters at issue for discussion with him, including the *Serpiente Marina* and *Cora* affairs, but reported in June that the project appeared to have been abandoned.<sup>28</sup>

The first labour ship to arrive at Callao after the enactment of the new regulations was the *Barbara Gomez* on 11 June, with twenty-three recruits from Easter Island. She was duly placed in *comunicado*, and Desnoyers, the French Consul at Callao, stating his conviction that 'the natives had been tricked into coming like all the rest', offered to supply interpreters to assist an official enquiry into their island of origin and the circumstances under which they had been embarked. De Lesseps went further and asked the local authorities at Callao for permission to send officers 'to see whether these Polynesians have been brought hither in a rightful way'. But the reply to all such suggestions was to the effect that as the ship was in *comunicado* no contact with her was possible.<sup>29</sup>

Within a few days the Government had decided to repatriate the islanders; the contractors, Arturo de Wholey and M.H. Penny, consented to the arrangement and in the event the Prefect of Callao, looking for the 'commodious and safe vessel' able to accommodate 200 emigrants, chartered the *Barbara Gomez* herself for the purpose at

thirty-two pesos (\$31.07) a head, with victualling at the owner's expense.<sup>30</sup>

At first it was intended that the *Barbara Gomez* should go only as far as Easter Island, whence her complement had been obtained. But more and more Polynesians seeking repatriation turned up at Lima and Callao; thirty-four (including eight women) were sent by Henry from Ancón and Chancay on the *Diamant*, of whom fifteen had to be placed in the hospices of St André and St Anne, and the rest on the French store ship: many were desperately ill, while two had died en route and others were not expected to survive more than a few days.<sup>31</sup>

De Lesseps went on the *Diamant* to Ancón to supervise operations, and the whole incident caused a great deal of friction with the administration, which felt, not unjustifiably, that some of the labour collected were neither wandering free nor voluntarily surrendered, particularly as an impression had gained currency that the French were members of the Mixed Commission which de Lesseps continued to press for, whereas the Government considered Henry's party merely a group of Peruvian police, with some French to help as interpreters, who were engaged in collecting 'vagabonds'.<sup>32</sup>

When Ribeyro heard that labourers under contract were being contacted he objected strongly; and de Lesseps in turn demanded to see the Vice-President to complain about Ribeyro's note. The upshot was that de Lesseps declined to correspond with Ribeyro in future except through the British Chargé d'Affaires, pending further instructions from France.<sup>33</sup>

Other Polynesians were delivered to local authorities by their owners and brought to Callao by sea, sixteen on the Peruvian naval steamer *Loa* and more on the coastal vessel *Tumbes*, which sailed south to Pisco picking up those released in the valleys of Pisco and Cañete.<sup>34</sup> According to *El Comercio*: 'many planters, especially Sr John Montero, were willing to send Polynesians at their own expense to their islands', among them being the Rarotongan teacher Josia and his wife who had been taken from Tongareva. The worthy couple had evidently been kindly treated and claimed British protection, to Jerningham's discomfiture. They were eventually taken on board the *Barbara Gomez*, where they found others whom they already knew.<sup>35</sup> Sixteen men and women who sought refuge in the French Consulate at Callao had actually saved enough money themselves to pay for their passages on the coastal vessel *Inca*, leaving twenty more behind 'in a state of total misery'.<sup>36</sup>

The *Rosa y Carmen* arrived on 10 July from Sunday Island and Pitcairn after her seven months cruise, bringing 128 survivors of the 284 kidnapped from nine islands; a week later the *Urmeneta y Ramos* returned with 31 Easter islanders, and on the 27th the *Honorio* from Tuvalu and Rotuma. The 269 new arrivals were transferred, though not all at once, to the *Barbara Gomez* to add to the 23 she had brought from Easter Island and those delivered to the Government, with or without compensation.

To the islanders who had been rescued from certain death at the eleventh hour and told that they were to be taken back to their own homes it must have seemed that their new Christian God was at last coming to their aid. Yet they would have been wrong: for ironically this was when smallpox began to strike them down.

The disease was more or less endemic in Peru and in March *El Comercio* repeated a plea to landowners to have their Polynesian workers vaccinated, as it was killing them off.<sup>37</sup> But out in the rural areas it was sporadic in its incidence and as yet there had been no major epidemic. On 24 May, however, the American whaler *Ellen Snow* was put in quarantine at Callao with suspected smallpox on board. Early in June her crew were allowed to land: with the result that Lima suffered one of its worst epidemics in decades.<sup>38</sup>

Meanwhile Ribeyro, who had come to the conclusion that the climate of Peru was unhealthy for the island people, removed those in the Callao warehouse, which had served as transit quarters for the repatriates, to the *Barbara Gomez* and urged de Lesseps to do the same with any still in his care, so that 'they will enjoy better health'. De Lesseps, through Jerningham, agreed with Ribeyro's contention but pointed out that it should logically lead him to the conclusion that all the islanders should be repatriated to save their lives. He declined, however, to put any of his protégés on the *Barbara Gomez* since he considered that the ship required major repairs to make her seaworthy, while Desnoyers had reported her as only large enough to take 150 without overcrowding, and on a tonnage basis she could legally carry only 172 recruits. Eight months earlier, when she visited Tahiti, she had been officially described as very old and leaky, and the British Consul had concluded that 'much suffering awaits the unfortunate natives crowded into such inefficient ships'—evidently she had not been improved in the interval.

The Government, however, which had chartered her to carry 200, now proceeded to place 470 on board; as a result she soon became no better than an overcrowded and insanitary pest-house filled with victims of smallpox, and before long dysentery as well, so the total number on board at any one time would never have reached that figure.<sup>39</sup> 'Many of these poor men and women', wrote Jerningham, 'were in a state of complete nudity', which 'certainly ought not to have been permitted in the Port of a nation claiming to be civilized like Peru'.<sup>40</sup>

The stage was now set for the final act in the drama.

## Repatriation: the Final Tragedy

WHEN DE LESSEPS heard that the *Barbara Gomez* was to repatriate recruits to their home islands he wrote to Jerningham, for passing on to Ribeyro, expressing his alarm at the prospect, as in recent letters Governor de la Richerie and other officials in French Polynesia (and in particular the captain of the *Latouche-Tréville*) had been unanimous in their belief that the islanders would attack and kill the crews of any vessel of Spanish or Latin American origin. The French despatch-steamer *Diamant* was preparing to sail for Tahiti and he suggested that the brig should sail in company with her, as she was at particular risk through having been actively engaged in the labour trade.<sup>1</sup>

In the event the *Barbara Gomez* was not ready to leave, and as the incidence of smallpox in Callao was alarming it was decided to put the survivors from the *Empresa*, collected by Eucher Henry, and any others who had claimed French assistance, on board the *Diamant* and send her off without waiting. She left on 20 July for the Marquesas with 29 repatriates (18 men and 11 women), including the son of the High Chief of Mangaia, with three of his four companions, one having died.<sup>2</sup>

It was hoped that they had all escaped the infection; but smallpox broke out soon after her departure and when they arrived at Nukuhiva on 20 August the surviving passengers, fourteen having died during the voyage, were put in quarantine in the vacant administrative building at Taiohae in the care of the Catholic missionaries, despite the demurs of the French Resident.<sup>3</sup>

His hesitation proved to be justified for the Nukuhivans, understanding nothing about infectious disease, soon broke into the quarantine area to greet their friends and relatives. The epidemic which followed spread rapidly through the island of Nukuhiva and, despite the devoted care of the missionaries, 960 died on Nukuhiva and another 600 on Uapou, where a canoe had taken the infection, making a total of 1560 deaths out of an estimated total population of 3800 during the six months it lasted.<sup>4</sup>

By the time the *Barbara Gomez* was ready to sail on 18 August, 162 of her 470 passengers had already died and many of the 318 who remained were suffering from a virulent and highly infectious disease almost certain to bring pestilence and death to every island visited during the voyage. A naval second lieutenant, Guillermo Black, was posted on board to supervise the repatriation and see that each person

was returned to his or her home island or the island of recruitment.<sup>5</sup> As she was not to be escorted by the *Diamant* it was decided that she should drop the 100 Easter islanders on board at their home and then call at Papeete for advice and safe conduct before going farther.<sup>6</sup>

To add to the odds against the repatriates surviving the voyage the *Barbara Gomez* was ordered to proceed first to Paita, in the far north of Peru, to pick up Pálaciòs, the Peruvian Consul-General to Polynesia, who was to be taken to his proposed headquarters at Papeete.<sup>7</sup> It was a fruitless diversion for Pálaciòs did not embark, presumably because he had already left for Honolulu, but it resulted in only 15 out of the 100 Easter islanders being still alive by the time the ship arrived at their home.<sup>8</sup>

'They carried with them the infection of smallpox', says Metraux, 'which in a short time decimated the rest of the population. The casualties caused by the epidemic are said to have been in the thousands.' The two Catholic Fathers waiting on Tahiti to proselytise the island heard that half the population had died from smallpox. Dunbabin, the only writer to state a figure for the deaths, puts them at 1000. These two figures are perhaps not so very different, since from the earlier estimates (Chapter 3, Note 1) we may deduce the population of Easter Island in October 1863 to have been about 2740.<sup>9</sup>

When the *Barbara Gomez* left there it seems to have been realised that to sail the death ship to Tahiti would be injudicious. The course, therefore, was now set for isolated Rapa, the southern rendezvous of the recruiters. By the time they arrived 439 out of the 470 embarked had been thrown overboard, allowing for the 15 landed at Easter, and a ship's boat conveyed '16 poor emaciated human beings to the shore with a peremptory request to the people to receive them', the captain adding that 'he would not take them any farther; if they did not receive them, he would take them back to the vessel and then throw them overboard, and they might swim for their lives'.<sup>10</sup>

When the LMS missionary J.L. Green visited Rapa a few months later he was told that the repatriates were from the Tokelau Islands, Niuafou, Tongareva, Manihiki (or Rakahanga), Atiu and other islands, while the survivors spoke of 'the almost brutal treatment and inhuman neglect' which prevailed on the vessel, a statement borne out by the fact that Black, the naval officer superintending the repatriation 'was so horrified by the events on board that he refused to comment to the Lima press when he returned'.<sup>11</sup>

The Rapans, as one would expect, took the sick and marooned Polynesians, who spoke dialects which they could understand, into their homes to feed and nurse them back to health: as a result 9 survived, but approximately 240, or two-thirds of the island's population, died and in 1865 there were reported to be only 20 adult males left alive.<sup>12</sup> It seems that the epidemic which caused these deaths was probably dysentery and not smallpox: for it was dysentery that spread to Borabora and the other Leeward Islands of the Society Group causing many fatalities, particularly among children.<sup>13</sup>

Before the *Barbara Gomez* had left Callao four more ships had arrived from the islands with fresh cargoes of colonists: the *General Prim*, with her complement of 174 Tongans; the *Dolores Carolina* with 130 recruits, *Polinesia* with 113 and *Adelante* with 172: a total of 589 islanders.<sup>14</sup>

Clearly no more could be taken on board the already grossly overcrowded brig, so the *Adelante* was chartered to take back her own recruits and those on the *Polinesia*, and the Spanish barque *Rosa y Carmen* those on the *Dolores Carolina* and *General Prim*.<sup>15</sup> It is perhaps an indication of Ribeyro's unwillingness to credit any but legally proved facts concerning the conduct of the labour trade that a notorious gang of armed pirates, responsible for leading the December raid which captured over 300 Easter islanders and later for the deaths through disease and starvation of 160 more, should be considered by the Government as suitable for repatriating the immigrants—at the standard rate of thirty-two pesos (\$31.07) a head for those over twelve years of age.

Deaths on shipboard, however, made it possible to transfer the *Rosa y Carmen's* passengers to the *Adelante* and by the time the latter left, with orders to take the Chancellor of the Peruvian Consulate-General, Don Antonio Buenaventura Carrasco, to Tahiti, only 429 of the 589 immigrants were still alive. Apparently no further repatriates from the mainland had been put on board either of the ships, but the Government paid fifty pesos (\$48.50) each to the shipowners or labour contractors for transferring the contracts of the new arrivals.<sup>16</sup>

Wisely, Carrasco did not show up, and on 2 October the *Adelante* left for the northern atolls with a naval officer, Captain Gaspar Escurra, on board to supervise repatriation, and apparently a doctor to attend to the health of the passengers. The 429 repatriates, including 49 children, amounted to nearly three times her legal complement, and like the *Barbara Gomez* she was ordered to call first at Papeete for advice and a safe conduct.<sup>17</sup>

Whether the captain of the *Adelante* ever had the slightest intention of carrying out his repatriation contract is doubtful, for on 21 October Captain Blake of the New Bedford whaling barque *Active* was off the normally uninhabited Cocos Island, 300 miles south-west of the Costa Rican coast and 540 miles from Panama, when:

... to my surprise I saw several tents and plenty of people on shore. I took a boat and went to see who and what they were. I saw there were white men among them, and a plenty of Kanakas. I took one white man into the boat, and he told me they were there in distress and in a starving condition.

They were landed there three days previously from Peruvian bark *Atalanta*, of Callao, from which port she sailed on the 1st of October with a cargo of 426 Kanakas and six or seven

interpreters, who were brought to Callao with the Kanakas from their different islands to the westward. The bark was chartered by the Peruvian government to land them on the islands they were taken from, for \$30 per head, but she landed them at Cocos, sick and destitute. They were dying very fast from small-pox, dysentery, and ship-fever. Out of 426, not more than 200 were still alive at the time of our being there.—The man did not tell me that they had the small-pox, but called it ship-fever, and said that no one took it but the Kanakas, and as they agreed to take my casks and fill them and raft them for us, I concluded to go on and get our water, concluding it would be safe by not allowing a boat to land, and having no communication with them whatever. I anchored on the 21st October, at 12 o'clock M., and lay until 7 P.M., 22d, when a boat went near enough to see the dead bodies lying on the beach, and quite numerous, too. We saw enough to believe they had the small-pox in the most deadly form, and immediately took our anchor and went to sea.<sup>18</sup>

The story published in the Press was that the captain, after losing his way to the islands, became mentally unbalanced by the scenes on board, and the ship was finally wrecked on Cocos Island. That the first statement, at least, is improbable is indicated by the more prosaic official report of Captain Escurra in which he states that:

A few days after sailing these wretched ones were struck by smallpox, to such an extent that it was necessary to get to the Cocos Island . . . with the purpose of leaving those still alive there. That 200 died on the trip and that he estimated that from the rest more than half died, since everybody became infected with the disease, this being of the worst sort . . .<sup>19</sup>

That the *Adelante* was at Cocos Island in just over a fortnight implies that the captain must have turned due north instead of due west almost immediately after leaving Callao, and that the passengers were by then in a starving condition is an eloquent commentary on the inadequacy of the provisions brought on board for the long voyage to the Cook, Tokelau and Tuvalu Groups, or for that matter of the supervision over the repatriation proceedings exerted by the Government.

Little remains to be told: the survivors of the marooned party of Polynesians were abandoned by the captain but thirty-eight were eventually rescued by the Peruvian warship *Tumbes*, which was sent for the purpose, and landed at Paita 'all in good health, because the epidemic had passed'. There they were presumably absorbed into the local labour force; as no further attempt was made to repatriate

them.<sup>20</sup> It is said that the captain of the *Adelante* committed suicide.

With the departure of the *Adelante* the Peruvian Government evidently considered that it had done all that could be expected of it to repatriate the islanders brought to Peru: with one exception. The Chilean ship *Ellen Elizabeth* left Tongareva on 3 February to seek labour in the Micronesian Gilbert Islands, and it was October before she had completed her complement of 161 Gilbertese and arrived at the northern Peruvian port of Lambayeque (see Chapter 12).<sup>21</sup> There were an estimated 128 still alive, for 33 had died during the long passage: '... from cold and work—for they had to pump—and want of food'.<sup>22</sup>

On arrival the ship was placed incommunicado and kept at anchor for three months while Captain Muller haggled with the Peruvian authorities over the price to be paid to his employer, the Valparaiso shipowner José Tomás Ramos, for the transfer of the labour contracts. Despite the extra expenses caused by the distance of the Gilberts from Peru, in the end Muller was compelled to accept the standard rate of fifty pesos (\$48.54) a head, plus thirty-two pesos (\$31.07) for the repatriation of the surviving islanders to their homes; Second Lieutenant Gonzalez of the Peruvian Navy was placed on board to supervise repatriation proceedings.<sup>23</sup>

After repairing the *Ellen Elizabeth* at Paita and calling at Tumbes for water they sailed west until sighting a high island—almost certainly from its location and description the uninhabited island of Eiao in the northern Marquesas—where the Peruvian officer wanted to maroon the Gilbertese, despite the captain's objection that there was nothing for them to eat there. Fortunately they were unable to effect a landing and sailed on to Tongareva where the 111 survivors were forced on shore against their will 'for they wanted to go to their own islands', although those who were sick were glad enough to land.<sup>24</sup>

Conditions on board the *Ellen Elizabeth* can be judged from depositions on oath made by Bassett and John Fullenk, a Danish seaman, before the British Consul in Samoa, the following passage being taken from Fullenk's statement:

On the voyage to Penrhyn Island [Tongareva] the Peruvian officer used to flog them with rope and rub tar and grease over their bodies for his amusement. Some sixteen or seventeen of them died from overwork and hunger for they had to be always at the pump. Rice was served out twice a day to the natives, about three quarters of a tumbler full each time. The rice was cooked—and a little tea cup of cold water twice a day. The natives were badly treated on board by the Peruvian officer and I have seen the dying thrown over board before they were dead. The Peruvian officer, Master and Mate each had a woman to live with them.<sup>25</sup>

While the general treatment of the repatriates seems, therefore, to

have been little better than on the two other government-chartered vessels, the Gilbertese had the unique advantage over the Polynesians of not having been exposed to infection by smallpox or even dysentery, as they would inevitably have been at Callao. Consequently only 17 out of 128 recruits died during the repatriation voyage. They were unique, too, in that most of them eventually reached their families and friends.

To summarise the repatriation record, an attempt was made to repatriate 207, or approximately 10 per cent, of the 2116 recruits who at one time or another were actually landed in Peru as immigrants, and all 1009 of those who arrived too late to be allowed to land. Of the total of 3125 brought to Peru, 1216, or 39 per cent, were thus retained or put on board the four repatriation vessels; but only 157, or 5 per cent, landed once again on a Polynesian island alive; or if we except the Gilbertese, who after all were not Polynesians, only 46 out of 2846, or a mere 1.5 per cent, of whom only 15 were landed at his or her home island, (see Tables 4 and 6).

Even this does not give a correct picture, for out of the 46 landed 2 out of 15 at Nukuhiva and 7 out of 16 at Rapa were reported to have died immediately, or within a few days of arrival, from disease acquired on the repatriation vessel or from the conditions on shipboard.<sup>26</sup> The real percentage of Polynesians repatriated is therefore 1.28 per cent, of which approximately over a third were taken back by the French.

It is not an impressive record; but presumably the Peruvian administration considered that the almost total failure of their attempts was due to acts of God. Yet on the other hand it is difficult to excuse the Government for not having the islanders immunised when, as McCall records, 'the citizenry of Callao-Lima . . . flocked to be vaccinated' and their speedy removal was being urged in the Press to protect the other members of the community.<sup>27</sup> Nor is it easy to condone the overcrowding, nor again the iniquitous contract by which the owners had to provide food for all on board at a flat rate of thirty-two pesos (\$31.07) a head, regardless of the length of the voyage.<sup>28</sup> Ribeyro had deplored the fact that the immigrants had arrived in the country in exceptionally bad health; an enquiry would have revealed that most of them had left their islands in excellent health but had been half-starved during the voyage to Peru. The repatriation contract practically guaranteed that any survivors would return home in a similar, or even worse, state: thus when disease struck they were in no condition to resist it.

## Settling Up and Settling In

AFTER THE official repatriation was over at the end of 1863 interest in the labour trade died down in Peru itself. The battle between de Lesseps and Ribeyro continued for some months though with diminishing intensity; the protagonists were once again on speaking terms and writing to each other direct, having effected a personal *rapprochement* on 16 September.<sup>1</sup> De Lesseps continued, on ministerial instructions, to demand a Mixed Commission to investigate the validity of the contracts of those Polynesian labourers still alive in Peru and for compensation to be paid to the families of all who had died, as well as for the refund of his expenses incurred in collecting and repatriating French colonists. These amounted to 10,279.80 francs (\$1996.08), which his Minister in Paris debited to the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies pending a settlement by Peru.<sup>2</sup>

Ribeyro, on the other hand, reaffirmed his view that a Mixed Commission was unconstitutional, a derogation of Peru's rights as a sovereign nation, and in any case useless since he regarded the Polynesian question as now closed because there were so few still left in the country, and because those who were there could not be repatriated if remaining voluntarily under legal contract and with good working conditions. He considered indemnification as having no principle of justice or historical precedent to support it; and the reimbursement of de Lessep's expenses as unwarranted since the French had acted without authorisation and the Government did not admit either the necessity or legitimacy of his actions. In turn, Ribeyro pressed for the return of the *Serpiente Marina*, confiscated by the French authorities in Tahiti, with damages and the rectification of the wrongs suffered by her owners, Bernales y Saco.<sup>3</sup>

### The Franco-Peruvian settlement

Peru's intransigent attitude, however, unexpectedly changed owing to an event quite unconnected with the labour trade. In April 1864 Spain seized the Chincha Islands in a dispute with her former colony and Peru, anxious to secure the goodwill of France, decided to settle at once all matters still at issue between the two countries. The most important of these was France's claim for reimbursement and an indemnity for the wrongs done to her nationals and protected subjects and in June the Peruvian Government, while continuing to deny all liability, handed over in Paris the sum of 125,000 francs (\$24,271.84)

in settlement of all claims, half of it being in reimbursement and half as an indemnity.

De Lesseps was naturally elated and, writing to tell Governor de la Richerie on the same day, considered that the Polynesian labour affair was now concluded. The Mixed Commission issue was dropped as de Lesseps, although he had been able to obtain no data on numbers from an administration preoccupied with the Spanish imbroglio, agreed that there were probably few recruits still left alive in Peru and that those who remained appeared to do so voluntarily and to be well treated. More importantly, perhaps, they were none of them French-protected subjects.<sup>4</sup>

By the time the Peruvian settlement money was ready for assignment in 1866 an amount of 57,410.52 francs (\$11,147.67) was taken by Foreign Affairs to reimburse the expenses incurred by de Lesseps in Lima and Desnoyers in Callao, leaving 67,589.48 francs (\$13,124.17) to be sent to Tahiti. The Governor was ordered to appoint a Commission to decide on the apportionment and, after deducting local administrative expenses attributable to the activities of the Peruvian ships in the French islands, it was proposed to distribute the rest to the next-of-kin of recruits who had died: nearly all of them being Marquesans who had succumbed to smallpox. If any money remained it was to be used on public projects for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Marquesas and Tuamotu Groups.<sup>5</sup>

Once the main issues were out of the way the subsidiary ones were cleared up without difficulty. The total of 20,944.61 francs (\$4,066.92) resulting from the sale of the *Cora*, condemned as unseaworthy in Papeete, together with the stores and equipment found on her, were sent to de Lesseps for handing to her owners; the *Serpiente Marina* was returned to the merchants Bernales y Saco, but their claim for 108,000 francs (\$20,970.87) as compensation for her retention was categorically rejected; and finally Captain Unibaso and the supercargo Lee Knapp, who had been sentenced in Tahiti to five and ten years hard labour respectively over the *Mercedes A. de Wholey* affair, were given a free pardon. In actual fact they had done no labour, hard or otherwise, but had been merely subject to detention in the fort at Taravao, where they were reported to be model prisoners.<sup>6</sup>

As far as the Great Powers were concerned the Polynesian labour trade had become merely a matter of conflicting claims and counter-claims between France and Peru and when these were settled to the satisfaction of the two parties it was soon forgotten. The Foreign Office in London instructed Jerningham to keep a watchful eye lest the trade should be revived, when 'it will be your duty again to remonstrate on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and I shall be glad to learn that your Diplomatic and Consular colleagues have co-operated in your representations': this was perhaps for the record, and as it was published in a Command Paper it has helped to perpetuate the fiction of Britain's leadership in abolishing the trade.

Edmond de Lesseps had not long to live, for on 18 May 1868 he died

in Lima of yellow fever at the early age of 52. He was a man of infinite kindness and compassion who deserves to be held in greater renown by his countrymen—yet how much more is he deserving of affectionate remembrance by the people of Polynesia. Doubtless he was under an official obligation to befriend any French subjects among the unhappy recruits in Peru, but he went far beyond the call of duty to succour all, regardless of their political affiliation, who so desperately needed understanding and help in their hour of extremity. In this work he looked for no temporal reward—indeed he repeatedly risked the censure of his superiors in Paris—but was moved rather by the selfless pity of the Good Samaritan. Had his persistent pleas been heeded in time many hundreds, if not most, of the islanders in Peru might have been repatriated safely and without fatal delays to their homes and kindred.<sup>7</sup>

### The Surviving Repatriates in Polynesia

Of the 148 successfully repatriated to the Polynesian islands only 37 were actually Polynesians, the remainder being Micronesians from the Gilbert Group; and the Easter islanders were the sole repatriates to be landed on their home islands. It is worth seeing, therefore, what became of this small remnant from the more than 3000 who reached the shores of Peru.

De la Richerie sent particulars to Paris about the dumping of the 111 Gilbertese on Tongareva by the *Ellen Elizabeth* but was informed that nothing could be done to help them as they were neither French citizens nor protected subjects; de Lesseps, however, was instructed to draw the attention of the Peruvian Government to the incident. Meanwhile the Gilbertese requested to be allowed to recruit for work in Tahiti and in the event 17 went; these proved to be such excellent workers that on their repatriation it was decided to make the Gilbert Islands a main recruiting ground for plantation labour. Thus commenced a labour trade between the Gilberts and Tahiti which has had many important effects on Gilbertese history—not least among them being the introduction of Catholicism.<sup>8</sup>

The remaining Gilbertese must have prospered on Tongareva, for a year later the missionaries Henry Royle and Charles Barff landed there to find all of them very much alive, to the dismay of the eighty-eight intimidated Tongarevans, with their one teacher, who had been spared by the recruiters:

. . . the naked forms, wild utterances, strange and uncouth appearance of these [Gilbertese] new comers effectively enlisted our sympathies, and we prevailed upon our Captain to take as many of their number as would of their own accord follow us, in the mission barque. We departed thence with 35 and succeeded in finding for them very comfortable locations with our excellent teachers at Rakahanga and Manihiki.<sup>9</sup>



47 Pakomio Maori, who returned to Easter Island. From *The Report of the U.S. National Museum . . . for the year ending June 30, 1889.*

Some no doubt settled permanently in the northern Cook Islands: 'During their long sojourn on Penrhyn,' states Crocombe, 'they must have acquired some rights to the use of land and they undoubtedly produced offspring whose descendants remain on the islands today. The languages and physical features of the Penrhyn (and some Manihiki and Rakahanga) people show distinct Micronesian traits.'<sup>10</sup> Others were recruited by Messrs Greig and Bicknell for making coconut oil on Fanning Island and at the expiration of their contract period it was arranged with Hiram Bingham, the apostle to the Gilbertese, probably through Bicknell's missionary brother in Honolulu, that the Ameri-

can Board's mission vessel *Morning Star* should repatriate them on her next voyage from Hawaii to the Gilberts.

Instead of being commended for his Christian act Bingham was reprimanded by Boston mission headquarters, and in reply remarked mildly that if a mistake had been made 'in helping them to their own home and kindred and friends' it was not likely to occur again, and that in any case the Fanning Island Company had given the mission \$450 in passage money, together with food for the party.<sup>11</sup>

The repatriates by the other three ships did not fare so well. As already recorded those on the *Adelante* got no farther than the Costa Rican offshore island of Cocos and the thirty-eight who survived the ordeal to land at Paita in all probability soon died with no one to care for them in their weakened condition.

If our deductions from some rather ambiguous statements are correct it seems probable that thirteen repatriates from the *Diamant* may have survived the epidemic of smallpox on Nukuhiva, of whom four were stated to have come from Mangaia, possibly two from Easter Island and one each from Atiu, Tahiti and Tongareva: four would therefore presumably have been Marquesans. In October 1863 David, the son of the High Chief of Mangaia, wrote to the Governor in Tahiti asking to be repatriated with the other Cook islanders but it was not until April 1865 that he eventually reached his home island, where he married and settled down. There is no reason to suppose that the others from the Cooks did not return when they were able to secure a passage from Tahiti; the Marquesans and the single Tahitian would of course have experienced no difficulty. One Easter islander, Huaraa, married a Marquesan and remained at Taiohae on Nukuhiva; the other probably returned home from Tahiti on the *Suerte*.<sup>12</sup>

The fifteen remaining Easter islanders on the *Barbara Gomez* were at least landed on their own shore, but how many survived their ordeals is not known; in 1886 an old man called Pakomio Maori was the only one left.<sup>13</sup> The nine men who were put ashore and survived on Rapa were from Niuafo'ou, the Tokelaus and the Cook Islands; all married Rapan women and stayed on the island.<sup>14</sup>

## Crisis in the Atolls

THE LABOUR trade had now become past history—except in Polynesia itself. Throughout this vast region on many an atoll or island bereaved parents and widowed partners still scanned the horizon for sign of a visiting ship, obsessed with fears lest the raiders should strike again, but also with hope that perhaps after all their loved ones might be returning.

How had the remnants left on their home islands coped with what was, in sociological terms, a major externally induced social disaster, and how had it affected their way of life as independent self-supporting communities? For there can be no doubt that the sudden loss of from 24 per cent to 79 per cent of the population of the thirteen islands listed in Table 9, whether through being removed permanently by the Peruvian recruiters or through dying from smallpox or dysentery brought by the survivors from the repatriation attempts, constituted a disruption of their social structure of this magnitude and type.<sup>1</sup>

On five of the atolls—Fakaofu, Atafu, Nukunonu, Nukulaelae and Funafuti—the nature and extent of the catastrophe was immediately apparent, as it was evident from the outset that their kinsmen were being kidnapped, though in the case of Nukulaelae not until two men had escaped from their ship and reached the atoll. In the northern Cooks, on the other hand, the realisation of what had happened did not come until the visit of the *John Williams* in March 1863, while on Easter Island it appears to have been a gradual process extending for some months after the raids of December 1862 and may not have been fully apparent until the repatriation of fifteen recruits in September 1863.

It was in the three Tokelau and two Tuvalu Islands, therefore, that the shock was most severe. To quote the words of Maka, the Samoan pastor on Atafu, written immediately after the able-bodied men on the island had been taken away:

It is most piteous to witness the grief of these women and children. They are weeping night and day; they do not eat, there is none left to provide food for them, or to climb the cocoanut trees. They will perish with hunger . . . Another event occurred to the wife of the chief; in her misery she prematurely gave birth to a child. She felt no pain from the intensity of her grief for the loss of her husband, her son and her people.<sup>2</sup>

This is the sort of immediate human reaction one would expect, and there is no reason to suppose that it would have been very different on the other four atolls. The French surgeon Bon, in complaining about Peruvian disregard for human rights in separating mothers from their sons and brothers from sisters, remarked on the important place taken by feelings of affection among the Polynesians, 'which would make civilized people feel ashamed'; and custom sanctions a less inhibited expression of the emotions than is normal among Europeans. Hence Samuela, writing from Niue, says: 'The wives and children cease not to weep for their husbands and fathers, not knowing whether they were killed, or where they were taken by these men-stealing ships'. It was, at least, a salutary safety-valve for trauma.<sup>3</sup>

The initial abandonment to the extremes of despair and despondency soon gave way, however, to practical considerations stemming from hunger and the need to carry on living if only for the sake of the children; questions which, as we have seen, were raised by Maka (whose own family was intact) within a few hours of the disaster striking the community.

Here the local societies possessed several advantages which served to mitigate the severity of the calamity. Of particular importance for the individual in a time of crisis was his or her membership of an extended family or kindred, a social group tracing descent from a common ancestor, which meant that in practice it was virtually impossible even in a major disaster for someone not to be left who would recognise a duty to care for a helpless woman or child. The extended family in Polynesia, therefore, took the place of the mainly governmental organisations which modern industrial societies are perforce compelled to look to in such times.<sup>4</sup> This would have been particularly the case on islands such as Atafu and Tongareva where we are told that there were no traditional chiefs left and the only authority outside the kindred was the expatriate mission teacher.

In addition, there is the consideration that the communities with which we are concerned were accustomed to disaster and had as a consequence developed techniques for dealing with the situation in so far as it was possible to do so. This arose through such causes as tidal waves, which in about 1635 reduced the population of Pukapuka from over 1000 to fifteen men and their families;<sup>5</sup> or hurricanes, which had in the historic past devastated southern Tuvalu; through famines, whether the normal sequence to hurricanes as on Fakaofu in 1852, or caused by disease affecting the coconut crop as on Tongareva; warfare, either inter-island as was once endemic in the Tokelaus, or between districts as on Tongareva; or the loss of canoe crews, and at times a fleet of canoes, due to sudden storms or wind change, which is reported from all islands (an instance in which eight canoes left Nukunonu being mentioned in Chapter 9).

Among the recorded techniques used for alleviating crisis situations several were not necessary in the case of the one under consideration, for there was no famine involved except on Tongareva,

where it was actually relieved by the departure of 80 per cent of the inhabitants; famine foods such as purslane (*Portulaca*) and the *nonu* (*Morinda citrifolia*) may, however, have been used temporarily owing to the ease with which they could be collected close to the houses. The main trouble appears to have been the disproportionately small number of adult males left in the islands, which necessitated a reallocation of food-getting tasks: the men, for instance, spending most of their time fishing for the community while the women took over some of their traditional occupations, as reported from Funafuti where 'the women had done the planting since the Peruvian slave raids'.<sup>6</sup> Fortunately everyone can collect fallen coconuts and even small boys soon learn to climb coconut trees. The houses, of course, deteriorated; and when Vivian describes those seen on Fakaofu in 1871 as being 'very low and shabby' he attributes this as being a direct consequence of the numbers taken by the Peruvians.<sup>7</sup>

Crop-bearing land is of special importance to atoll communities, being usually in short supply, and in the event of population loss occurring through driftaways, hurricanes or other calamities specific measures are customarily taken for reallocating land for use among the surviving members of a kindred. No doubt similar measures were employed in the case of the loss of kindred members through the Peruvian raids. When as a lands settlement officer I enquired how the lands of a large group who had left an atoll to colonise the then uninhabited Phoenix Islands were to be reallocated I was informed that the same customary rules would apply as in cases when canoe parties had been lost at sea.

Evidently the measures designed to ensure the renewed functioning of the community were successfully taken and we hear of only one case in which the ultimate response to disaster—deserting the island—occurred. This was on 'Ata where King George I of Tonga, on hearing of the raid, sent three schooners to take away the remaining 200 on the island for resettlement at Haatua on 'Eua, where their descendants still live. The evacuation was a compulsory measure as it was feared that those left on the isolated island might also be abducted to Peru; and as on Niuafu'ou, which was later evacuated owing to volcanic action, many of the 'Ata people on 'Eua were anxious to return home when I made enquiries in 1941—and they may well still be.<sup>8</sup> Though fifteen inhabitants of Nukunonu sailed to Samoa by canoe (see Chapter 9), they may have left for reasons unconnected with the raiders and in any case soon returned.

The main need now on all islands was to replenish the population, and this was apparently effected partly by a temporary abrogation of sanctions forbidding adultery, as on Fakaofu, thus permitting the few males to maximise their offspring by intercourse with several women, or as on Funafuti enabling a locally resident European to father a numerous progeny, from which the majority of the present generation of islanders claim descent. The relaxation of sexual mores did not, however, extend to the Samoan or other expatriate pastors, and the

Atafu teacher whose vividly descriptive letters have been quoted many times in preceding pages—now called by the missionary Pratt 'the notorious Maka'—was replaced in disgrace for adultery with a woman who, rather than face her trial alone, committed suicide in a traditional manner by paddling out to sea in a canoe.<sup>9</sup> Mafala of Fakaofu, who like Maka had stayed with his flock throughout the raids, was also removed for adultery shortly after his return from Samoa in 1868.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps a more effective method of regenerating the population, at least in Tuvalu where the islanders were highly mobile, was to welcome immigrants, especially single males who might be expected to marry local girls and raise families, as happened on Nukulaelae. On Funafuti there was 'an abundance of food', as over 50 per cent of the population had been taken to Peru, and this had attracted many visitors: in 1873 there were reported to be no fewer than ninety from Vaitupu alone, and in 1896 Hedley noted that 'the place of the expatriated natives was largely taken by immigrants from other islands'.<sup>11</sup>

In the Tokelaus, where all three atolls had been depleted of their population, 'the overall pattern . . . from 1863 through the early 1900s, is characterised by immigration, very little emigration, and a high rate of growth', and the immigrants, many of them capable begetters, were expatriates: Portuguese, German, Scottish and French, as well as islanders from Samoa, New Zealand, Uvea, Tuvalu and Ontong Java, combining to make 'an improbably bizarre genetic mixture'. In addition, an important factor in promoting population increase was the cessation of abortion and infanticide, practices in which the Tuvaluans, and it seems probable all atoll dwellers, were proficient: they were now not only unnecessary but also prohibited by their new religion.

Thus by one means or another the island populations were brought back to what were considered satisfactory levels, after which population increases tended to slow down in the absence of any special factors. Nukulaelae showed an average increase of 13.25 per cent a year over the first sixteen years following the Peruvian visits, Atafu (where there were said to be only six adult males left) averaged 13 per cent over the first five and Fakaofu 12 per cent over the first seven years. By 1897-8 all three of the Tokelaus had reached or comfortably exceeded their pre-raid populations, with a combined increase of 250 on the 1862 total of 541; Nukunonu, for some reason, lagged well behind with an average of only 4.4 over the first twenty-one years. For Funafuti the population figures are meaningless owing to the numbers on temporary visits to and from the island, it being the main port of call in the Group.<sup>12</sup>

Before we leave this topic of community regeneration after disaster it should be noted that there was one factor of great consequence operative in 1863 but not in any previous calamity affecting the atolls: the people of all five islands were newly converted, or in process of

changing, from their former religion to Christianity. At first sight one would expect that the communities would have turned against a new God who had seemingly failed them in their hour of need and attributed the disaster which had occurred to their desertion of their former deities.

As the pastor Samuela wrote from Niue:

It is as if the word of God would be hated here, for some of the people think that these calamities have come upon them, and foreigners have visited them, from having missionaries and teachers living among them; for such things never occurred in former days of heathenism.<sup>13</sup>

Nor had they occurred on Niue; but though people may feel like this during and immediately following a crisis, from an analysis of trends during times of disaster one learns that it is a transient emotion and that in fact religious development takes place almost invariably during periods of crisis rather than those of security and material well-being.<sup>14</sup>

It was so in the atolls: everywhere the remaining population, men and women, aged and young, felt themselves in need of help and comfort and turned for it to religion. Conversion had moved too far by 1863 for a retrogressive movement to develop and so we find everywhere the growth of Christian spiritual fervour and the rejection of such facets of their culture as were associated with former beliefs.

The European missionaries, who had anticipated at least a relapse by some into paganism, rejoiced:

On Monday I conversed with thirty persons who professed themselves disciples of Christ, and at least one-half of them appeared to be Christians indeed; and what a consideration is this!—what a result from only eighteen months' labour! The whole community seemed largely under the influence of the gospel. Every family had its altar, from which arose, morning and evening, the voice of prayer and praise; and the moral state of the people, as far as I could ascertain, was in keeping with their profession and observance of religious duties. Polygamy, and other remnants of heathenism which lingered among the people when the gospel was introduced, had vanished. 'Old things had passed away,' and, externally at least, 'all things had become new.'<sup>15</sup>

Thus Murray after a visit to stricken Nukulaelae two years to the month after the Peruvian ships had left.

It was indeed an ideal time not only to embrace the new religion with a whole heart but also to discard much of their former culture tainted with 'heathen beliefs and practices', as found in traits in their social organisation, material culture, dance, song and mythology. In part this was inevitable, for the experts in many aspects of the old



48 Everywhere the remaining population felt themselves in need of help and comfort and turned for it to religion. From Peter Carmichael and June Knox-Mawer, *A World of Islands* (London, Collins, 1968).

culture had been taken by the recruiters and their knowledge gone with them; in part, however, it was a deliberate choice: the young christianised generation who were growing up had no motivation for learning difficult arts and rituals, no longer of functional importance, at the feet of the few elders who were still alive. The scientist Hedley, who visited Funafuti in 1896, considered that of all the factors contributing to culture change the impact of the Peruvian labour trade had resulted in 'the greatest shock the native civilisation suffered',

and after visiting the Tokelaus in 1885 and 1894 Newell writes of the former songs and mythology: 'Alas! there are but snatches of these ancient songs in the few legends that remain. These islands were depopulated by the Peruvian slavers in 1863. Almost all who would have handed on the ancient folk-lore of the race disappeared in that great calamity.'<sup>16</sup> And this no doubt was the fate of much else in their culture; what remained to be collected by Macgregor and later anthropologists were in the main partly-remembered fragments of a culture which had undergone a metamorphosis seventy years before his arrival.<sup>17</sup>

On Easter Island it seems that the true character of the Peruvian labour trade was not finally realised until the repatriation of the survivors from the *Barbara Gomez* in September 1863, for we know that the last recruiting ship to visit the island was still able to obtain recruits only three months before. The ultimate impact of the trade on the community was, however, fully as disastrous as it was on the Tokelaus or southern Tuvalu Islands. If our estimates are anywhere near the mark nearly 35 per cent of the population was taken to Peru, and though fifteen returned this merely served to aggravate the crisis since they brought smallpox which killed off, at the best estimate which can be made, a further 1000: this meant that the population decline between 1862 and 1864 was somewhere in the region of 57 per cent, a percentage exceeded only by Nukulaelae, Tongareva and Rapa.

Nevertheless Easter Island is a special and unique case, because it was the only completely unevangelised Polynesian island (except Nanumea) visited by the Peruvian vessels; and its culture was virtually, if not wholly, intact. With the removal of the hereditary high chief and community leaders the social, economic and political system collapsed and chaos ensued, since unlike the other Polynesian islands they had no respected expatriate missionary, pastor or teacher who could enforce community standards and impose sanctions.

The old social order of Easter Island was entirely destroyed in 1862 when Peruvian slave traders kidnapped a large part of the population. They took to the guano islands on the Peruvian coast, not only the king with many members of his family, but a considerable number of learned men (*maori*). This catastrophe, disrupting the traditional mode of living, created a state of anarchy and confusion. But the events of the years that followed were even more disastrous. Epidemics of smallpox, introduced by a few kidnapped men who returned to their island, decimated the population and struck the last blow to native culture. When the missionaries arrived in 1864, they were surprised to meet such complete ignorance of the past, such rudimentary forms of religion, and such disintegration of social organization. They found only the ruins of a civilization.<sup>18</sup>

When the first missionary, Brother Eugène Eyraud, arrived in 1864, it was into this anarchic situation, and as one would expect he had a difficult time 'simultaneously protected and bullied by the first modern Rapanui leader, Torometi, a "warlord" who absorbed Eyraud into his band shortly after his arrival' and endeavoured to use him for his own purposes. When Eyraud left nine months later 'he had been stripped by Torometi of his goods, his clothing and his dignity'.<sup>19</sup> It was only after the arrival of more experienced priests two years later that island society was gradually reconstructed along lines approved, and often devised, by the Catholic Church. By 1868 the last Easter islander had embraced Christianity.

Although Maurata, the last 'king' of Easter Island, had died in Peru, when the *Cora* was captured at Rapa a 6-year-old boy called Manuragui was discovered on board and cared for by the Catholic fathers in Tahiti. 'Distinguished by his intelligence and good disposition' he was discovered to be the surviving heir-apparent to Maurata.<sup>20</sup> Known as Gregario by the missionaries he was the first Easter islander to be baptised and was apparently regarded with respect by the people, who 'would bring him the first yams' as tribute. The mission had high hopes that he would become the political leader, as Maurata's legitimate successor, and a stabilising force on the island, but unfortunately he died when he was only twelve and with his death the high chieftainship came to an end.<sup>21</sup>

While the percentages of the inhabitants taken from Tongareva (for this purpose 67), Rakahanga (34) and Pukapuka (24) qualify all three as disaster areas the crisis was not felt as acutely as on the islands already discussed, since those taken were believed to have been recruited for a term only and would be coming back. When they were disabused of this idea by Wyatt Gill in March 1863 their pain was alleviated by the passage of time, as well as by his reassuring presence and sympathy, and his tactful presentation of the unpalatable truth. In addition there was the fact that with relatively few exceptions whole families had been taken, which meant that the extremity of grief felt by bereaved spouses and orphaned children did not occur to the same extent; while on Rakahanga and Pukapuka there were plenty of families left to absorb the bereft.

On Tongareva, however, there were special problems partly due to the fact that the population had lived in semi-independent districts each under its own chiefs, with inter-group raiding and warfare a common occurrence, and this inter-district rivalry persisted after the people had come to live in the four villages of Omoka, Motu Unga, Tautua and Te Puka. Most of the inhabitants of three villages had left (those from Tautua apparently comprising the majority of the Tahiti party), leaving some forty-eight as too old or too young behind them; while forty remained at Omoka with their teacher Ngatikaro (and at his earnest solicitation).<sup>22</sup>

During 1864 Ngatikaro persuaded most of the scattered remnant in the other villages to settle with his flock at Omoka, where they were

joined early in the year by the 111 Gilbertese landed from the *Ellen Elizabeth*, who must have been given at least the usufruct of sufficient land to provide for their maintenance. Again in July 1864 the 130 Tongarevans recruited by the French were repatriated and most of them also elected to live at Omoka, where they outnumbered and quarrelled with the original community before resettling in their old village at Tautua across the lagoon.<sup>23</sup>

Unfortunately we do not know how the problem of land repartition among mutually antagonistic kindred groups claiming descent from one or more of three main ancestors was settled on the sudden and permanent departure of nearly 70 per cent of the population, nor do we know how provision was made for the temporary use of land by an alien marooned party half as many in number as the remaining Tongarevans. It is an interesting field of enquiry for future researchers, especially as we are told that 'the ancient land divisions still hold, and title to land rests upon membership of kinship groups'.<sup>24</sup>

The other islands lost only 2 per cent or fewer of their people and were in no sense disaster areas. By July 1863 all the Polynesian islands had been warned to watch out for, and have no contact with, the Peruvian ships, those in the Cook Group by a circular letter sent out by the missionary Ernest Krause from his headquarters at Rarotonga and others by trading schooners or the mission vessel *John Williams* on her journeys.

The local action taken varied but was more often aimed at attacking ships' personnel who landed rather than hiding from them. Many chiefs enacted laws prohibiting contact with visiting ships until the tapu had been lifted; for instance on Niue:

Some years ago, several vessels came from Callao, and stole a large number of our people. Our hearts were cold, and great was the weeping on account of our sons and brothers stolen by those ships. The Rulers of this land then made a law that no canoe should go to any ship that may be off the island.<sup>25</sup>

Probably only on Tahiti, secure behind French guns, and Samoa, confident in her own strength, were the Peruvian visits never much more than an exciting topic of conversation.

## After the Storm

**D**ESPITE THE dire predictions of Europeans from Fiji to Tahiti that no white man would in future be safe from reprisals on the part of the islanders, these proved to be but few. 'The natives will take their revenge upon the first vessel visiting their shores after these Freebooters', wrote Consul Williams from Samoa; 'the islanders will attack and kill the crews of *any* ship of Spanish or Latin American origin', reported the French authorities in Papeete; 'the relatives of the kidnapped say . . . "If the Spaniards come here again, they shall all be killed"', warned a Hawaiian missionary at Uapou.<sup>1</sup>

Reprisals were, in fact, almost entirely confined to the still largely unevangelised Marquesans, who killed the South American Auroro (or Otoro) at Uapou for helping the recruiters: and even here the chiefs disapproved of the murder, which was the work of the parents and friends of the abducted islanders. Another victim of the Marquesans, this time of Hivaoa, was Whalon, mate of the New England whaler *Congress*, who was seized while watering at Puamou Bay, rushed inland and systematically tortured, under expert direction, by the children of kidnapped islanders. Before being eaten he was providentially rescued by the Hawaiian missionary Kehela and ransomed for a musket and some trade goods, an act of bravery and self-sacrifice for which Kehela later received a citation and gold watch from Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

The Mangaians captured the captain of an American whaler thought to be a slaver, and were about to attack his ship and crew when convinced by a European missionary that he was innocent of any crime; a somewhat similar attempt was organised on Niue but again abandoned through missionary intervention; while the *John Williams* was more than once in trouble through being taken for a slaver.<sup>3</sup> But in general the islanders were by now quite capable of discriminating between white friends and white foes, and the more typical response from them was overflowing congregations in the island churches, at which prayers were said not only for friends and relations taken to Peru but for the repentance and conversion of the slavers themselves.

As time passed the Polynesians in their homelands ceased to live in imminent expectation of any recrudescence of the Peruvian raids; but they remained concerned about what had happened to their relatives and hopeful that they would one day return. In June 1864 the British Consul in Samoa wrote to the Foreign Office reporting the landing of

the Gilbertese on Tongareva but adding that 'not one of the kidnapped natives from Savage Island, Danger Island, or the Union Group have been returned to their respective islands'.<sup>4</sup> In December 1865 the missionaries of Samoa at their General Meeting pointed out that despite the assurances of the Peruvian Government that the Polynesians would be returned to their homes they were still missing, and suggested that Consul Williams or someone else who knew the islanders should be sent in search of them:

if we could succeed in recovering two or three natives of each of the four groups . . . who could give an account of the fate of their fellow-countrymen, it would be a lasting favour conferred upon the poor people, and fill their hearts with gratitude to their benefactors.<sup>5</sup>

In September 1866 the committee of the Aborigines' Protection Society in England petitioned the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with a plea for the discovery and return to their homes of the islanders still believed to be in Peru; and in answer to a query which he sent to Barton, now British Chargé d'Affaires in Lima, the Peruvian authorities stated that 1200 islanders had arrived in Peru and 871 had been repatriated on the *Barbara Gomez*, *Adelante* and *Diamant*. Of the remaining 329 'at least two-thirds had died of smallpox and other diseases in the hospitals, or on the estates, and that there remained in Peru about 100, from whom no complaints have been received'. To this Barton added incorrectly that forty were landed alive from the *Barbara Gomez* at Mangareva.<sup>6</sup>

This meagre mixture of inaccuracies and half-truths, passed on to the islanders by visiting missionaries, was apparently considered by the Peruvian and British Governments as all that the Polynesian peoples needed to be told about the fate of their friends, relatives and fellow-islanders. Over the years, however, it was supplemented by stories percolating through the islands from the relatively well-informed residents of Papeete; from the few surviving repatriates and, surprisingly enough, from nine Polynesians who, in defiance of the old South Sea shanty that 'on no condition, is extradition, allowed in Calla-o', managed to escape from Peru after the repatriation ventures had ended.<sup>7</sup>

The best-known of these was Taole, son of Hegatule, chief of Avatele on Niue, who was working on the Callao wharves, closely guarded, when an American whaler with a partly Hawaiian crew anchored in the port. The captain acceded to the pleas of the Hawaiians to help Taole and he was smuggled on board, dressed in sailor's clothes; the ship made sail immediately and though chased by a government vessel it got away. After years in Hawaii Taole took passage to Starbuck Island to work for J.T. Arundel, where he met his former wife and returned home to Niue with her. Taole, who continued to sail around the islands as a seaman, retailed his experiences

in Peru wherever he went and they have been retold countless times and with many variations to this day.<sup>8</sup>

Others to return and speak of their ordeal included the Nukulaelae man whom Louis Becke met in the Carolines. He had managed to smuggle away in an English guano ship bound for Liverpool and after years as a seaman on American whalers he married and settled down in the Los Matelotas Group; though he was offered, and gladly accepted, a passage back home, the islanders would not let him leave.<sup>9</sup>

Then there was Pilato, a well-known escapee who returned to his home island of Pukapuka, and the islanders speak of a second; there was the sole person to get back to the Tokelaus, who died soon after from consumption and from 'whose reports of cruelty, disease and death the Tokelau people do not expect to see any more of them'; and the Tongarevan brought back many years later on a warship with his mind apparently unshaken by his sufferings: 'he had been beaten very much because he had many marks on his body'.<sup>10</sup> Later still three more Tongarevans, Pani, Mirinoa and Parana, are said to have been picked up at sea off the Peru coast by a French warship and taken to Tahiti, whence they eventually made their way back to their atoll.<sup>11</sup>

This was the final tally: just nine successful escapees from the 100 officially stated to have been still left alive in Peru and 'from whom no complaints have been received'. In fact escape was virtually impossible except for those who could somehow reach Callao, make the surreptitious contacts necessary with sympathetic captains of foreign ships and arrange a getaway past the guards and police.

From the nine who did escape and from some of the thirty-seven Polynesians who were repatriated the people back on the home islands could have learnt why indeed no complaints had been received by the Peruvian authorities from the recruits working ashore. They would not have been able to know, however, that the figure of 1200 given by the government in Lima as being the number of labourers who had arrived in Peru was quite false—Peruvian unpublished official figures give the number as 3078 (which differs only by 47 from those given in Table 4), and of these, 2069 are stated to have landed and 1009 to have been held on board for repatriation without landing.<sup>12</sup> These totals (or figures very close to them) could also have been abstracted by the British Government from their own records, if they had thought it worth the trouble of a search.<sup>13</sup>

In Table 6, therefore, a number of figures already quoted in previous chapters have been brought together to give an overall picture of the gain to Peru from her endeavours to introduce Polynesians 'to work our fields and to improve the condition of those unhappy beings by the blessings of civilization'; and the cost to the Polynesians in terms of islanders who lost their lives as a consequence. Table 9 similarly sets out the percentage decrease in the population of the thirteen most stricken islands. In each case the death roll includes not only the actual recruits but also the Polynesians on their home islands who died through attempts made at repatriation.<sup>14</sup>

These figures must naturally be related to the population of the Polynesian islands in the mid-nineteenth century: a time when the 6000 who died directly or indirectly from the Peruvian recruiting venture were not far short of the population of Tahiti, the main island of Eastern Polynesia, including Papeete; and were half as many again as the entire population of the fifteen Central Polynesian atolls in 1871 (the first year in which a complete enumeration was made).

For Polynesia the Peruvian slave trade thus constituted genocide of an order never seen before or since in her history; but this the islanders never knew themselves, for they were never told. What has come down through the century that has elapsed since the man-stealing raids is the terror and the pathos of it all: passed down from parents to their children through the years.

When the *Teresa-Ramos* arrived at Easter Island, for example, the first question asked was whether there were any people from Callao on board: 'The name of Callao makes them shiver with fear'. Again, as late as 1890, when the *George Noble* called at Funafuti and the captain happened to mention that he was bound for Beru (in the Gilberts): 'The natives who were on board heard the word and fled incontinently, nor could they be persuaded to come back; the dread word "Peru" was enough'.<sup>15</sup>

Many of these tales have lost nothing in the telling, as witness the apocryphal story of how the Tokelau captives in the hold of a slaver cut through an unsound plank just above the water-line, escaped through the hole and swam unobserved to the reef, from where they watched the ship put to sea in a freshening wind—only to fill and sink.

H.B. Sterndale, who spent the best part of his life roaming from island to island, summed up Polynesia's emotional reaction in a report to the New Zealand Government:

. . . on account of the treachery and violence of Peruvian shipmasters engaged in the labour traffic, the story of whose misdeeds has been carried from island to island over the whole face of the Pacific, wherever the natives are sufficiently enlightened to distinguish by name one nationality of white men from another, the word *Paniora* (Spaniard) conveys a meaning which might be interpreted *fiend*, while Callao might be interpreted *hell*.<sup>16</sup>

But in 1973, exactly a century after Sterndale wrote those words, the anthropologist McCall was sent to Peru by The Australian National University to search for oral traditions or contemporary documentation concerning the Polynesians who remained behind after the abortive attempts at repatriation. He found that nothing remained but the record of 155 deaths in the Lima Charity Hospital, the last being in 1867; nothing, that is, but the single word 'canaca', now used as a derisive term for a lazy person and without any remembered connection with Pacific islanders or other racial group.



49 Teau of Rapa (with Panama hat) and the welcoming committee of the old men of Fakaofu. Bishop Museum, by courtesy of Mr J.H. Bryan, Jr, Honolulu.

That a handful of islanders survived for a time is probable, for the Easter Island community spoke to McCall of three fellow-islanders who married Peruvians and settled down, one of them in the northern port of Pacasmayo—two of them had sent blankets and other presents to their relations back home. But with the death of the last island 'colonist' in Peru their memory apparently passed into oblivion.<sup>17</sup>

Not so in Polynesia, where 'te pa i Kalio' (the fortress, or prison, of Callao) is still remembered and the elders tell stories, handed down through the generations, of what happened to kinsfolk and compatriots. But with the passage of time not only has the emotional trauma dimmed but what was once a tragic recital can even be found transmuted into farce.

No Oceanic Group suffered more from the Peruvian raids than the Tokelau Islands; and yet in recent years they have become the theme there for burlesque representation—for hilarious caricature by village clowns 'trailing behind them a swarm of delighted, shrieking children':

A favourite performance (derived from tragic real-enough incidents of little over a century ago) is that of a group of foreign sailors ashore from a 'blackbirding' ship with swords and guns, dragging their struggling victims from among the onlookers into supposed captivity and exile.<sup>18</sup>

And when in 1924, Teau, the son of a Fakaofu islander called Hehe a Afora, one of the survivors landed on Rapa from the *Barbara Gomez*, returned to visit the land of his forbears he received a royal welcome, while his relationship to the Fakaofu community was soon reconstructed and received with acclamation.<sup>19</sup> He had not forgotten; and neither had they—yet it was no longer a time for tearful memories, but one for feasting and rejoicing.

## APPENDIX

**Table 1 Labour Ships and their Captains<sup>1</sup>**

Ship	Registry	Type	Tonnage	Captain
<i>Adelante</i>	Peru	Barque	151	Grassau
<i>Apurimac</i>	Peru	Brig	189	Grau
<i>Barbara Gomez</i>	Peru	Brig	172	Penny
<i>Bella Margarita</i>	Chile	Brig	286	Henrisen
<i>Carolina</i>	Peru	Barque	150	Morales
<i>La Concepción</i>	Chile	Barque	?	Gervasoni
<i>Cora</i>	Peru	Schooner	88	Aguirre
<i>Dolores Carolina</i>	Peru	Barque	220	Altuna
<i>Eliza Mason</i>	Chile	Barque	176	Sasuategui
<i>Ellen Elizabeth</i>	Chile	Brig	?	Muller
<i>Empresa de Lima</i>	Peru	Frigate	312	Detert
<i>Genara</i>	Peru	Schooner	98	Perry
<i>General Prim</i>	Peru	Barque	203	Olano
<i>Guayas</i>	Peru	Brig	189	Larrazabal
<i>Guillermo</i>	Peru	Brig	178	Campbell
<i>Hermosa Dolores</i>	Peru	Schooner	100	Garay
<i>Honorio</i>	Peru	Barque	173	García y García
<i>Jorge Zahara</i>	Peru	Schooner	171	Davis
<i>José Castro</i>	Peru	Schooner	150	Acevedo
<i>Manuelita Costas</i>	Peru	Schooner	132	García
<i>Margarita</i>	Peru	Brig	198	Ripoil
<i>Mercedes A. de Wholey</i>	Peru	Brig	196	Unibaso
<i>Micaela Miranda</i>	Peru	Brig	156	Carcamo
<i>Misti</i>	Peru	Brig	193	Basagoitia
<i>Polinesia</i>	Peru	Barque	220	Garay
<i>Rosalía</i>	Peru	Barque	270	Bollo
<i>Rosa Patricia</i>	Peru	Barque	197	Mota
<i>Rosa y Carmen</i>	Spain	Barque	402	Marutani
<i>Serpiente Marina</i>	Peru	Barque	198	Martínez
<i>Teresa</i>	Peru	Barque	219	Muñoz
<i>Trujillo</i>	Peru	Brig	197	Basagoitia
<i>Urmeneta y Ramos</i>	Peru	Barque	185	Urrubarrencon

<sup>1</sup> Excluding the Tasmanian whaler *Græcan* (see Chapter 11), which never visited Peru but transferred her recruits to the *Geneml Páim*.

Table 2 Reconstructed Routes and Estimated Recruits Embarked<sup>1</sup>

Ship <sup>2</sup>	Left Callao	Route	Returned Callao	Numbers Recruited <sup>3</sup>
<i>Adelante</i> (1)	15 June 62	Hivaoa-Nukuhiva-Tongareva	13 Sept. 62	254 <sup>4</sup>
<i>Jorge Zahara</i>	22 Sept. 62	Nukuhiva-Tongareva-Manihiki-Rakahanga-Manihiki-Tongareva-Pukapuka	16 Apr. 63	88
<i>Manuelita Costas</i>	23 Sept. 62	Hivaoa-Nukuhiva-Manihiki (wrecked on Manihiki, 12 Nov. 62)	—	—
<i>Serpiente Marina</i>	26 Sept. 62	Easter-Mangareva-Papeete (sequestered)	—	2
<i>Trujillo</i>	28 Sept. 62	Tongareva-Manihiki-Rakahanga-Manihiki-Niue	6 Jan. 63	126
<i>Apurímac</i>	28 Sept. 62	Manihiki (wrecked on Manihiki, 12 Nov. 62)	—	—
<i>Eliza Mason</i> <sup>5</sup>	3 Oct. 62	Hivaoa-Fatuhiva-Easter	26 Jan. 63	238
<i>Bella</i>	4 Oct. 62	Easter	24 Nov. 62	154
<i>Margarita</i> <sup>5</sup>	4 Oct. 62	Anaa-Fakarava-Kauehi-(Tahanea)-Katiu-Motu Tunga (captured by French off Makemo and sequestered)	—	151
<i>Mercedes A. de Wholey</i>	4 Oct. 62	Anaa-Fakarava-Kauehi-(Tahanea)-Katiu-Motu Tunga (captured by French off Makemo and sequestered)	—	151
<i>Barbara Gomez</i> (1)	7 Oct. 62	Papeete (returned to Callao without recruiting)	16 Feb. 63	—
<i>Adelante</i> (2)	10 Oct. 62	Tongareva-Manihiki-Rakahanga-Tongareva	24 Feb. 63	203
<i>Teresa Genara</i>	25 Oct. 62	Easter	21 Feb. 63	203
<i>Empresa</i>	[?] 22 Nov. 62	Tongareva Nukuhiva-Uapou-Hivaoa-Tahuata-Fatuhiva-Caroline-Huahine-Manihiki-Rakahanga-Atiu-Mangaia-Rapa	8 Mar. 63 18 Apr. 63	43 36
<i>General Prim</i> (1)	26 Nov. 62	Easter	6 Jan. 63	115
<i>Cora</i>	29 Nov. 62	Easter-Mangareva-Rapa (captured by Rapans, taken to Papeete and sold)	—	1
<i>Carolina</i> (1)	5 Dec. 62	Easter	25 Jan. 63	122
<i>Guillermo</i>	5 Dec. 62	Easter-Rapa-Mangaia-Atiu-Niue-Nukunonu-Fakaofu-Atafu	9 Apr. 63	62
<i>Hermosa Dolores</i>	5 Dec. 62	Easter	25 Jan. 63	160
<i>José Castro</i>	6 Dec. 62	Easter-Rapa-Easter	21 Apr. 63	21
<i>Rosa Patricia</i>	6 Dec. 62	Easter-Rapa-Mangaia-Atiu-Niue-Apia-Olosenga-Fakaofu-Nukunonu-Atafu-Olosenga	13 Apr. 63	102

Ship <sup>2</sup>	Left Callao	Route	Returned Callao	Numbers Recruited <sup>3</sup>
<i>Rosa y Carmen</i> <sup>6</sup>	7 Dec. 62	Easter-Mangareva-Rapa-Rakahanga-Pukapuka-Atafu-Nukunonu-Fakaofu-Tutuila-Ta'u-Niue-Sunday-Pitcairn	10 July 63	290
<i>Micaela Miranda</i>	9 Dec. 62	Easter-Rapa-Rakahanga-Pukapuka-Atafu-Nukunonu-Fakaofu	24 Apr. 63	1
<i>Rosalía Ellen</i>	16 Dec. 62	Easter	3 Feb. 63	196
<i>Elizabeth</i> <sup>5</sup>	? Dec. 62 <sup>7</sup>	Tongareva-Onotoa-Nonouti-Tabiteuea-Tamana(?)-Arorae-Rotuma	? July 63 <sup>9</sup>	161
<i>Dolores Carolina</i>	25 Jan. 63	Northern Route-Rakahanga-Pukapuka-Nukulaelae-Funafuti-Rotuma	14 Aug. 63	149
<i>Margarita Carolina</i> (2)	26 Jan. 63	(presumed wrecked)	—	—
<i>La Concepción</i> <sup>5</sup>	6 Feb. 63	Easter	1 Apr. 63	73
	7 Feb. 63 <sup>7</sup>	Hivaoa-Tahaa (wrecked on Tahaa ? 6.63)	—	—
<i>Polinesia</i>	14 Feb. 63	Northern Route-Nukulaelae-Funafuti-Rotuma	16 Aug. 63	128
<i>Guayas</i>	15 Feb. 63 <sup>8</sup>	Nukuhiva-Papeete (returned to Guayaquil without recruiting)	? May 63 <sup>10</sup>	—
<i>Misti</i>	26 Feb. 63 <sup>7</sup>	Easter-Rapa-Papeete (sold)	—	2
<i>Adelante</i> (3)	1 Mar. 63	Nanumea-Beru	16 Aug. 63	174
<i>Honorio</i>	1 Mar. 63	Northern Route-Nukulaelae-Funafuti-Rotuma	27 July 63	110
<i>General Prim</i> (2) <sup>11</sup>	2 Mar. 63	(Obtained 'Ata and Niuafo'ou recruits from <i>Grecian</i> )	19 July 63	174
<i>Barbara Gomez</i> (2)	3 Apr. 63	Easter	11 June 63	23
<i>Urmeneta y Ramos</i>	(?)	Easter	17 July 63	31

Total estimated recruits embarked—by ships = 3483

1 The islands of Nanumea, 'Ata, Niuafo'ou, Niuaotupapu, 'Uiha, Ovalau, and Ono i Lau, which were visited either by the whaler *Grecian* or an unknown ship, are not included.

2 A number in brackets after a ship's name indicates whether on first, second or third voyage; those without numbers made only one voyage.

3 Includes women and children.

4 For convenience in calculating totals the 3 children born on the *Adelante*'s first recruit have been counted as if they had been born before she left Tongareva.

5 Chilean.

6 Spanish.

7 Left Valparaiso.

8 Left Guayaquil.

9 Arrived Lambayeque.

10 Arrived Guayaquil.

11 The Tasmanian whaler *Grecian* has been omitted from the table, as she never visited Peru but transferred her recruits to the *General Prim*.

**Table 3 Pacific Islanders Recruited for Work in Peru<sup>1</sup>**

<i>Cook Islands</i>	Tongareva	—	472 <sup>2</sup>	
	Rakahanga	—	115	
	Pukapuka	—	145	
	Atiu	—	6	
	Mangaia	—	<u>5</u>	743
<i>Niue</i>				109
<i>Samoa</i>	Upolu	—	3	
	Savai'i	—	<u>4</u>	7
<i>Rotuma</i>				3
<i>Tokelau Islands</i>	Fakaofu	—	140	
	Atafu	—	37	
	Nukunonu	—	<u>76</u>	253
<i>Tuvalu</i>	Nukulaelae	—	250	
	Funafuti	—	171	
	Nukufetau	—	3	
	Nanumea	—	<u>21</u>	445
	<i>Tonga</i>	'Ata	—	144
	Niuafu'ou	—	<u>30</u>	174
<i>Marquesas Islands</i>	Uapou	—	19	
	Hivaoa	—	6	
	Tahuata	—	<u>1</u>	26
<i>Caroline Island</i>				4
<i>Tuamotu Islands</i>	Fakarava	—	30	
	Katiu	—	25	
	Motu Tunga	—	54	
	Kauehi	—	11	
	Tahanea	—	<u>31</u>	151
<i>Easter Island</i>				1407
<i>Gilbert Islands</i>	Nonouti	—	25	
	Tabiteuea	—	13	
	Beru	—	151	
	Onotoa	—	50	
	Tamana (?)	—	23	
	Arorae	—	<u>50</u>	312
<i>Totals: Polynesians (except Easter islanders)</i>				1915
<i>Easter Islanders</i>				1407
<i>Micronesians</i>				<u>312</u>
<b>Total estimated islanders recruited—by islands</b>				<b>3634</b>
Islanders who returned home before reaching Peru <sup>3</sup>				
(a) Released or escaped before leaving Polynesia				
<i>Tokelau Islands</i>	—	6		
<i>Tuvalu</i>	—	<u>2</u>	8	
(b) Freed and repatriated before leaving Polynesia				
<i>Tuamotu Islands</i>	—	151		
<i>Easter Island</i>	—	<u>5</u>	156	

1 Including accompanying members of families.

2 Including 3 children born en route.

3 Including islanders who died en route to their homes after release.

**Table 4 Numbers Landed in Peru or Held on Board for Repatriation**

Ship <sup>1</sup>	Landed in Peru <sup>2</sup>	Held on Board at Callao <sup>3</sup>
<i>Adelante</i> (1)	253	—
(2)	203	—
(3)	—	172
<i>Barbara Gomez</i> (2)	—	23
<i>Bella Margarita</i>	154	—
<i>Carolina</i> (1)	122	—
(2)	73	—
<i>Dolores Carolina</i>	—	130
<i>Eliza Mason</i>	238	—
<i>Ellen Elizabeth</i>	—	128 <sup>4</sup>
<i>Empresa</i>	36	—
<i>Genara</i>	43	—
<i>General Prim</i> (1)	115	—
(2)	—	174
<i>Guillermo</i>	44	—
<i>Hermosa Dolores</i>	160	—
<i>Honorio</i>	—	110
<i>Jorge Zahara</i>	85	—
<i>José Castro</i>	21	—
<i>Micaela Miranda</i>	1	—
<i>Polinesia</i>	—	113
<i>Rosalía</i>	196	—
<i>Rosa Patricia</i>	43	—
<i>Rosa y Carmen</i>	—	128
<i>Teresa</i>	203	—
<i>Trujillo</i>	126	—
<i>Urmeneta y Ramos</i>	—	31
	<u>2116</u>	<u>1009</u>

1 Excludes ships which did not return or returned without recruits.

2 Numbers in Peru taken from Peruvian official or British naval sources.

3 Numbers who arrived at Peru and were held on board awaiting repatriation taken from Peruvian official or British naval sources.

4 Held at Lambayeque.

**Table 5 Repatriation Statistics**

<b>Repatriation Totals</b>			
Taken direct from recruiting ships	1009		
Taken from labour ashore	207		<u>1216</u>
<b>Repatriation Ship Totals</b>			
<b>(1) <i>Diamant</i></b>			
Placed on board from labour ashore			29
Died on voyage or immediately after		16	
Land at Nukuhiva		<u>13<sup>1</sup></u>	
		29	
<b>(2) <i>Barbara Gomez</i></b>			
Placed on board from labour ashore	178		
Kept on board from her recruitment	23		
Removed from <i>Rosa y Carmen</i>	128		
Removed from <i>Urmeneta y Ramos</i>	31		
Removed from <i>Honorio</i>	<u>110</u>		470
Died before ship sailed	152		
Died on voyage or immediately after	<u>294</u>	446	
Landed at Easter Island	15		
Landed at Rapa	9 <sup>2</sup>	<u>24</u>	
		470	
<b>(3) <i>Adelante</i></b>			
Kept on board from her recruitment	172		
Removed from <i>General Prim</i>	174		
Removed from <i>Dolores Carolina</i>	130		
Removed from <i>Polinesia</i>	<u>113</u>		589
Died before ship sailed	160 <sup>3</sup>		
Died on voyage or on Cocos Island	<u>391</u>	551	
Returned to Peru	38		
Landed in Polynesia	<u>—</u>	<u>38</u>	
		589	
<b>(4) <i>Ellen Elizabeth</i></b>			
Kept on board from her recruitment			128
Died on voyage	<u>17</u>	17	
Landed at Tongareva	<u>111</u>	<u>111</u>	
		128	
<b>Summary</b>			
Deaths during repatriation	1030		
Returned to Peru	38		
Repatriated to Polynesia	148 <sup>4</sup>		<u>1216</u>

1 Excludes 2 who died immediately after landing.

2 Excludes 7 who died immediately after landing.

3 Includes those who may have died before removal from the ships on which they arrived.

4 Includes 111 Micronesians.

**Table 6 A Statistical Balance Sheet**

Polynesians recruited for Peru			3634
Released, escaped or freed in Polynesia			<u>164</u>
Polynesians who left the islands for Peru			3470
Died on voyage to Peru			<u>345</u>
Polynesians who reached Peru			3125
Landed in Peru	2116		
Held on ships for repatriation	<u>1009</u>	3125	
<b>The Dead</b>			
Died on recruiting voyages			345
Died in Peru			1840
Died during repatriation proceedings			<u>1030</u>
Total deaths directly attributable to the Peruvian recruits			3215
Died on Nukuhiva from smallpox			960
Died on Uapou from smallpox			600
Died on Easter Island from smallpox			1000
Died on Rapa from dysentery			240
Died on Leeward Islands from dysentery			<u>150</u>
Total deaths indirectly attributable to the Peruvian recruits			<u>2950</u>
Total number of Polynesians who died			<u>6165</u>
<b>The Living</b>			
Repatriates on Nukuhiva			13
Repatriates on Easter Island			15
Repatriates on Rapa			9
Repatriates on Tongareva			<u>111</u>
Total number of Polynesians repatriated			148 <sup>1</sup>
Total who escaped after repatriation ceased			9
Total stated to be alive in 1866			<u>100</u>
Total number of recruited Polynesians who survived			<u>257</u>

1 Includes the 111 Micronesian Gilbertese landed at Tongareva.

Table 7 Recruitment: by Islands<sup>1</sup>

Island	Est. Pop. 1862 <sup>2</sup>	No. Recruited	No. Remaining	Percentage Recruited
Tongareva (1) <sup>3</sup>	570	472	98	82.81
Nukulaelae	315	250	65	79.37
Tongareva (2)	700	472	228	67.43
Nukunonu	140	76	64	54.29
Funafuti	317	171	146	53.94
Fakaofu	261	140	121	53.64
'Ata	350	144	206	41.14
Easter Island	4126	1407	2719	34.10
Rakahanga	340	115	225	33.82
Atafu	140	37	103	26.43
Pukapuka	600	145	455	24.17
Niue	5021	109	4912	2.17

1 It would be misleading to work out figures for the five Tuamotu Islands since so many of the people recruited, particularly from Motu Tunga, appear to have been temporary residents. The small numbers taken from the other islands had a lesser impact, especially on those, such as Upolu or Rotuma, which had large populations: as will be evident from the fact that even the 109 taken from Niue represented only 2 per cent of the total population in August 1862.

2 Sources for the pre-recruit population estimates are: Tongareva—Royle to LMS 17 May 65, SSL; Nukulaelae—G.A. Turner 1878; Nukunonu—Gill and Bird, Journal 13 Feb. 63, SSJ; Funafuti—George Turner, Journal 21 July 76, SSJ; Fakaofu [23 Jan. 63]—Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; Easter Island—see Ch.3, n.1; Rakahanga—*Nautical Magazine* 37:451-2; Atafu—Gill and Bird, Journal 13 Feb. 63, SSJ; Pukapuka—Gill to LMS 18 Aug. 71, SSL; Niue [August 1862]—Lawes to LMS 21 July 63, SSL. The figure for 'Ata is based on an estimated 200 having been removed by the Tonga Government to 'Eua after the raid—Wood to Freeman 30 Dec. 1947, Freeman Papers. It is consistent with Gifford's statement that there were 100 school children on the island at the time, though his estimated maximum population of 200 for 'Ata is clearly an error—Gifford 1929:283.

3 Two population estimates are given for Tongareva, the first excluding and the second including 130 recruited for Tahiti immediately before the initial recruitment by the *Adelante*. The first estimate is for some purposes the more accurate as the 130 were not in fact on Tongareva at the time, even though they were duly repatriated from Tahiti in July 1864—Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.414, 28 Aug. 64, AN. Furthermore, had they been on Tongareva they would almost certainly have been recruited for Peru.

Table 8 Analysis of Methods Employed in Recruiting<sup>1</sup>

Island	Recruited without deceit	Recruited by misrepresentation	Kidnapped	No evidence
Tongareva	427	45		
Rakahanga		108	7	
Pukapuka		145		
Atiu			1	5
Mangaia			5	
Niue		50	59	
Samoa			7	
Rotuma			3	
Tokelau Islands			253	
Nukulaelae		250		
Funafuti		171		
Nukufetau				3
Nanumea				21
'Ata			144	
Niufo'ou		30		
Uapou	5		14	
Hivaoa			6	
Tahuata			1	
Caroline Island				4
Tuamotu Islands		151		
Easter Island	507		650	250
Gilbert Islands		161 <sup>2</sup>		151
	939	1111	1150	434

<sup>1</sup> In this table an attempt is made to analyse in statistical form the methods adopted by the Peruvian recruiters to fill their complements: whether by invitation without involving deceit or coercion; by misrepresentation as to the place, nature or term of employment for which the islanders were being engaged; or by outright kidnapping. No attempt has been made to separate the various methods of misrepresentation employed since in most instances several were used at the same time, as necessary. While the extent to which the islanders were in fact deceived or would have gone in any case cannot of course be conjectured, the figures suggest that of the 3200 islanders (including women and children) for which we have evidence perhaps 29 per cent went voluntarily, 35 per cent ostensibly through misrepresentation, while about 36 per cent were probably kidnapped.

<sup>2</sup> Some of these were stated to have been kidnapped but the number is unknown—Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.359, 25 Aug. 64, Enc.2, AN.

**Table 9 Percentage of Population Decrease: by Islands**

Island	Est. Pop. 1862 <sup>1</sup>	Recruited <sup>2</sup>	Died from Disease <sup>3</sup>	Total Loss	Numbers Remaining	Percentage Decrease
Nukulaelae	315	250	—	250	65	79.37
Tongareva	700	467	—	467	233	66.71
Rapa	360	—	240	240	120	66.66
Easter Island	4126	1386	1000	2386	1740	57.83
Uapou	1100	16 <sup>4</sup>	600	616	484	56.00
Nukunonu	140	76	—	76	64	54.29
Funafuti	317	171	—	171	146	53.94
Fakaofu	261	137	—	137	124	53.26
'Ata	350	144	—	144	206	41.14
Nukuhiva	2700	—	960	960	1740	35.56
Rakahanga	340	115	—	115	225	33.82
Atafu	140	37	—	37	103	26.43
Pukapuka	600	143	—	143	457	24.00

1 For sources see Ch.22, n.1.

2 Less returnees.

3 For the sources on which the numbers who died from smallpox and dysentery introduced by the surviving returnees are based see Ch.20, nos 4, 9, 12.

4 This is based on the assumption that the proportion of those who survived to those recruited from Uapou, Hivaqa and Tahuata was the same.

## NOTES

To reduce the length of the notes to a minimum all descriptive detail and punctuation in the references have been deleted wherever possible. In particular letters (sometimes termed despatches) from government officers in the Pacific may be assumed to have been addressed to their national headquarters ministries unless otherwise stated (in practice they are normally addressed to the Minister in person). Thus letters from the Commander of the French Establishments in Oceania (called Governor in the notes) are to the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies in Paris, and those from the French Chargé d'Affaires in Peru are to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (both being called Ministry in the notes). Letters from LMS missionaries are usually addressed to the Directors or the Secretary of the LMS in London (called LMS in the notes). It is hoped that this procedure will not be found confusing by scholars using the references. A list of abbreviations used in the notes can be found on p.xv.

### Chapter 1

- 1 Levin 1960:40-1.
- 2 Ibid.:88; Stewart 1951:12-13, 18.
- 3 Pike 1967:112. The decree of 6 Mar. 1856, repealing the immigration law, asserted that the coolie trade was 'degenerating into a kind of Negro slave trade', with at least a third of the immigrants dying during the passage from China through overcrowding and bad or insufficient food—Stewart 1951:21-2.
- 4 *Revista Americana* 20 May 63:236.
- 5 Stewart 1951:26-8.
- 6 The enactment is referred to as either the law of 15 Jan. or 14 Mar. For the Spanish text see *El Peruano* 23 Mar. 61; there is a translation in GBP 1864:6-7 and another in Stewart 1951:26-7.
- 7 Hattersley 1950:102-9.
- 8 Ibid.:110-11.
- 9 *The Age* 28 Nov. 63:5.
- 10 Du Bouzet to Ministry 25 Nov. 57, 10 July, 25 Aug. 58, AN; *Bulletin Officiel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie* 1858:241-9; Testard to Ministry 29 Aug. 58, AN.
- 11 Michel 1948:136-59.
- 12 Bronwen Douglas, pers. comm. to Grant McCall 1974.
- 13 *The Age* 28 Nov. 63:4-5; Michel 1948:136-59; Hattersley 1950:111.
- 14 Barton to FO 11 June 62, GBP 1864:1.
- 15 *El Peruano* 12 Apr. 62. For a translation see GBP 1864:7, where, however, the term of service is wrongly stated to be six years.

- 16 Morales to Prefect of Callao 15 Sept. 62, in *El Peruano* 20 Sept. 62.  
 17 Barton to Layard (Private) 29 Apr. 62, Layard Papers, BM 39103, f.52;  
 Barton to FO 29 May 62, GBP 1864:1; *The Age* 28 Nov. 63:5.

## Chapter 2

- 1 *Friend* 2 Nov. 63.
- 2 Barton to FO 29 May, 11 Jun. 62, FO 61/203.
- 3 Richardson 1977:213.
- 4 *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63; MT 21 Mar. 63:56. While it is true that the recruiting entrepreneurs were licensed to engage in the trade by the Peruvian Government, this did not imply any endorsement of their suitability or that of the ships they owned or chartered. In fact, as the Peruvian historian Jorge Basadre points out, the licences were not required by law but initiated at the request of Byrne for his own protection and in the hope of securing a monopoly, and sought by his successors as affording a semblance of government sanction to their operations.—Basadre 1961: III:1450. The Marquesans were on a 4-month contract at 8 pesos (\$7.76) a month.
- 5 MT 27 June 63:126. The island and its resources were known on the South American coast from a Chilean vessel having been chartered to rescue the crew of the *Chatham*, which had been wrecked there in 1853—*Daily Herald* (San Francisco) 7 Dec. 53. Villegas was a failure, not being able to understand the Tongarevan dialect—*El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63. The Marquesan boat's crew were the first of many Polynesians to serve as seamen on the recruiting vessels, where they were valued for their knowledge of the islands and as interpreters; most of them were Cook islanders, with at least one Samoan, and were engaged at Callao after being discharged from whaling and trading ships.
- 6 Ben Hughes, of whom Wyatt Gill reported: 'He has been acting as agent for the Callao vessels. He went in one of them to the other islands and when his dirty work was done, they brought him back to Penrhyn's.'—Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ. He left Tongareva to live on Fakaofu about 1863 'with a wife and child and three natives of Penrhyn'—Hooper and Huntsman 1973:378.
- 7 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ. Newbury (1956:161) gives 99 as the number taken. The *Latouche-Tréville* was actually on her way to Samoa to seek recruits but had no need to go farther; for her Tongareva labour the cost was only 20 francs (\$3.88) a head—MT 21 Dec. 62:211; SMH 12 Mar. 63.
- 8 MT 27 June 63:126; Buzacott n.d.; Gill 1885:31; Gill to High Commissioner, WPHC, 17 Feb. 91, WPA.
- 9 Buck 1932:8. H.B. Sterndale, who was on Tongareva not long after the labour trade had ceased, as an agent for the pearl-shell merchants Hort Brothers of Tahiti, wrote that the mission teachers 'sold their congregations to the Spaniards for five dollars a head, also three out of the four themselves took passage to Callao with their wives, having engaged themselves as interpreters and overseers at 100 dollars per month, beside their keep. It was from this circumstance that Penrhyn came to be known among the slavers as "the island of the four evangelists".' This is a travesty of the facts, penned by a man who had an aversion to missionaries, and would not be worth a mention had it not been quoted in a recent scholarly work. The teachers were quite possibly promised a donation of \$5 per recruit towards their church building funds and

- conceivably told that they would be given \$100 a month as interpreters and overseers, but they cannot be said to have deliberately sold either their congregations or themselves to the recruiters.—Sterndale 1877; Kloosterman 1976:34–5.
- 10 *MT* 27 June 63:126; Marjorie Crocombe 1974:212; Buzacott n.d.; Reid to Maitland 28 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.5; *MT* 20 June 63:122; Barton to FO 23 Dec. 62, FO 61/204. For some reason the official Peruvian Government return of colonists landed omits to record the children not classed as workers (i.e. those under twelve).
  - 11 An account of the voyage by Pablo Gamero, the provision master on the *Adelante*, will be found in Barton to FO 23 Dec. 62, FO 61/204.
  - 12 *El Comercio* 18, 26 Sept. 62; Barton to FO 11 Oct. 62, FO 61/204; Reid to Maitland 28 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.5; *MT* 20 June 63:122, quoting the *Polynesian* (Honolulu) 14 Mar. 63; *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63, evidence of Antonio Guerra.
  - 13 Watson to Thompson 7 Oct. 62, in Thompson to FO 17 Oct. 62, Adm. 1/5850; Thompson to SNO, Callao, 17 Oct. 62, TBCP, v.5. But see also Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm. 1/5826, and Miller to Wodehouse 25 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.10.
  - 14 Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.10; Barton to FO 11 Oct. 62, FO 61/204.
  - 15 The *Manuelita Costas*, for example, had two small cannon, an 'espín-gada', fourteen rifles, cutlasses and pistols, with the usual 'grilles' (as the iron gratings were termed)—*El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63, evidence of Antonio Guerra; Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.10, also reproduced in GBP 1864:14–16; Jerningham to FO 9 Feb. 63, FO 61/210; *MT* 27 June 63:126. The chief and his family were subsequently landed at Rakahanga.
  - 16 Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm. 1/5826; Sterndale 1874:15; Marjorie Crocombe 1974:210.
  - 17 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ. Reid, the officer in command of H.M.S. *Naiad* at Callao, reported the arrival on 9 March of the *Jeoncora* from Easter Island with an identical number of recruits. As the *Jeoncora* was stated by him to have the same captain and to be of the same tonnage Reid has presumably got the name of the ship wrong also. The *Genara* (sometimes spelt *Jenara* or *Genera*) was a Peruvian fishing schooner chartered by Juan Dockendorff, a Callao trader, whereas no ship called the *Jeoncora* is listed. Furthermore, the five ships to arrive, with 919 recruits, immediately before the *Genara* were all from Easter Island, but those on board her were said to have 'come from a different island than the others', i.e. not from Easter Island—Kingcome to Jerningham 31 Mar. 63, Enc.2, FO 61/211; *El Comercio* 13, 26 Mar. 63; Leubel 1861:215–17; Paz Soldán 1863:57–9.
  - 18 *MT* 20 June 63. Unlike those taken by the *Adelante* on her first voyage, the five Marquesans, though signed on for a single voyage only, had eventually to be repatriated by the French Consul at Callao, who also obtained a payment in compensation for failure to return them as contracted—Ribeyro to Prefect of Callao 5 May 63, and related correspondence, MFA; *MT* 27 June 63:127.
  - 19 'While the slave trade flourished it was not unusual to see several large ships at anchor in their lagoon at one time. Casks of Spanish wine and brandy, barrels of molasses and flour, and kegs of tobacco, were rolled on shore and distributed regardless of expense'.—Sterndale 1877. This is journalistic hyperbole and can be dismissed as such.

- 20 Buck 1932b:62.  
 21 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Chalmers, Journal, 1872, SSJ.  
 22 SMH 25 Aug. 63:5, quoting *El Comercio*; Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/210; MT 27 June 63:126.  
 23 MT 27 June 63:126; Gill, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Royle to LMS 17 May 63, SSL. If Newbury's figure of 99 taken to Tahiti is correct the discrepancy would still be only 41.

### Chapter 3

- 1 A figure of 4126 is obtained for the population on 1 October 1862, just before recruiting began, and has been calculated by working back from Father Roussel's statement that when he arrived on Easter Island at the end of March 1866 there were about 1200 inhabitants and another by Father Zumbohm that from approximately 6 November 1866, when he landed, to 4 October 1868, when he made his remark in a letter, the average death rate was between 20 and 25 a month.—McCall 1976a: 307-9. In addition I have postulated, on the historical evidence, that there were three distinct periods of population change from 1 October 1862 to 30 March 1866.

During the third period of twenty-four months from about 1 April 1864 to 30 March 1866 there is no reason to suppose that the average death rate would have been markedly different from that found by Zumbohm, as the health and other conditions on the island appear to have been about the same. If we add 540 ( $24 \times 22.5$ ) to 1200 we can therefore assume that the population in April 1864 would have been in the region of 1740. This figure is quite consistent with Eyraud's remark that when he arrived at Easter Island on 4 January 1864 a crowd amounting to some 1200 men, women and children assembled to stare at him, as the first European to live ashore, and also with Powell's estimate made only four years later that there were 1500 on the island when Eyraud landed.—Eyraud 1866:55; Powell 1899:142.

The second period of 6 months from 1 October 1863 to 30 March 1864 dates from the introduction of smallpox by the 15 repatriates landed from the *Barbara Gomez* which called at Easter Island probably early in October. It seems probable that Dunbabin's estimate of 1000 deaths from the ensuing smallpox epidemic and from other causes associated with it is consistent with the evidence as we know it, and no more reliable one has been suggested. This gives us an estimated population in October 1863 of about 2740, which compares well with the report received by the Catholic mission at Tahiti that the epidemic had carried off half the population of the island, a report with which Father Pacôme Olivier, writing from Valparaiso in December 1864, appears to agree. The statement by Metraux, a usually reliable authority, that the epidemic carried off thousands, is clearly wide of the mark: there were not thousands on the island.—Dunbabin 1935:256-7; Caillot 1910:469; Olivier 1866:50; Metraux 1940:43.

The first period of twelve months from 1 October 1862 to 30 September 1863 covers the time of recruiting from Peru during which we have calculated 1407 were taken off the island, 6 of whom were returned from Tahiti and 15 repatriated, giving a net total of 1386 who died or remained in Peru. If these are added to the 2740 estimated to be still alive on Easter when recruiting ceased we get a final estimate of the pre-labour trade

population of 4126. This figure is more than McCall's 3411 which, however, he considered 'pitched very low for the 1862, pre-raid population' and did not take into account the excessive deaths during the small-pox epidemic.—McCall 1976a:309.

It will be noted that no estimates of births during 1862–6 have been made. This is because it is considered that during the first period births were more or less balanced by deaths and that during the other two the number of births would have been, as McCall states, very few, and a negligible proportion of the very high death rate. Finally, it should be emphasised that most of the conclusions reached are necessarily tentative and the figures approximate, though it does appear most probable that the population of Easter Island in 1862 was slightly in excess of 4000.

- 2 Jerningham to Ribeyro 30 Apr. 63, FO 61/211; Ribeyro to Jerningham 1 May 63, FO 61/211.
- 3 Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBCP v.10; Laval 1968:384; Moerenhout 1937: *passim*; Davidson 1942; Maude 1968:113–16, 305–6.
- 4 MT 26 June 63:122; Reid to C. in C., Pacific Station, 28 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.5; Barton to FO 23 Dec. 62, FO 61/204.
- 5 Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/210; *Friend* 2 Nov. 63.
- 6 Véliz 1961:150.
- 7 Kingcome to Jerningham 31 Mar. 63, FO 61/211; Véliz 1961:150.
- 8 McCall 1976b:96.
- 9 Reid to C. in C., Pacific Station, 3 Jan. 63, TBCP, v.5; MT 28 Feb. 63:39.
- 10 The strengths of the individual contingents are not known, except that the *Guillermo* sent 11 and the *Cora* 6 or 7.
- 11 Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Jr (eds) 1961:67.
- 12 There are several accounts of the December raid, but the most detailed and reliable is considered to be that of a participant, George S. Nichols, the Massachusetts-born carpenter of the *Guillermo*, made before the official enquiry concerning the capture of the schooner *Cora*, held at Papeete on 19 February 1863; Nichols deserted with Robert Fletcher, the ship's cook, not wishing to be associated with the kidnappers—MT 28 Feb. 63:38–9. An epitome will be found in Miller to the British Chargé d'Affaires, Lima, 3 Mar. 63, TBCP, v.10, and a translation of portions of the *Cora* enquiry in the SMH 14 Apr. 63:5. See also the summary in MT 28 Feb. 63:36, reproduced with other relevant data in Caillot 1910:465–8. Like Chinese coolies allegedly branded with an identifying letter by hot irons, tattooing had the advantage of permanency, thus enabling the retrieval of runaways from their employment.—Stewart 1951:148.
- 13 Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/210; MT 21 Feb. 63:30, 28 Feb. 63:37, 39; SMH 25 Aug. 63:5.
- 14 Official figures, the totals being reproduced in Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 62/210, and SMH 25 Aug. 63:5.
- 15 Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/210; MT 28 Feb. 63:39.
- 16 The boy on the *Cora*, who was freed at Tahiti and repatriated, has been counted, as have those freed from the *Serpiente Marina* and *Misti* (see Table 3).
- 17 Jerningham to FO 9 Feb. 63, FO 61/210; Kingcome to Jerningham 31 Mar. 63, FO 61/211.
- 18 Jerningham to FO 26 Feb. 63, FO 61/210; Barton to Jerningham 6 Mar. 63, FO 61/210; Jerningham to Miller 13 Mar. 63, TBCP, v.5; Kingcome to Jerningham 31 Mar. 63, FO 61/211; Peruvian MFA, v.69-A (1862-3); Reid to Maitland 28 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.5; MT 20 June 63:122.

- 19 *MT* 27 June 63:128. The *Jeoncora*, stated by Reid to have arrived from Easter Island with 43 colonists on 9 March, was in fact the Peruvian fishing schooner *Genara*, which obtained her complement of recruits at Tongareva—Kingcome to Jerningham 31 Mar. 63, FO 61/211; see also Ch.2, n.17.
- 20 Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Jr (eds.) 1961:68-9, quoting Eyraud 1866:133; Jaussen 1893:4; Metraux 1940:42-3.
- 21 Robertson to Jerningham 3 Apr. 63, FO 61/211; Jerningham to FO 28 Apr. 63, FO 61/211.
- 22 *MT* 27 June 63:125-6.
- 23 The best account of the *Misti's* stay off Easter Island is in *MT* 27 June 63:125-6. For her voyage from Valparaiso to Tahiti, via Easter Island and Rapa, see Chs. 6 and 13.
- 24 Jerningham to FO 12 June 63, FO 61/211.
- 25 Jerningham to FO 28 July 63, FO 61/212.
- 26 See, for example, McCall 1976b:96.
- 27 *Empire* 19 June 63; *SMH* 20 June 63:5.
- 28 Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/120, quoting the *Cronica de Callao in El Comercio*.
- 29 J.C. Williams to SNO, Australian Station, 10 Feb. 63, Adm.1/5817.

#### Chapter 4

- 1 The Marquesas were annexed and the Tuamotus considered to be within the Protectorate of Tahiti in 1842, while Mangareva was declared a protectorate by a French naval officer in 1844, though not ratified as such until 1871.
- 2 *El Comercio* 13 July 63; U.S. Consul, Tahiti, to State Dept 31 Dec. 62; UST.
- 3 The Catholic Society of Picpus had made it their headquarters as long ago as 1834.
- 4 The coppers were used for cooking rice and condensing water—Cowan 1936:44.
- 5 By far the best account of the reception of the *Serpiente Marina* at Mangareva is given in Laval 1968:375-7. See also *MT* 30 Nov. 62:199, 27 June 63:126; Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.10; *SMH* 14 Apr. 63; *Friend* 2 Nov. 63; *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63; de Lesseps to Paz Soldán 28 Mar. 63, Enc.4, and evidence of M. Yver. There is a biographical sketch of the controversial Laval in O'Reilly 1962:258-60.
- 6 *MT* 28 Feb. 63:33, 27 June 63:126; Laval 1968:378-81.
- 7 *MT* 28 Feb. 63:33; *SMH* 14 Apr. 63:5.
- 8 *SMH* 29 June 63:5.
- 9 De la Richerie to de Lesseps 31 Dec. 62, AN; *MT* 28 Mar. 63:66. Grandet claimed to be owed a total of some 34,000 piastres [\$34,990] but doubted being able to collect more than half as he was too ill to travel from island to island in search of his debtors.
- 10 *MT* 14 Mar. 63:48-9.
- 11 *MT* 14 Mar. 63:49, 52, 28 Mar. 63:67-8.
- 12 *MT* 14 Mar. 63:48-53, 21 Mar. 63:54-5, 61.
- 13 Brolaski's grandfather migrated to America with the patriots who accompanied Kosciuszko—U.S. Consul, Tahiti, to State Dept 31 Dec. 62, UST.
- 14 *MT* 14 Dec. 62:204, 28 Feb. 63:33, 14 Mar. 63:47, 50, 21 Mar. 63:55, 61, 28 Mar. 63:67; de la Richerie to de Lesseps 31 Dec. 62, MFA.

- 15 MT 14 Mar. 63:47, 50.  
 16 U.S. Consul, Tahiti, to State Dept 31 Dec. 62, UST.

### Chapter 5

- 1 *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63; *Kuoko'a* 1883.
- 2 *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63; MT 30 Nov. 62:199, where the number of recruits promised is said to have been 200-250 and the chief is complimented on his discernment; *Kuoko'a* 1883.
- 3 More correctly called the *Empresa de Lima* she was the second largest vessel in the Peruvian labour trade and well fitted up for the work, having previously been employed in bringing coolies from China.
- 4 *SMH* 14 Apr. 63:5. Ribeyro, the Peruvian Foreign Minister, once expressed his satisfaction at finding that none of the crew members of ships suspected in Tahiti of kidnapping or other offences connected with recruiting operations were Peruvians, and the examination of crew lists supports his contention: in point of fact the relatively few Peruvians who were seamen by profession usually preferred to remain in the short-run coastal trade—*El Comercio* 12 May 63.
- 5 *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63, evidence of Antonio Guerra; Robertson to Jerningham 15 May 63, FO 61/211; Governor, Tahiti, to de Lesseps 4 Mar. 63, AN.
- 6 MT 28 Feb. 63:34; *SMH* 29 June 63:5. Phelipo, or Pepeiho, who tried to kill Carr and Duniam and stole all their personal belongings, was a chief on Hivaooa of rather ill-repute. He was arrested by the French Resident in the Marquesas shortly after the departure of the *Empresa* from Uapou, at the instance of the other chiefs, and deported to Tahiti—MT 28 Feb. 63:35.
- 7 MT 7 Mar. 63:43.
- 8 This account of the *Empresa's* recruiting operations in the Marquesas is derived from MT 28 Feb. 63:33-6, 7 Mar. 63:42-4; *SMH* 14 Apr. 63:5, 29 June 63:5; *Empire* 29 June 63; *Kuoko'a* 1883; Alexander 1934:372.
- 9 Lucett 1851:II:233-4.
- 10 Joseph Thomas Browne (whose name is sometimes spelt without an 'e') is described by the British Consul at Tahiti as 'a person well known amongst these islands, where for some years he has made a livelihood'—W.H. Williams to Miller 21 Apr. 63, TBCP, v.10. He had claimed to be the owner of Caroline Island since 1853, and a child of his was born there in 1864—Browne to Miller 30 July 67, TBCP, v.6; Commander Nares to Miller 13 July 68, TBCP, v.6; Adm.1/6009; Adm.1/6059; Moss 1889:105. The Huahine incident is recorded in MT 7 Feb. 63:22, and Robinson to State Dept 28 Apr. 63, USD.
- 11 Governor to de Lesseps 30 Mar. 63, AN.
- 12 MT 27 June 63:128.

### Chapter 6

- 1 MT 27 June 63:125.
- 2 MT 28 Feb. 63:39.
- 3 MT 28 Feb. 63:36-9. The captive family were not Mangarevans, as surmised by the Portuguese Manuela, but clearly Easter islanders.
- 4 MT 21 Feb. 63:30-1, 28 Feb. 63:36-40, 27 June 63:125; Miller to Jerningham 3 Mar. 63, FO 61/204; *SMH* 14 Apr. 63:5; Caillot 1932:76-7; Hanson 1970:32-3.

- 5 An analysis of the crew list of the *Misti* shows that 5 of the 18 were Portuguese, 3 English, 2 German, 2 Filipino, 2 Chilean, and 1 each from Colombia, Denmark, Spain and Java. *MT* 27 June 63:125-6; *Friend* 2 Nov. 63.
- 6 Green to LMS 1 Apr. 63, SSL; *Missionary Magazine and Chronicle* 1864: 264-7.
- 7 Gill to LMS 1 July 63, SSL; Gill to Editor, *SMH*, reproduced in issue for 13 Oct. 63:3.
- 8 Governor, Tahiti, to de Lesseps 31 May 63, enclosed in Governor to Ministry, No.265, 31 May 63; Governor to Ministry, No.296, 29 June 63, AN. Two of the recruits were evidently employed as boats' crew and were seen at Apia and again by Maka at Atafu—Bird to LMS 16 Feb. 63, SSL; Maka to Gill 16 Feb. 63, reproduced in *SMH* 5 June 63:3.
- 9 Gill to Editor, *SMH*, 1 July 63, reproduced in issue for 13 Oct. 63:3.
- 10 *SMH* 13 Oct. 63:3; Williams to Miller 21 Apr. 63, TBCP, v.10. Captain Williams is in error in thinking that these five islanders were the ones abducted from Atiu. The identification of the ship is clear from Miller to Jerningham 26 June 63, TBCP, v.10, as well as from the method of kidnapping employed. Browne left the *Empresa* at Peru and returned to Tahiti where he made a Declaration before Consul Miller on the irregular manner in which the contracts had been made with the Atiu and Mangaia recruits—Miller to Jerningham 26 June 63, TBCP, v.10. For correspondence on the *ariki* Numangatini and the abduction of his son see Gill to Miller 23 Mar. 63, enclosed in Miller to FO 30 Apr. 63, FO 58/99; Miller to Jerningham 30 Apr., 4 May 63, TBCP, v.10; Robertson to Jerningham 21 Apr. 63, GBP 1864:26.
- 11 Jerningham to FO 28 Apr. 63, FO 61/211.

### Chapter 7

- 1 All three ships were described as brigs by the Manihiki people but the *Manuelita Costas* was apparently schooner-rigged rather than a brigantine. Sail patterns were changing and often confused informants, while local usage differed.
- 2 *MT* 27 June 63:126; Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL. Miguel Grau was one of only four Peruvian captains in the Polynesian labour trade, the others being Carcamo, part-owner of the *Micaela Miranda*; Morales of the *Carolina*; and García y García of the *Honorio*. He lived to become perhaps the greatest of Perù's naval heroes, dying in command of the warship *Huáscar* while engaged in hopeless odds against the Chilean fleet in the 1879-83 War of the Pacific. By contrast at least one of the expatriate captains was said to have been formerly engaged in the African slave trade.—Note to Peruvian MFA, v.69-A (1862-3); Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/210, reproduced in GBP 1864:5; Pike 1967:143-4. The original of Grau's letter is in the LMS Archives at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- 3 The *Jorge Zahara* was also apparently schooner-rigged, though inaccurately called a brig (as opposed to a barque) by the islanders. A mission teacher called Toa went on the *Adelante* and the Rarotongan teacher Josia on the *Jorge Zahara*—Gill, *Mangaia Journal* 1863, SSJ.
- 4 *MT* 27 June 63:126; Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL; *Mangaia Journal* 1863, SSJ. There was no foundation for these gratuitous aspersions against Captain Grau of the *Apurímac* and Captain García of the *Manuelita Costas*.

- 5 Gill to Consul Miller, Tahiti, 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826. There is a garbled account of the rescue of the Manihiki men, providing a good example of how oral tradition tends to exaggerate an episode over the years, in Burnett 1910:43, and an even more inaccurate, and indeed fantastic, account by Eriakima of Manihiki when in his dotage, which has been reproduced in part in the *Pacific Islands Monthly*—Eriakima n.d.; Cloughogue (pseud.) 1940:49-50.
- 6 Gill to Miller 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Williams to Miller 21 Apr. 63, Adm.1/5826; Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826; Royle to LMS 17 May 65, SSL; Sterndale 1874:14; Cloughogue 1940:50. Usually recruits said to be from Manihiki turn out to be Rakahangans, as the families living on the two islands were so closely related to each other.
- 7 Gill to High Commissioner 16 Jan. 93, WPA; Majorie Crocombe 1974:69-70, 193, 196-8; McArthur 1967:186-7.
- 8 Jerningham to FO 28 Jan., 9 Feb. 63, FO 61/210; MT 27 June 63:126; Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826.
- 9 I.e. 320 estimated to be on the island on 5 Mar. 63, plus 60 on Fanning and 115 taken to Peru—Gill, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ.
- 10 The two main accounts of the episode given to Gill and Richards differ in detail, but agree on the abduction of the seven youths—Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826.
- 11 Gill, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Krause to LMS 23 Jan. 63, SSL.
- 12 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826; Peruvian MFA, v.69-A (1862-3); Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/210, reproduced in GBP 1864:4-10, 9 Feb. 63, FO 61/210.
- 13 Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826. Frank, the Rakahangan sailor on the *Trujillo*, should not, however, be counted since it was not unusual for ships of all nationalities visiting the South Seas to sign on islanders as crew and, so far as is known, none of these ever ended up as a contract labourer in Peru. Frank told Robertson, Acting Consul at Callao, that he was earning \$16 a month and had no complaints whatsoever—Jerningham to FO 9 Feb. 63, FO 61/210.
- 14 Gill to Miller 2 Mar. 63, TBCP, v.5; Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Peruvian MFA, v.69-A (1862-3); Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826. Gill was told that 77 men and 3 women were recruited, but Clark's certificate and the official record of numbers landed are more accurate.
- 15 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ; Gill to Miller 2 Nov. 63, TBCP, v.10. Paddy Cooney met with a violent death: 'one cannot wonder', says Sterndale, 'that the judgement of God should seem to cleave in some shape to this sort of scoundrel'.—Sterndale 1874:50.
- 16 Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826; Gill to Miller 2 Nov. 63, TBCP, v.10.
- 17 Lamont 1867.
- 18 Gill, Mangaia Journal 1863, SSJ.
- 19 Ibid.

### Chapter 8

- 1 According to the census taken by the teachers in August 1862—Lawes to LMS 21 July 63, SSL.
- 2 Lovett 1899:I:419; Lawes to LMS 10 May 65, SSL.
- 3 Jerningham to FO 9 Feb. 63, FO 61/210. The Niuean Taole met patriots in Peru who had obviously been recruited by the *Trujillo* and they also stated that the number taken was 50—Cowan 1936:52-3. J.C. Williams, the British Consul at Apia, was informed by three Niueans that the recruits numbered 50-60 and that they went quite willingly on the understanding that they would be returned after five months—Williams to FO 9 Feb. 63, FO 58/99.
- 4 Lawes, quoted in Gill to LMS 21 Mar. 63, SSL.
- 5 Samuela to Murray 31 Mar. 63, quoted in *SMH* 11 June 63:5; Lawes to LMS 29 May 63, and as quoted in *SMH* 20 June 63:5, gives further details on the abductions. Cowan reproduces Taole's story of the raid, which is as accurate as one could expect under the circumstances in which he was placed. When Taole says, for example, that he learnt later in Peru that the brig (which he calls a barque, possibly because it was square-rigged) had recruited 50 men he had clearly come in contact with Niueans recruited by the *Trujillo* and presumed that this was the vessel which he had seen in the distance when boarding the *Rosa Patricia*—Cowan 1936:50-3.
- 6 Smith 1903:87; Gill, *Mangaia Journal* 1863, SSJ.
- 7 Samuela to Murray 31 Mar. 63, quoted in *SMH* 11 June 63:5; Lawes to LMS 29 May, 21 July 63, SSL; Smith 1903:87-8.
- 8 In reaching the conclusion that 109 islanders were taken from Niue consideration has been given to the statement made by Lawes that totals of either 130 or 160 islanders were recruited. —Lawes to Ella 30 Apr. 63, quoted in *SMH* 11 June 63:5; Lawes to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; King 1909:29. However, Lawes's own estimates of the numbers taken by the three ships are 'upwards of 50', 40 and 19, and it has been shown why, for various reasons, the first figure did not appreciably exceed 50, if at all, and that the others are considered to be correct. In another letter, written in April 1863, Lawes states that the numbers taken were 50, 38 and 19, mentioning four visiting ships of which the fourth was presumably the *Guillermo*, which did not take any recruits. —Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Lawes to LMS 29 May, 21 July 63, SSL; Powell 1868:67. The totals given by Lawes do not, therefore, agree with his own estimates and would seem to be no more than approximations, probably inflated by his own justifiable indignation at the iniquities perpetrated by the recruiters.

Two statements made by recruiters have also, at first sight, a bearing on the numbers recruited. In May 1863 Henry King, of the Fanning Island recruiting schooner *Marilda*, informed Captain Henry Richards of H.M. Surveying Ship *Hecate* that in early April he had heard Captain Carlo St Iago [Santiago?] of the *Dolores Carolina* say that: 'he had been at Savage Island, taken on board 150 natives, made a very quick passage to Callao and returned getting a second cargo. The third time the natives resisted and he was wounded'. —Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm. 1/5826.

This is mere braggadocio, to which the less-reputable recruiters were prone. No Peruvian vessel called at Niue more than once, or took away 150 islanders, while the *Dolores Carolina* left Callao on her first and only recruiting voyage as late as 25 January and Lawes states that the last call by a recruiting ship was on 9 March. —Lawes to LMS 21 July 63, 17 May 64, SSL.

The second statement, made by the supercargo of the *Rosa Patricia* on 8 February at Apia, was to the effect that he had 'upwards of 20' Niueans on board and that 'there had been upwards of 50 on board his vessel during the present voyage'. He did not say what had become of those no longer on the ship, from which the missionaries in Samoa drew unfavourable conclusions. —Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Bird to LMS 16 Feb. 63, SSL. In fact he had forty on board when he spoke and it would seem probable that he had more than fifty when off Niue but that he had only managed to secure forty of them.

That all recruits taken from Niue were males is clear both from documentation and oral tradition—Freeman, Notes on fieldwork at Niue, 2 July 1946, Freeman Papers.

- 9 Lawes to LMS 8 May 65, 27 Mar. 68, SSL.
- 10 Freeman, Notes on fieldwork at Niue, 2 July 1946, Freeman Papers.
- 11 Minutes of LMS meeting held at Matautu, Savai'i, 4 June 63, SSL.
- 12 Murray to Editor, *SMH*, 29 May 63, reproduced in *SMH* 3 June 63.
- 13 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL.
- 14 The *Rosa Patricia* was not, in fact, recruiting for the mines but for agricultural and domestic service.
- 15 Gee to LMS 26 Jan. 63, SSL; Bird to LMS 16 Feb. 63, SSL.
- 16 In point of fact the British Consul was powerless to do anything effective himself. He did, however, write to the Naval Officer commanding the Australian Station and the Governor of New South Wales pointing out that 'unless a check be put to these Kidnappers the Traders amongst the South Sea Islands will soon suffer, for the natives will take their revenge upon the first vessel visiting them after the Freebooters'. The Naval Officer replied that he had no ship to spare but would send a copy of the letter to the Commander-in-Chief of the Pacific Station at Valparaiso. —Williams to Burnett 10 Feb. 63, Adm.1/5817; Williams to Governor, N.S.W., 14 Feb. 63, Adm.1/5817.
- 17 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL.
- 18 Bird to LMS 2 Mar. 63, SSL.
- 19 *SMH* 21 Aug. 63; Rhodes [1936]:II:65.
- 20 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; *SMH* 3 Jun. 63. The ship is identifiable from the numbers on board and the dysentery raging.
- 21 Powell to LMS 20 Jan. 70, SSL.
- 22 Bird to LMS 5 Jun. 63, SSL; Pratt to LMS 21 Jun. 63, SSL.
- 23 Williams to FO 16 Jun. 63, FO 58/99.
- 24 The meeting at Matautu mentions only two being kidnapped, but the documentation cited makes it clear that the correct number was five.

## Chapter 9

- 1 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; Gill and Bird, Journal 13 Feb. 63, SSJ; Hooper and Huntsman 1973:367 n.
- 2 Hooper 1975:90, 93; Judith Huntsman, pers. comm. 1979. For an account of Olosenga and the Jennings family see Bryan 1974:137-65. A Frenchman, Jules Tirel, with a European companion (called Falahua by the Tokelau people), had taken possession of Olosenga before Jennings and employed four Fakaofu couples in developing a coconut plantation there, but Tirel was murdered on Suwarrow and his companion left before Jennings arrived.—Williams to Seutes 14 Dec. 58, FO 58/59; Sterndale 1877; New Zealand Government, n.d.; Murray, Report Nov.

- 1868, SSL; Macgregor 1937:9-10; Bryan 1942:84; Hooper and Huntsman 1973:376.
- 3 Stallworthy to Chisholm 1858, enclosed in Chisholm to LMS 2 Nov. 58, SSL; *Samoan Reporter* January 1859; Macgregor 1937:5; Great Britain—*Admiralty* 1943-5:II:516.
  - 4 Bird to LMS 9 Feb. 63, Report 13 Feb. 63, SSL; Gee to LMS 26 Jan. 63, SSL.
  - 5 Gill and Bird, *Journal* 13 Feb. 63, SSJ; Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL. The population of 261 given in the latter reference appears a more exact figure than the one of 250 in the former, especially as it would seem from the context to have been obtained from Mafala on his return to Samoa.
  - 6 Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL.
  - 7 Judith Huntsman, pers. comm., 1979; Bird to LMS 30 Mar. 63, SSL; Williams to FO 9 Feb. 63, FO 58/99.
  - 8 Gee to LMS 26 Jan. 63, SSL; Bird to LMS 16 Feb. 63, SSL; Judith Huntsman, pers. comm., 1979.
  - 9 Bird to LMS 9 Feb. 63, footnote to Report 13 Feb. 63, SSL. In 1872 Moresby was told by Captain Axman, a German trader on Niuafu'ou, that ten or twelve years before, when in command of an island trading vessel, he had frequently visited the Tokelau Group where he had heard that a Peruvian ship had 'visited Quiros Island [Olosenga], and by promising the simple islanders that they were going to take them to learn the Bible and be made missionaries of, they induced every man and woman and child to come on board, and thus depopulated the island'—Moresby 1872:162. It will be clear from Ch. 10 that Axman had confused Olosenga with Nukulaelae and there is no reason to suppose that a single recruit was taken from Olosenga, where the only islanders were Jennings' own family and his plantation workers with their families—Macgregor 1937:22-3; Hooper and Huntsman 1973:376; Hooper 1975:89-93.
  - 10 Gill and Bird, *Journal* 13 Feb. 63, SSJ; Macgregor 1937:32.
  - 11 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; Cowan 1936:54.
  - 12 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; Gee to Murray 1 Apr. 63, quoted in *SMH* 3 June 63:5.
  - 13 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL.
  - 14 Murray 1876:429; Newell 1895:607. Newell's figure of 247 has been copied by later writers (e.g. Macgregor 1937:34) but appears to be an erroneous transcription of the total number stated by Turner to have been taken from the whole Group—G.A. Turner 1878.
  - 15 Bird to LMS 9 Feb. 63, footnote to Report 13 Feb. 63, SSL; Hooper and Huntsman 1973:376. The Mission paid the fares of the 21 returnees (16 to Fakaofu and 5 to Atafu) costing £11—Minutes of Meeting of Samoan Mission 26 Nov. 63, SSL.
  - 16 Hooper and Huntsman 1973:378 n.
  - 17 Murray to LMS, Report, Nov. 1868, SSJ.
  - 18 Macgregor 1937:32-3; Hooper and Huntsman 1973:376-7; Gill and Bird, *Journal* 13 Feb. 63, SSJ.
  - 19 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; Murray to LMS, Report Nov. 1868, SSJ.
  - 20 Macgregor 1937:32-4; Judith Huntsman, pers. comm., 1980; Murray to LMS, Report Nov. 1868, SSJ.
  - 21 Murray to LMS, Report Nov. 1868, SSJ.
  - 22 Maka to Gee 16 Feb. 63, in Gee to LMS 20 Mar. 63, SSL, and reproduced in a letter from Ella to *SMH* 5 June 63:3; Henry to LMS 20 Mar. 63, SSL, encloses his own translation of Maka's letter cited above; Bird to LMS 30 Mar. 63, SSL, reproduces a second letter from Maka dated 26 Feb. 63; Bird

- to LMS 29 May 63, SSL, quotes what appears to be a third letter from Maka also dated 26 Feb. 63, and a sentence from another letter from Maka to Nisbet. More information from the letter to Nisbet will be found in Nisbet to Murray 12 Mar. 63 in *SMH* 3 June 63:5.
- 23 Maka to Bird 26 Feb. 63, quoted in Bird to LMS 30 Mar. 63, SSL. The *Rosa Patricia* is identifiable by the fact that Maka spoke with the two Atiu sailors who were on board her when she called at Apia and who mentioned that they had been there but that the ship did not anchor.
- 24 The chief was apparently in a sense responsible for authorising the visit through his presence: 'If the chief went off, all the people would do so also—that was the law'—Smith 1920:147.
- 25 Maka to Gee 16 Feb. 63, reproduced in *SMH* 5 June 63:3.
- 26 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL. The *Micaela Miranda* had not actually been to Tongareva but the *Adelante* had returned from that atoll with 253 recruits three months before Captain Carcamo left Callao. He had been to the other islands but his ignorance of the details of the *Rosa y Carmen's* recruiting operations at them is shown by his confusing Manihiki with Rakahanga (though this was a common enough mistake) and stating that the teacher Okotai, instead of Ngatimoari, had been taken from Pukapuka.
- 27 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; see also Gee to LMS 20 Mar. 63, SSL, and Henry to LMS 20 Mar. 63, SSL.
- 28 The figure of 34, plus the chief, given in Maka's letter of the 16th and repeated when writing to Nisbet, is accepted as more correct for the abductions by the first ship than the 14 mentioned in his letters of the 26th. After adding the 6 adult males remaining and 5 for the crew of the Atafu canoe which reached Tutuila we get figures of 46 and 25 respectively. The former would appear to be the more probable total for the number of adult males in the Atafu population, estimated at 140 immediately before the raid—Gill and Bird, *Journal* 13 Feb. 63, SSJ.
- 29 Murray to LMS, Report Nov. 1868, SSJ; Murray 1876:430; Smith 1920:148, quoting *Karere Mangaia* January 1899.
- 30 Cowan 1936:54.
- 31 G.A. Turner 1878; Newell 1895:607 (see n. 15).
- 32 Cowan 1936:54.

## Chapter 10

- 1 Derpich Gallo 1976:79; Murray 1876:375-80; Lovett 1899:422-6; Gee to LMS 16 Sept. 62, SSL. Rose appears to have possessed a gift for mendacity approaching genius: see, for example, the account of his arrival at, and life on, Nukulaelae given in 1865 to an American newspaper—*Boston Daily Journal* 8 Aug. 65:32, 34, 35, reproduced in Ward (ed.) 1967: V:261-2. On returning to the States he joined the U.S. Navy.
- 2 This account of the recruiting proceedings is basically derived from Murray, but incorporates additions and amendments obtained from Laban's account to Moresby and Whitmee's 1870 narrative. Laban's is the least plausible story as he seems to have thought that Rose arrived on one of the ships, whereas he actually landed on Nukulaelae not long after Laban had left in 1860 and before Elekana had landed the following year—Murray 1865:336-8; 1876:380-2; Moresby 1872:163-4; 1876:72-3; Whitmee 1871:10-11.
- 3 Murray 1865:337. Murray was informed that the two ships were called the *Gouhnourver* of about 300 tons (Captain Lopez) and the *General*

*Layfell* of 400-500 tons (Captain Garsee), and no doubt the people ashore were told some story to this effect through Rose. But they would not have known their real names (and Laban states clearly that there were three barques off the island), since it was the usual practice in the trade to obliterate the ships' names during recruiting operations—Murray 1865:337; Moresby 1872:163-4.

4 Murray, Journal 1866, SSJ.

5 Moresby 1872:164.

6 This agrees substantially with Laban's estimate—see Moresby 1872:163—but the question of how many people were taken off Nukulaelae requires some consideration since there was no mission teacher, resident European or even a literate islander ashore to furnish a tally. The first ship to visit Nukulaelae after the Peruvians was the trading vessel *Augustita* on 10 May 1865, bringing the Rev. A. W. Murray on a 2-day visit, and Murray's figure of 200 has generally been accepted as accurate, more particularly since it was repeated by the author Louis Becke, who spoke with the only survivor to escape from Peru.

But Murray had a crowded program, not the least of his duties being the installation of the Samoan Ioane as the community's eagerly awaited mission teacher, and he had no time, or probably inclination, to make a detailed assessment of how many had gone to Peru. Elekana had told him that he thought that there were about 300 on Nukulaelae when he left there in 1861 and Murray found a 'remnant under 100', most of them being women and children, in 1865; in his book he amended his figure to 'a remnant considerably under 100', so it was evidently an impression and not an exact total.—Murray 1865:337; 1876:380-2; Becke 1897:19.

Yet his estimate of 200 taken was reached merely by subtracting 100 from 300. And Elekana's 300 was no more accurate, since when he arrived at Apia in September 1862 he told the Rev. H. Gee that there were about 250 living on Nukulaelae, which would have meant amending Murray's figure to 150 taken to Peru.—Gee to LMS 16 Sept. 62, SSL.

Captain Moresby, who visited Nukulaelae on H.M.S. *Basilisk* on 14 July 1872, made no estimate of the number of recruits who went but merely repeated the account given to him by the trader Laban that in 1857 the population was about 470 (or as stated in his later book 450) and that when he returned in 1864 from a four years' absence he found 'only 50 old men and some young children left'.—Moresby 1872:163-4; 1876:72-3. Assuming, say, fifty children would have implied a total recruitment in the region of 350.

Clearly the only person on Nukulaelae who had the authority and training to make a reasonably accurate estimate of the numbers recruited was the teacher Ioane, who remained in pastoral charge of the community until 1888; and it seems that in 1874 he was given the incentive to do so either by the medical missionary Dr G. A. Turner or his father Dr George Turner, L.I.D., the author of the well-known classic on Samoa and the neighbouring islands, both of whom were research-oriented scholars.—George Turner 1884. At all events, despite the visits of the missionary Murray for a second time in 1866; Whitmee in 1870; Vivian and Powell in 1871; Pratt in 1872; Davies in 1873, and G. A. Turner in 1874 nothing was mentioned either in support or criticism of Murray's figure.

In 1876, however, George Turner visited Nukulaelae and stated categorically that 250 islanders were taken to Peru, leaving 45, while in

1878 G.A. Turner repeated the 250 but amended the number of survivors from 45 to 65.—George Turner, Journal 21 July 76, SSJ; G.A. Turner 1878. Whether Ioane obtained these figures by direct questioning of the survivors, as I suspect, or helped George Turner to obtain them during his 1876 visit is, however, immaterial; the important point is that they must be regarded as more reliable than the contradictory estimates of Murray and those made by inference from Moresby.

This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that George Turner also obtained an exact figure for Funafuti in place of the previous estimate; and by the Peruvian immigration figures which indicate that the number kidnapped must have been more than 200, since we have exact totals for the lesser numbers recruited by the three barques at the other islands.

By 1898 local oral tradition had increased the numbers recruited to 300, but such figures have a tendency to grow with the years—Smith 1920:144, quoting *Karere Mangaia* January 1899.

- 7 Murray, Journal 1866, SSJ; Pratt, Journal 1872, SSJ.
- 8 The tradition recounted in Dana 1935:169-70 is unreliable, since earlier accounts speak of only one recruiting vessel, though the others may have entered the large lagoon without taking part in the recruiting operations.
- 9 Lake to Freeman, c.1947, Freeman Papers; Murray 1865:339.
- 10 Murray 1876:385; G.A. Turner 1878.
- 11 Lake to Freeman, c.1947, Freeman Papers; Murray 1865:339.
- 12 George Turner, Journal 21 July 76, SSJ.
- 13 Moresby 1872:164; 1876:76.
- 14 Murray 1876:386; Moresby 1876:77.
- 15 Moresby 1872:164-5; George Turner, Journal 21 July 76, SSJ. For a portrait of Tom Day when a trader on Nikunau in 1890 see Stevenson 1915:120-3.
- 16 Murray, Journal 1866, SSJ; Whitmee 1871:14-26; Vivian, Journal 1871, SSJ; Powell, Journal 1871, SSJ; Murray 1876:404-5.
- 17 Great Britain—*Colonial Office* 1967:75; Roberts 1958:394; Luke 1962:160.
- 18 Eason 1951:51-3.
- 19 *Missionary Herald* (August 1864):244; Scarr 1973:18.
- 20 Derpich Gallo 1976:80; *Empire* 9 July 63:5.
- 21 Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.359, 25 Aug. 64, Enc.2, AN. For the activities of the *Ellen Elizabeth* in the Gilberts see Ch.12.
- 22 Governor, N.S.W., to CO 24 Dec. 47, CO 201/386.
- 23 New South Wales 1869:17.

## Chapter 11

- 1 McGrath 1861, AOT.
- 2 Philp 1936:80.
- 3 *The Age* 28 Nov. 63:4-5, reproduced in *SMH* 4 Dec. 63:8; Philp 1936:80. There is another account of the voyage in Lawson 1949:73-5.
- 4 *The Age* 28 Nov. 63:4-5.
- 5 CO to Governor of Tasmania 6 Sept. 64, AOT.
- 6 *The Age* 28 Nov. 63:4-5.
- 7 Gifford 1929:283. A later account by Cowie (1955) is of value only as showing how erroneous modern oral tradition can be.
- 8 Philp 1936:79-84.
- 9 Moresby 1873:161-2, 1876:60-1. The reason for the mention of Raoul Island will be evident from Ch.15.

- 10 Calvert to Eggleston 6 July 63, Methodist Church Fiji Letters; Jones to FO 6 Oct. 63, FO 58/102; Robertson to Jerningham 21 July 63, enclosed in Jerningham to FO 28 July 63, FO 61/212.
- 11 Henry to LMS 26 Jan. 63, SSL; Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826.
- 12 Wood to Freeman 30 Dec. 1947, Freeman Papers.

### Chapter 12

- 1 MT 27 June 63:126.
- 2 Véliz 1961:151; Maude 1968:268.
- 3 For Smith, Randall and Fairclough, and the beachcombers in the Gilberts, see Maude 1968:238-81.
- 4 The best sources of information on the voyage of the *Ellen Elizabeth* are the depositions of Adolphus Basset in Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102, and George Newbury in Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.359, 25 Aug. 64, Enc.2, AN. For her arrival at Lambayeque see Cantuarias to Ministry 5 Nov. 63, CNA.
- 5 The information on the voyage of the *Adelante* was obtained by Wilma Derpich Gallo from unpublished naval records, by permission of Vice-Admiral Mario Castro—Derpich Gallo 1976:80. *Missionary Herald* [Aug. 1864]:224; Maude 1968:248-9; Great Britain—*Colonial Office* 1967:75.

### Chapter 13

- 1 As M. de la Richerie was commonly addressed as the Governor this is the title used in references to him. For biographical sketches see O'Reilly and Tessier 1962:172-3, and O'Reilly 1980:149.
- 2 Governor to Ministry, No.600, 28 Nov. 62, AN. Special fittings for carrying recruits were discovered on board the *Barbara Gomez* but they had not yet been installed.
- 3 MT 30 Nov. 62:196; Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBSP, v.10.
- 4 MT 28 Feb. 63:33; SMH 14 Apr. 63:5.
- 5 For a biographical sketch of Ari'iaue see Tessier 1978:42-4.
- 6 Governor to de Lesseps 21 Dec. 62, AN; Governor to Ministry, No.619, 31 Dec. 62, AN; MT 14 Dec. 62:204, 14 Mar. 63:46-7; *Empire* 29 June 63; SMH 29 June 63:5.
- 7 De la Richerie to de Lesseps 4 Dec. 62, Enc.4, AN, also quoted in *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63; Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBSP, v.10, also reproduced in GBP 1864:14-16. Cf. the precautions taken on a ship engaged in the Chinese coolie run to Peru—Stewart 1951:50. Governor to Ministry, No.600, 28 Nov. 62, No.603, 4 Dec. 62, No.617, 31 Dec. 62, AN. When news that the *Serpiente Marina* was in trouble reached Lima the Hon. Stafford Jerningham wrote post-haste to the British Consul in Tahiti requesting that: 'you interest yourself that Señor Alexander Saco . . . be treated as a "cavallero" and not as a "marineño": he is of a good family in Lima his Father being a man of Fortune and a military Colonel, retired. Of course the French authorities well know how to treat a gentleman under any circumstances.'—Jerningham to Miller 13 Mar. 63, TBSP, v.5. It is pleasant to find such British concern for the proper recognition of class distinctions among kidnappers.
- 8 Governor to Ministry, No.106, 3 Mar. 63; No.142, 30 Mar. 63, AN; *El Comercio* 13 July 63. For a detailed list of the correspondence on the *Serpiente Marina* affair to date see Governor to Ministry, No.107, 3 Mar. 63, AN.

- 9 Governor to Ministry, No.619, 31 Dec. 62, AN; Green to de Lesseps 31 Dec. 62, AN, quoted in *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63, Enc.11; *MT* 14 Mar. 63:46.
- 10 Governor to Ministry, No.619, 31 Dec.62, AN; *MT* 14 Mar. 63:45-8.
- 11 *MT* 14 Mar. 63:45-52, 21 Mar. 63:45-8, 28 Mar. 63:65-74; *SMH* 29 June 63:5, 1 July 63:5; *Empire* 29 June 63.
- 12 *MT* 28 Mar. 63:73.
- 13 Langomazino 1863:3.
- 14 *MT* 21 Mar. 63:58-9, 28 Mar. 63:73; Vandor to State Dept 9 Apr. 63, UST.
- 15 *MT* 21 Mar. 63:55, 59.
- 16 *Empire* 29 June 63.
- 17 *MT* 21 Mar. 63:56, 28 Mar. 63:73-4; Langomazino 1863.
- 18 *MT* 21 Feb. 63:30-1. Presumably this was the Mairoto who led a force of fifty soldiers up the Fautahua heights behind the Tahitian camp at Punaruu on 17 December 1846, thus surprising the Tahitians who had taken up arms against the French under Governor Bruat and ending their resistance. It was a bold feat as Mairoto had to climb to the summit, hitherto considered unscalable, with a rope, by means of which he pulled up a ladder enabling the rest of the party to ascend—*MT* 19 Oct. 67:139; Martin 1847; Newbury 1973:14. The *Cora* was apparently fitted out by an American, Albert Horn, who was sentenced to five years imprisonment by the Circuit Court of New York for his work. The slave trade was then a sensitive issue in the United States—*MT* 4 Apr. 63:78.
- 19 *MT* 28 Feb. 63:33-4.
- 20 Governor to Ministry, No.144, 30 Mar. 63; No.255, 25 May 65, AN; Governor to de Lesseps 30 Mar. 63, AN; *MT* 28 Feb. 63:36-40; *SMH* 14 Apr. 63:5; Green to LMS 1 Apr. 64, SSL; Carlos F. Costa, Concepción, to Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs 24 Apr. 63, MFA.
- 21 *MT* 28 Feb. 63:33-6, 7 Mar. 63:42-4; *SMH* 14 Apr. 63:5.
- 22 Governor to de Lesseps 4 Mar. 63, AN.
- 23 Governor to de Lesseps 30 Mar. 3 May 63, AN; Governor to Ministry, No.450, 23 Sept. 63, AN; *MT* 27 June 63:126.
- 24 Governor to de Lesseps 3 May 63, 29 June 63, AN; Governor to Ministry, No.296, 29 June 63, AN; *MT* 27 June 63:125-6.
- 25 Governor to de Lesseps 29 June 63, AN; Governor to Ministry, No.296, 29 June 63, No.301, 30 June 63, AN; *MT* 27 June 63:126, 14 July 63:136. For the story of those who elected to remain behind on Tahaa see Langdon 1978:61-2.
- 26 Governor to Ministry, No.131, 27 Mar. 63, No.99, 2 May 63, AN; Governor to de Lesseps 3 May, 29 June 63, AN.
- 27 Governor to Ministry, No.99, 2 May 63, No.296, 29 June 63, No.450, 23 Sept. 63, AN.
- 28 Ministry to Minister for Foreign Affairs 20 July, 7 Aug. 63, AN; Minister for Foreign Affairs to Ministry 18 Aug. 63, AN.
- 29 Ministry to Minister for Foreign Affairs 27 July 63 (postscript), AN.
- 30 Ministry to Governor, No.115, 27 Aug. 63, AN; Minister for Foreign Affairs to Ministry 31 May 63, AN; Ministry to Governor, No.16, 5 Feb. 64, AN.
- 31 *MT* 28 Apr. 63:88; *SMH* 25 Aug. 63:5.
- 32 Governor to Ministry, No.108, 3 Mar. 63, No.296, 29 June 63, AN; *MT* 14 Feb. 63; *SMH* 16 Apr. 63:3.
- 33 Governor to Ministry, No.108, 3 Mar. 63, No.393, 10 Sept. 64, AN.
- 34 Governor to de Lesseps 31 May, 29 June 63, AN; Governor to Ministry, No.296, 29 June 63, AN.

**Chapter 14**

- 1 W.G. Lawes, quoted in *SMH* 19 June 63:4-5.
- 2 Cowan 1936:52.
- 3 *MT* 27 June 63:125; Murray, Journal 1866, SSJ.
- 4 *El Comercio* 18 Sept. 62.
- 5 Cowan 1936:53-4.
- 6 *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63. For irons on the *Serpiente Marina* and *Manuelita Costas* see Barton to FO 29 Apr. 62, FO 61/203; *MT* 28 Feb. 63:33; *SMH* 4 Apr. 63.
- 7 Barton to FO 23 Dec. 62, FO 61/204; *MT* 28 Feb. 63:37, 21 Mar. 63:57, 4 Apr. 63:77; Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102; Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.359, 25 Aug. 64, Enc.2, AN.
- 8 *Empire* 9 July 63:5.
- 9 Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.10; Jerningham to FO 26 Feb. 63, FO 61/210; *MT* 14 Mar. 63:50, 4 Apr. 63:77.
- 10 Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102; Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.359, 25 Aug. 64, Enc.2, AN.
- 11 Docker 1970:42-3. The letters are written in good Castilian Spanish and dated 'Bucobuco [Pukapuka], February 10th 1863'; the originals are preserved in the LMS Archives at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
- 12 Cowan 1936:53.
- 13 Report on Peruvian Supreme Court review of the *Empresa* case, 9 Oct. 63, etc., MFA; Richards to Kingcome 8 May 63, Adm.1/5826; Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL; Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102.
- 14 Jerningham to FO 26 Feb. 63, GBP 1864:16.
- 15 Cowan 1936:52; *MT* 28 Feb. 63:39; Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102; Domingo Valles to Captain of the Port of Callao 29 Apr. 63, MFA.

**Chapter 15**

- 1 Lubbock 1931:102. Lubbock calls the ship by another name but it is clear from his account that he is referring to the *Rosa y Carmen*. The captain is called Maristany in some references.
- 2 It was said to be 'a fearful scourge which resembles cholera, taking off its victims in two or three hours'—*SMH* 25 July 63:7.
- 3 Bird to LMS 29 May 63, SSL.
- 4 *SMH* 21 Aug. 63:7.
- 5 It seems probable that the Manihiki people seen were taken from Rakahanga, as the communities formed a single unit until 1852 and the closely related groups still commuted freely between the two islands; see Ch.7.
- 6 Letter from W. W. Gill 1 July 63, in *SMH* 13 Oct. 63:3.
- 7 *SMH* 21 Aug. 63:7.
- 8 The most detailed account of the *Rosa y Carmen*'s visit to Sunday Island is to be found in *SMH* 21 Aug. 63:7, most of it being reproduced in Rhodes [1936]:II:64-5, but there is important supplementary information in *SMH* 25 July 63:7, and in Lawes to LMS 21 July 63, SSL. See also Smith 1903:87-8, the *Weekly Review and Messenger* 1 Aug. 63, and the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* Dec. 63: 227; while there are rather inaccurate references to the incident in Sterndale 1874:45, Dunbabin 1935:9, and Morton 1957:23. Elsie Morton does, however, establish that the islanders were landed at Denham Bay.

- 9 Young 1894:137, 168-70.
- 10 Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, FO 61/210.
- 11 *El Peruano* 2 May 63:200; Minister of Foreign Affairs to Minister of Govt 2 May 63, MFA; *SMH* 10 Sept. 64, 'The Seizure of the Guano Islands by Spain'.
- 12 Novo y Colson 1882:124-5.

### Chapter 16

- 1 Cowan 1936:54-5. All but 164 recruits from the islands arrived at Callao, the exceptions being 36 mainly Marquesan recruits landed at Huacho from the *Empresa*, and 128 Gilbertese on the *Ellen Elizabeth* who arrived at Lambayeque and were repatriated without landing.
- 2 Stewart 1951:137, quoting Zegarra 1872. For Chinese contracts see Stewart 1951:42-4.
- 3 The first contract cited has been printed: 'I inclose copy of the form of contract, lent for my inspection by the consignee of immigration vessels, which is made out printed in Spanish and English, but not in Polynesian, as it was reported was to be the case. I send the English version after having compared it with the Spanish, of which it is a right translation.'—Jerningham to FO 28 Jan. 63, GBP 1864:5, 9-10, the original letter is in FO 58/99. The second contract cited is from the Freeman Papers and there is a third, intended for use on the *Serpiente Marina*, in U.S. Consul, Tahiti, to State Dept 31 Dec. 62, UST.
- 4 Paz Soldán to de Lesseps 5 Nov. 62, quoted in *SMH* 24 June 63.
- 5 *El Peruano* 25 June, 20 Sept. 62, quoted in GBP 1864:8; for the text of the law of 14 March 1861 see Ch.1.
- 6 *SMH* 14 Apr. 63:5.
- 7 Kingcome to Admiralty 27 Apr. 63, Adm.1/5826.
- 8 *MT* 7 Mar. 63:43, 28 Mar. 63:68. Pitman, the supercargo of the *Rosa Patricia*, stated in Apia that the kidnapped Niue islanders on board 'had not yet signed any papers, but he would make them do so before they reached the Peruvian coast'; on the other hand the British Consul at Callao was told that many on the *Trujillo* could write, 'and that all those who could, have individually their own contracts in their possession'.—Gill to LMS 18 Mar. 63, SSL; Robertson to Jerningham 11 Jan. 63, GBP 1864:6.
- 9 Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.10.
- 10 Min. of Govt to Prefect of Callao 15 Sept., 4 Dec. 62, MFA; Min. of Govt to Prefect of Callao 17 Sept. 62, GBP 1864:8; Zegarra 1872:32, App.17; Paz Soldán to Min. of Govt 14 Nov. 62, MFA; *El Peruano* 25 June 62, 3, 20 Feb., 2 May 63; Decree of 20 Dec. 62 in GBP 1864:69; Véliz 1961:150.
- 11 Min. of Govt to Prefect of Callao 4 Dec. 62, MFA, reproduced (in French), AN; de Lesseps to Ribeyro 20 Mar. 63, in *El Peruano* 27 Mar. 63:160; Ribeyro to de Lesseps 12 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to President of Supreme Court 15 June 63, MFA. The outcome of the Corique case is not known.
- 12 *El Comercio* 3 Mar. 63.
- 13 Stewart 1951:81, quoting 'Trefoil' in the *South Pacific Times* 27 May 73.
- 14 *El Comercio* 18 Sept. 62; *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63, Min. of Foreign Affairs, Doc.10.
- 15 Barton to FO 11 Oct. 62, FO 61/204; Reid to C. in C., Pacific Station, 28 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.5; Ribeyro to Min. of Govt 28 July 63, MFA; Jerningham to FO 29 May 63, GBP 1864:30.

- 16 *El Comercio* 18 Sept., 10 Oct. 62; Peru 1862:324; Mackenna 1862, quoted in Véliz 1961:149; Desnoyers, French Consul, Callao, to Ministry 25 Sept. 62, AN.
- 17 Véliz 1961:149; *El Comercio* 8 Feb. 63, quoted in Jerningham to FO 9 Feb. 63, GBP 1864:12.

### Chapter 17

- 1 *El Comercio* 18 Sept. 62, 20 Feb. 63.
- 2 *El Comercio*, quoted in GBP 1864:18.
- 3 MT 25 Apr. 63:88, quoted in SMH 25 Aug. 63:5; Jerningham to FO 9 Feb. 63, FO 61/210.
- 4 McCall 1976b:98; Véliz 1961:151; *El Comercio* 3 Mar. 63.
- 5 McCall 1976b:98, 104. The Register entries kept at the Sociedad de Beneficencia Publica of Lima are the only records of a charity hospital in Lima or Callao to survive. For a detailed analysis of McCall's figures by age, residential locality and cause see his Tables 2 and 3.
- 6 For further particulars concerning the labour situation in Peru see Ch. 1.
- 7 Stewart 1951:98-100. Stewart's remarks relate to Chinese workers; however it is evident that on most plantations the treatment of Polynesians was no different.
- 8 SMH 26 Aug. 63:5.
- 9 *El Comercio* 20 Feb. 63, quoted in GBP 1864:18-19, 17 Mar. 63.
- 10 Jerningham to FO 12 Apr. 63, FO 61/211.
- 11 Minister of Govt to Prefect of [Lima?] 3 June 63, MFA.
- 12 MT 28 Apr. 63:88, quoted in SMH 25 Aug. 63:5.
- 13 Bon to de Lesseps 22 June 63, in Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 18 Aug. 63, AN.
- 14 De Lesseps to Ribeyro 12 June 63, MFA.
- 15 *El Peruano* 1 July 63.
- 16 For the full text of the Henry Report see Eucher Henry to de Lesseps 25 June 63, forming Enc.4 in despatch No. 75 from de Lesseps to the Ministre des Affaires Etrangères 13 July 63, MAE.
- 17 Gautier to Contre Amiral Bouet 8 July 63, in Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 18 Aug. 63, AN.
- 18 *The Aborigines' Friend and Colonial Intelligencer* 2 (Dec.1866):534-7.
- 19 *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63, evidence of Yver; SMH 20 June 63:5.
- 20 Gill to LMS 1 July 63, SSL.
- 21 MT 21 Mar. 63:55, 59; see Ch.13.
- 22 For recent citings of the story as being factual see Percival 1967:31 and Derpich Gallo 1976:69.
- 23 Cowan 1923:241, 1936:55; Heyerdahl 1976:44.

### Chapter 18

- 1 For Byrne and the inception of the labour trade see Ch. 1.
- 2 Barton to FO 29 May, 11 June 62, FO 61/203; 11 Oct. 62, FO 61/204; FO to Jerningham 26 Nov. 62, FO 61/204.
- 3 Eldridge (in some documents spelt Eldredge) to Paz Soldán 9 Oct. 62, de Lesseps to Paz Soldán 15 Oct. 62, reproduced in GBP 1864:2, 4, *El Comercio* 22 Nov. 62, *Araucano de Santiago* 12 Dec. 62, *Polynesian* 21 Mar. 63, *El Peruano* 27 Mar. 63, SMH 24 June 63:5.
- 4 Paz Soldán to de Lesseps 5 Nov. 62, reproduced in *El Comercio* 22 Nov. 62, *El Peruano* 27 Mar. 63, SMH 24 June 63:5.

- 5 Paz Soldán to Eldridge 2 Nov. 62, reproduced in *El Peruano* 27 Mar. 63, *SMH* 24 June 63:5.
- 6 Eldridge to Paz Soldán 9 Nov. 62, reproduced in *El Comercio* 22 Nov. 62, *El Peruano* 24 Dec. 62, 27 Mar. 63, *SMH* 24 June 63:5.
- 7 Eldridge to Wyllie 8 Dec. 62, 11 May, 27 June 63, AH; Wyllie to Eldridge 28 Mar., 7, 17 Apr. 63, AH.
- 8 Morales to Prefect of Callao 15 Sept. 62, reproduced in *El Peruano* 20 Sept. 62, GBP 1864:8.
- 9 Morales to Prefect of Callao 17 Sept. 62, reproduced in *El Peruano* 20 Sept. 63, GBP 1864:8.
- 10 *El Comercio* 26 Sept. 62.
- 11 Paz Soldán to Minister of Govt 30 Oct., 14 Nov. 62, MFA.
- 12 Decree of 20 December 1862, reproduced in GBP 1864:9.
- 13 Desnoyers to Ministry 12 Mar. 63, NA; Cantuarias to Ministry 20 Jan. 63, CNA; Véliz 1961:150.
- 14 Jerningham to FO 26 Feb. 63, GBP 1864:16-17; Jerningham to Miller 27 Feb. 63, TBCP v.5; *El Peruano* 20 Feb. 63. Presumably the 'detailed statement' provided the numbers, sexes and ages of the colonists, and where they came from, and the accompanying document was the contract.
- 15 Jerningham to FO 12 Mar. 63, FO 61/210, GBP 1864:19-20, 11 Aug. 63, FO 61/212.
- 16 Adm. to FO 22 Sept. 63, FO 61/215.
- 17 Paz Soldán to de Lesseps 5 Nov. 62, reproduced in *SMH* 24 June 63:5; de Lesseps to Paz Soldán 20 Mar. 63, reproduced in *El Peruano* 27 Mar. 63. That the indignation of de Lesseps was not a diplomatic pose is evident from his letters to his family in France: 'Numerous adventurers supported and financed by shipowners have, under the pretext of immigration designed to promote agriculture in Peru, carried out in the centre of Polynesia, and sometimes even on the islands of our protectorate, a scandalous traffic in slaves, and even more, because not only have the natives been abducted by trickery but moreover the most odious murders have been committed against those who resisted this infamous abduction.  
'The Peruvian Government finds itself today under threat from an immense responsibility, and you will easily understand that our dignity demands that the exactions committed within the limits of our protectorate should receive all due amends, apart from the material obligations which weigh upon these odious traffickers.  
'According to all the reports the matter is serious, and concerns politics and humanity alike: two big subjects which excite not only my zeal but above all my indignation and my thirst for justice.'—Edmond to Charles de Lesseps, 13 May 63, Comte Roland de Lesseps, pers. comm. 28 April 1980.
- 18 Ribeyro to de Lesseps 14 Apr. 63, MFA; de Lesseps to Ribeyro 27 Apr. 63, MFA.
- 19 *El Comercio* 24 Dec. 62, 14 Mar. 63, quoted in McCall 1976b:99.
- 20 *El Comercio* 13, 21 Mar. 63.
- 21 *SMH* 25 Aug. 63:5; Véliz 1961:147-52, 154-6.
- 22 FO to CO 25 Aug. 63, FO 61/215; Gee to LMS 19 June 63, SSL. The Colonial Office was anxious to avoid becoming involved lest the British Government should find itself under pressure to annex some of the islands in order to protect the inhabitants against the Peruvian

- recruiters—Minute by Rogers on FO to CO 31 Jan. 63, CO 201/528; Parnaby 1964:14.
- 23 Jerningham to Ribeyro 30 Apr. 63, reproduced as Enc. 1 in Jerningham to FO 12 May 63, GBP 1864:28-9.
- 24 Ribeyro to Robinson, US Ambassador, 22 May 63, GBP 1864:32; Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 27 Apr. 63, MFA, reproduced in *El Peruano* 2 May 63.
- 25 Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 27 Apr. 63, MFA, reproduced in *El Peruano* 2 May 63, and Ward n.d.:8.
- 26 Official announcement signed by Freyre, Minister of Govt, 28 Apr. 63, reproduced in *El Peruano* 2 May 63:200.
- 27 Ribeyro to Jerningham 1 May 63, reproduced in GBP 1864:29.
- 28 Jerningham to FO 12, 29 May 63, FO 61/211. That the main credit is due to de Lesseps is indisputable, although Commonwealth historians have been apt to attribute the abolition of the trade primarily to British representations: 'Reports . . . led the British Consul at Lima to protest to the Peruvian government, which agreed to stop the traffic'—Parnaby 1964:13, and for British action see *Anti-Slavery Reporter* Jan. 1864:22-3. In fairness to Jerningham it must be stated that he was hampered by his instructions, which limited him to a watching and reporting brief and which he carried out conscientiously and even exceeded when he thought British subjects were involved; in all other cases he felt himself obliged to confine himself to 'moral reprobation of acts evidently inhuman in their consequences'—Jerningham to FO 29 May 63, GBP 1864:30. Jerningham agreed with Sir Thomas Maitland, in command of the British Pacific Station, that the only satisfactory way of finding out whether there were in fact abuses connected with the labour trade was to send a warship to the islands to investigate. But no particular priority seems to have been given to this assignment and it was not until early in May that Jerningham was told that H.M.S. *Tribune* was under orders to make a voyage 'to the Polynesian Islands'. By the time she left on 25 July the trade was ended; in any case she merely made the usual social round of Pitcairn, Tahiti and Hawaii, without touching at a single island from which recruits had been taken—Jerningham to FO 28 Jan., 12 May 63, GBP 1864:4, 28; Jerningham to FO 28 July 63, FO 61/212; Log of H.M.S. *Tribune*, Adm. 53/8539.
- 29 Declaration of the Diplomatic and Consular Bodies in Lima, 13 May 63, Enc. 1 in Jerningham to FO 29 May 63, FO 61/211, reproduced in GBP 1864:31.

### Chapter 19

- 1 Robinson, U.S. Ambassador, to State Dept 28 May 63, USNA; Ribeyro to Robinson 22 May 63, GBP 1864:32; Jerningham to FO 29 May 63, FO 61/211, GBP 1864:30-2.
- 2 Jerningham to Ribeyro 30 Apr. 63, GBP 1864:28-9; Eldridge to Ribeyro 9 Oct. 62, GBP 1864:2.
- 3 Ribeyro to Galvez 12, 25 Feb., 27 Mar., 13 May, 27, 29 June, 13 July, 13 Aug. 63, MFA.
- 4 Galvez to Ribeyro 14 Aug. 63, MFA.
- 5 Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 14 Feb. 63, AN. Of 56 islanders (32 men and 24 women and children) under de Lesseps' care in the Lima hospitals of St André, St Anne and the Collège de Belevu (presumably these are French transliterations of the Spanish names), or on board ship, on 7 July 1863 the names and islands of origin of 45 are on record: 25 were

- French subjects (24 Marquesans and a Tahitian) while 20 were not (8 from Tongareva, 4 from Mangaia, 4 from Atiu and 4 from Easter Island)—de Lesseps to Minister 29 June 63, Enc.2, AN.
- 6 Ribeyro to Robinson 22 May 63, GBP 1864:32.
  - 7 From Tables 2 and 4 it will be seen that our estimate, based on Peruvian and British figures, is 2116 Polynesian immigrants at the time de Lesseps wrote.
  - 8 De Lesseps to Ribeyro 15 May 63, MFA.
  - 9 Ribeyro to de Lesseps 22 May 63; Ribeyro to Galvez 29 May 63, 12 Feb. 64, MFA; Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 23 June, 7 July 63, AN.
  - 10 Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 9 June 63, MFA.
  - 11 Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 26 May, 9 June 63, MFA; Freyre to Ribeyro 28 May 63, GBP 1864:34.
  - 12 Minister of Govt to Ribeyro 1 Oct. 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Galvez 12 Feb. 64, MFA.
  - 13 De Lesseps to Ribeyro 20 Mar. 63, MFA.
  - 14 Henry to de Lesseps 25 June 63, MAE; de Lesseps to Ribeyro 12 June 63, MFA.
  - 15 *El Peruano* 30 Mar. 63; Ward n.d.:9; note in FO 61/211; Edmond to Charles de Lesseps 29 July 63, Comte de Lesseps pers. comm. 28 April 1980.
  - 16 *El Comercio* 18 Sept., 10 Oct., 2 Dec. 62.
  - 17 Ibid. 19 Aug. 63.
  - 18 *Revista Americana* 20 Mar., 5 Apr., 20 May 63; *El Peruano*, Editorial, 2 May 63:202.
  - 19 Jerningham to FO 12 May 63, GBP 1864:28; Naval Command, Callao, to Ministry of the Navy 29 Apr. 63, MFA.
  - 20 Naval Command, Callao, to Ministry of the Navy 30 Apr. 63, MFA; Evidence of Lorenzo Silva and Charles Brown at Naval Enquiry 29 Apr. 63, MFA; de Lesseps to Ribeyro 18 May 63, MFA; see Ch.17.
  - 21 Ribeyro to Galvez 19 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 2 May 63, MFA; Henry to de Lesseps 6 May 63, MFA; Ribeyro to de Lesseps 30 Apr. 63, MFA; Matias Villara to Ribeyro (?) 9 Oct. 63, MFA.
  - 22 Sentence of Court of First Instance, Callao, 17 Sept. 63, MFA; Sentence of District Supreme Court, Lima, 29 Oct. 63, in document dated 24-8 Dec. 63, MFA. The best summary of proceedings in the *Empresa* case is in Derpich Gallo 1976:66-8, quoting *Causas Criminales Communes*, 2 May 1863, and c.139 'Entrada de buques', 1863-67, Peruvian Naval Museum.
  - 23 Ward n.d.:9; MT 28 Feb. 63:39.
  - 24 Ribeyro to Pálaciòs 15 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Minister of Finance 15 July 63, MFA.
  - 25 Ribeyro to Pálaciòs 19 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Galvez 25 July, 13 Aug., 29 Oct. 63, MFA; Galvez to Ribeyro 14 Sept. 63, MFA.
  - 26 Galvez to Ribeyro 14 Aug. 63, MFA; Jerningham to FO 11 Aug. 63, FO 61/212; Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 2 Oct. 63, MFA. The appointment of Pálaciòs as Peruvian Consul-General in the Polynesian Islands was noted in the *London Gazette* for 25 Sept. 63—FO 61/215.
  - 27 Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 22 July 63, MFA; *El Comercio* 19 Aug. 63; *Friend* 2 Nov. 63.
  - 28 Ministry to Governor, Tahiti, 12 Jan. 64, AN; Governor to Ministry 8 June 64, AN.
  - 29 Desnoyers to Prefect of Callao 11 June 63, MFA; Medina to Desnoyers 11 June 63, MFA; Jerningham to FO 12 June 63, FO 61/211, GBP 1864:33.

- 30 *El Peruano* 24, 27 June, 1 July 63.
- 31 Jerningham to FO 12 June 63, GBP 1864:33; Desnoyers to Prefect of Callao 11 June 63, MFA; de Lesseps to Ribeyro 12 June 63, MFA.
- 32 Freyre to Ribeyro 12 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Prefect of Callao 13 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 13 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Minister of Justice 13 June 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Galvez 27 June 63, MFA.
- 33 De Lesseps to Ribeyro 27 June, 29 July 63, MFA. The position of de Lesseps was complicated further by the fact that France was looking after Spanish interests at the time and, when Spain proposed to appoint Sr Ugarte as Consul, despite his involvement in the Polynesian labour trade, he felt compelled to object—Wagner de Reyna 1974:78.
- 34 Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 20 June 63, MFA; Guevara to Police Superintendent, Lima, 23 June 63, MFA; Jerningham to FO 11 Aug. 63, FO 61/212.
- 35 *El Comercio* 12 June 63; Jerningham to FO 11 Aug. 63, FO 61/212.
- 36 De Lesseps to Ribeyro 18 May 63, MFA.
- 37 *El Comercio* 17 Mar. 63. For an earlier appeal see *El Comercio* 19 Feb. 63.
- 38 McCall 1976b:98.
- 39 Miller to FO 29 Nov. 62, TBCP, v.10, reproduced in GBP 1864:14-16; Minister of Govt to Ribeyro 30 June 63, MFA; de Lesseps to Jerningham 10 July 63, MFA; Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 8 Oct. 63, AN; McCall 1976b:98, quoting *El Comercio* 19 Aug., 5 Oct. 63; *Aborigines' Friend and Colonial Intelligencer* 1866:537; *El Peruano* 23 Mar. 63, GBP 1864:6-7, Art. 2. Ribeyro pointed out that the monthly mortality figures for Lima had risen from fewer than 300 to 800 and stated that he was not surprised that a climate which was not healthy for Peruvians should prove even more unhealthy for the islanders—Ribeyro to Galvez 27 June 63, MFA.
- 40 Jerningham to FO 11 Aug. 63, FO 61/212.

## Chapter 20

- 1 De Lesseps to Jerningham 10 July 63, MFA.
- 2 *MT* 12 Sept. 63:171; FO to Miller 21 Aug. 63, FO 58/99; Miller to FO 15 Oct. 63, FO 58/99.
- 3 *MT* 12 Sept. 63:171; Caillot 1910:373; Rollin 1929:269.
- 4 Caillot 1910:373-4; Rollin 1929:268-9. The French Resident tried to obtain the Cross of the Legion d'Honneur for Brother Florent Forgeot, who had distinguished himself in caring for the sick, but Caillot remarks that his work had been done too 'far from the eyes of the civilized world' for recognition.
- 5 *El Comercio* 19 Aug. 63; Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 8 Oct. 63, AN.
- 6 This was made a rule for all ships engaged in repatriation. Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 2 Oct. 63; Minister of Govt to Ribeyro 2 Oct. 63, MFA; Caillot 1910:468.
- 7 *El Comercio* 19 Aug. 63.
- 8 Eyraud 1866:54; Caillot 1910:468. Hehe a Aforo (or Mato) of Fakaofu, a recruit who survived the voyage, told the anthropologist J.F.G. Stokes in 1921 that he remembered helping to land the fifteen Easter islanders and that: 'the sailors and other natives hesitated to row the boats ashore for fear of the cannibalistic character of the Easter Islanders, and how a shirt was stolen from one of his companions who did take part in the rowing'.

- He heard his Easter Island friends calling their island Hitiairagi, but a sailor called it Rapa Nui.—Stokes 1930:940. It is probable that those on the *Barbara Gomez*, who had recruited at Easter only four months before, had more convincing reasons for fearing attack.
- 9 Olivier 1866:50; Metraux 1940:43; Caillot 1910:469; Dunbabin 1935:256-7.
  - 10 Green to LMS 1 Apr. 64, SSL.
  - 11 Ibid.; McCall 1976b:99, quoting *El Comercio* 14 Dec. 63.
  - 12 Hanson 1970:33; Green to LMS 8 June 65, SSL. Saville speaks of nine alive in 1871, by then married to Rapan women, and this figure is considered more reliable than Green's seven, as Green felt the risk of infection too great to remain on the island whereas Saville's stay was more prolonged and he was actually able to baptise the survivors' children—Saville, Journal, 14 Sept.-23 Dec. 71, SSJ. The possible effects of repatriates originating from Niuafo'ou and the Tokelau Group on the Rapan dialect is dealt with in Stokes 1930, 1955:317.
  - 13 McArthur 1967:278, 310, quoting Platt 27 May 64, SSL; Stokes 1930:54.
  - 14 Statement of Polynesians in the Bay of Callao, 16 Sept. 63, MFA.
  - 15 Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 1 Oct. 63, MFA.
  - 16 Ribeyro to Minister of Govt 26 Sept. 63; Minister of Govt to Ribeyro 1, 6 Oct. 63, MFA.
  - 17 Minister of Govt to Ribeyro 2, 6 Oct. 63, MFA.
  - 18 *Boston Herald* 4 Jan. 64:1, reproduced in Ward (ed.), 1967:II:201-2.
  - 19 Ecurra, Callao, 5 Dec. 63, in 'Consuls . . .' 1863, f.619, CNA, quoted in Véliz 1961:151-2; McCall 1976b:99.
  - 20 Prefect of Piura to Ribeyro 14 Nov. 63, MFA; Ribeyro to Prefect of Piura 12 Dec. 63, MFA; Harbour Master, Paita, to Minister for the Navy 15 Dec. 63, Instituto de Estudios Historico-Maritimos; *Aborigines' Friend and Colonial Intelligencer* 1866:537.
  - 21 Véliz 1961:151.
  - 22 Depositions of Bassett and Fullenk, in Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102. The total of 33 deaths is obtained by taking 17 as the number stated by Fullenk to have died during the passage from Lambayeque to Tongareva, where 111 landed; as 50 died on the round trip, 33 must presumably have died on the voyage from the Gilberts to Lambayeque.
  - 23 Véliz 1961:151; Deposition of George Newbury in Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry 25 Aug. 64, Enc.2, AN.
  - 24 Depositions of Bassett and Fullenk, in Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102.
  - 25 Deposition of Fullenk, in Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102.
  - 26 *MT* 12 Sept. 63:171, 6 Feb. 64:22; Saville, Journal 14 Sept.-23 Dec. 71, SSJ. For Rapa, where 7 or 9 survivors are spoken of, the higher number has been taken. Although someone on the *Suerte*, which called at Easter Island on 3 and 4 January 1864, reported that all except one or two of the returnees on the *Barbara Gomez* had died of smallpox this is considered too vague a statement for one to affirm that 13 out of the 15 landed had died within a short time of their arrival—*MT* 6 Feb. 64:22.
  - 27 McCall 1976b:98.
  - 28 The congestion was even worse than at first sight appears, for the Peruvian regulation of one recruit for each ton of registry was found to result in overcrowding even when not exceeded and in 1868 it was amended to the English rule of one recruit for each two tons of registry. Thus the 360 put on the *Barbara Gomez* represented over four times her

reasonable carrying capacity and the 482 on the *Adelante* over six times—Stewart 1951:63.

### Chapter 21

- 1 Protocol, Lima, 16 Sept. 63, MFA.
- 2 Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 12 Oct. 63, 2 Aug. 64, AN.
- 3 Ribeyro to de Lesseps 11 Feb. 64, MFA; Ribeyro to Galvez 27 Jan., 12, 25 Feb., 27 Mar. 64, MFA.
- 4 *The Times* 7 June 64:10; Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 12 Oct. 63, 2 Aug. 64, AN.
- 5 Navy & Colonies to Foreign Affairs 9 Sept. 64, AN; Governor to Ministry 10, 14 Sept. 64, AN; Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 19 Feb. 66, AN.
- 6 *El Comercio* 13 July 63; Ribeyro to Galvez 25 Feb. 64, MFA; Governor to Ministry 8 June, 10 Sept. 64, AN.
- 7 FO to Jerningham 18 Mar. 64, GBP 1864:35. Edmond, Prosper de Lesseps, was born in Paris on 28 July 1815—a cousin of the Ferdinand de Lesseps who built the Suez Canal. After holding various government positions in France and as a Consul in the Near East he was appointed Chargé d'Affaires in Lima on 20 July 1860, where he became a personal friend of President Ramon Castilla. With the conclusion of the Franco-Peruvian settlement he considered his mission ended and awaited his replacement; in a letter to his cousin Charles, the eldest son of Ferdinand, dated 10 June 64 he writes: 'Why do I stay? Why not leave a position where all one has to do is to wait to be stabbed, and clean up a diplomatic shipwreck? Because an agent of France who respects himself does not leave behind his nationals, their existence and their interests threatened, above all when he bears our name . . .'—Comte Roland de Lesseps, pers. comm. 28 April 1980.
- 8 Governor to Ministry 25 Aug. 64, AN; Foreign Affairs to Navy & Colonies 22 Feb. 65, AN.
- 9 Royle to LMS 22 Aug. 64, 17 May 65, SSL.
- 10 R.G. Crocombe 1961. Penrhyn is the European name for Tongareva.
- 11 Bingham to Clark 7 Feb. 78, ABCFM.
- 12 *MT* 12 Sept. 63:71, 10 Oct. 63:187; Gill to LMS 27 Apr. 65, SSL; Vivian, *Journal* 1871, SSJ; Percival 1967:32; Cools 1975.
- 13 Thomson 1891:461.
- 14 Saville, *Journal* 14 Sept.-23 Dec. 71, SSJ.

### Chapter 22

- 1 Sjoberg 1962:357-8. 'Calamity' and 'catastrophe' are taken to be synonymous with 'disaster'. Sources for the pre-recruit population estimates in Table 9 are: Rapa—Morris to LMS 29 Mar. 62, SSL, quoted in Hanson 1970:30; Nukuhiva and Uapou—McArthur 1967:288, quoting Jouin whose figures have been accepted as the most probable; 'Ata—this represents the addition in round numbers of the 200 said to have been evacuated from 'Ata to 'Eua (A.H. Wood to J.D. Freeman 30 Dec. 1967, Freeman Papers) and the 144 estimated to have been taken by the *Grecian*. For those relating to the other islands see Table 7, n.2. See Table 7 for estimated percentages of the population removed from the islands.
- 2 Maka to Gee 16 Feb. 63, quoted in *SMH* 5 June 63:5.
- 3 Enclosure in de Lesseps to Ministry 29 June 63, AN; Samuela to Ella and Murray 31 Mar. 63, quoted in *SMH* 11 June 63:5.

- 4 A flood which affected both sides of the Rio Grande enabled a comparison to be made which showed that a threatened community on the U.S. side had to rely on help from neighbourhood, community and governmental organisations whereas a similarly affected Mexican community was able to call on the extended family—Chapman 1962:16. For the importance of the *kaaiga* and kinship in the Tokelau Group see Huntsman 1971.
- 5 Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1938:21.
- 6 Davies, Journal 1873, SSJ.
- 7 Vivian, Journal 1871, SSJ.
- 8 Gifford 1929:283. During 1941 I had occasion to visit 'Ata in search of castaways and succeeded in climbing up the steep cliff to find myself looking down on the abandoned village of Kolomaile: a moving sight with its once well-kept garden lands surrounding it.
- 9 Pratt, Journal 1872, SSJ.
- 10 G.A. Turner, Journal 22 Oct. 74, SSJ.
- 11 Davies, Journal 1873, SSJ; Hedley 1897:232.
- 12 Murray 1876:385; Roberts 1958:400; George Turner, Journal 1876, SSJ; Hooper and Huntsman 1973:378-9, 385, and for Tokelau population figures 372-3; Vivian, Journal 1871, SSJ.
- 13 Samuela to Ella and Murray 31 Mar. 63, quoted in *SMH* 11 June 63:5.
- 14 Sorokin 1968:200-1, 226.
- 15 Murray 1876:401.
- 16 Hedley 1897:232; Newell 1895:607.
- 17 Macgregor apparently collected no oral evidence on the Peruvian raids but concluded, allegedly from mission reports, that they had lasted from 1852 to 1867 or 1870 and that in 1867 or 1868 116 men were taken from Fakaofu and 30 from Atafu—Macgregor 1937:34.
- 18 Metraux 1937:41.
- 19 McCall 1976a:67. Eyraud arrived on board the *Suerte* from Tahiti on 3 January 1864 with four men, a woman and a child of whom two each were from the *Serpiente Marina* and *Misti* and one from the *Cora*; the woman was probably from the *Diamant*—Caillot 1910:469.
- 20 Caillot speaks of him as Tepito but Metraux, who is usually more reliable, considers that he was the son of Tepito who was the uncle of Maurata—Caillot 1910:469, 479 n; Metraux 1937:41.
- 21 *MT* 21 Feb. 63:30, 28 Feb. 63:38; Olivier 1866:51, 1867:255; Metraux 1937:41.
- 22 These figures are Gill's—see Ch.2.
- 23 R.G. Crocombe, 1961; Gill, *Mangaia Journal* 1863, SSJ; Royle to LMS 17 May 65, SSL; Chalmers, *Journal* 4 July-13 Sept. 72, SSJ.
- 24 Great Britain—*Admiralty* 1943-5:II:553.
- 25 GBP 1871:74.

### Chapter 23

- 1 Williams to SNO, Australian Station, 10 Feb. 63, Adm.1/5817; de Lesseps to Jerningham 10 July 63, MFA; Hawaiian Missionary n.d.
- 2 *MT* 28 Feb. 63:34, 10 Oct. 63:189; *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 20 Feb. 64, 18 Feb. 65; Alexander 1934:373-5; *Friend* 1864:17-18; *Nautical Magazine and Naval Chronicle* 1864:344-8.
- 3 Gill to LMS 3 Aug. 63, SSL; *SMH* 20 June 63:5.
- 4 Williams to FO 19 June 64, FO 58/102.
- 5 Minutes of a Meeting held at Matautu, Savai'i, 6-7 Dec. 1865, in Powell

- to Aborigines' Protection Society 24 May 66, *Aborigines' Friend and Colonial Intelligencer* 1866:534-5.
- 6 *Aborigines' Friend and Colonial Intelligencer* 1866:536-7.
  - 7 Churchward 1888:33.
  - 8 Moss 1889:61-2; Cowan 1923:241-2, 1936:49-59; Freeman 2 July 1946, Freeman Papers.
  - 9 Becke 1897:19.
  - 10 Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1938:5; Julia Hecht 6 Sept. 1977 (pers. comm.); Turner 1878; Cloughogue 1940:50.
  - 11 Percival 1967:31.
  - 12 The figures for the eighteen ships which arrived before the cessation of licensing are taken from Peruvian MFA, v.69-A (1862-3); for the *Dolores Carolina*, *Polinesia*, *Adelante* (3) and *General Prim* from a Foreign Affairs table dated 16 Sept. 63 and headed 'Polynesians in the Bay of Callao'; for the *Honorio* from Peruvian naval records quoted by Derpich Gallo 1976:79; for the *Barbara Gomez* from Robertson to Jerningham 11 June 63, FO 61/211; and for the *Rosa y Carmen* and *Urmeneta y Ramos* from Robertson to Jerningham 21 July 63, FO 61/212 (where they are stated to have been obtained from the office of the Captain of the Port of Callao). The figures for the *Ellen Elizabeth* are admittedly not official, as she arrived and stayed at Lambayeque in northern Peru.
  - 13 Except in the case of the *Ellen Elizabeth*, which was apparently thought to have arrived at Callao on 27 July 63 with 200 recruits—Jerningham to FO 28 July 63, FO 61/212.
  - 14 These figures are merely estimates of varying reliability and could easily be plus or minus a considerable number. In particular the figure given for the Leeward Islands is an attempt to quantify Platt's remarks on the dysentery at Borabora: 'They have lately had much sickness there and many have died, but most among the children, a kind of bloody flux or dysentery, it has been going through different islands. It is said to be propagated from the vessels bringing back the kidnapped people of whom so many had died on their passage.' For the estimated number who died from smallpox and dysentery introduced by the surviving returnees on the *Diamant* and *Barbara Gomez* see: Nukuhiva and Uapou—Caillot 1910:374; McArthur 1967:288; Easter Island—Caillot 1910:469; Dunbabin 1935:256-7; Rapa—Hanson 1970:30, 33; Leeward Islands—Platt to LMS 27 May 64, SSL.
  - 15 *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* 1866:142; Stevenson 1915:95. The *George Noble* had occasioned a somewhat similar panic at Niutao in 1887—Dana 1935:248-9.
  - 16 Sterndale 1874:17.
  - 17 Grant McCall, pers. comm. 1975. McCall also quotes Kany as stating that 'canaca' can designate a Chinese or a brothel keeper.—Kany 1960:177-8.
  - 18 Huntsman and Hooper 1975:415.
  - 19 Bryan 1924. Hehe a Afora was known as Mato on Rapa.

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*Admiralty* (Great Britain): relevant items are mainly to be found in Adm.1/5817 and 5826. [Adm.]

*Archives of Hawaii*: correspondence in the Foreign Office and Executive Files between the Chargé d'Affaires, Peru, and the Minister of Foreign Relations, Honolulu. [AH]

*Archives Nationales* (France): Section Outre-mer, Océanie, Carton 42, Dossier B 18. Includes correspondence of the Commander of the French Establishments in Oceania; Chargé d'Affaires, Peru; Consul, Callao; Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Ministry of Navy and Colonies. [AN]

*Archives Office of Tasmania*: documentation on the whaler *Grecian*. [AOT]

*British Library*: for Layard Papers. [BL]

*British Museum*: miscellaneous papers obtained previous to separation from British Library. [BM]

*Chilean National Archives*: mainly correspondence from the Chilean Consul, Callao. [CNA]

*Colonial Office* (Great Britain): there are a number of letters in the correspondence to the Colonial Office from the Governors of New South Wales, CO 201, and particularly CO 201/528; Tasmania, CO 280; and Victoria, CO 309. These contain petitions, memorials and the like showing local reactions to the trade. [CO]

*Foreign Office* (Great Britain): Foreign Office, General Correspondence, Pacific Islands, FO 58/96 (1862) to FO 58/103 (1864), and General Correspondence, Peru, FO 61/202 (1862) to FO 61/219 (1864). There is little of importance to be found in FO 58/124 (Kidnapping of South Sea Islanders), FO 84/1206-1209 (Slave Trade), FO 331 (British Consulate, Honolulu) or FO 687 (British Consulate, Papeete). [FO]

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*Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores* (Peru): this material comprises the main documentation to reach the Ministry between 1862 and 1864. Some of it, though probably not all, appears to be from Vol. 69-A (1862-3) in the Ministry archives. [MFA]

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**H**ARRY MAUDE HAS been connected with the Pacific Islands ever since 1927, when he read for honours in anthropology at Cambridge University, specialising in the social organisation of the islanders. Fascinated by the romance of the South Seas, as portrayed in its literature, Maude joined the British Colonial Service as District Officer in the Gilbert Islands in 1929, and later became Chief Lands Commissioner and eventually Resident Commissioner of the Gilbert and Ellice Colony (now the Republic of Kiribati and Dominion of Tuvalu), the only anthropologist ever to administer a British territory.

Anticipating the collapse of colonialism he then joined the international South Pacific Commission in charge of regional social development; and on retirement at 50 he accepted an offer to research and write on Pacific Islands history at the Australian National University.

Maude's work has taken him over the past fifty years to all the main groups in Polynesia and most of those in Micronesia and Melanesia, and on official assignments to Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, and the Line, Phoenix, Pitcairn and Cook Islands. This has resulted in nearly 100 publications on Pacific literature, bibliography and history, with specialist studies on such subjects as social organisation and culture change, land classification, community development and the co-operative movement.

Maude has now retired to complete his own writings on the island world, which continues to enthral him as much as it did over half a century ago.



**T**HIS IS THE STORY of the barques and brigs that sailed out of Callao in Peru, calling at every Pacific island group except Hawaii, kidnapping thousands of men, women and children by violence and treachery and transporting them to slavery and death.

It is an absorbing narrative of the conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence, set in the romantic isles of the South Seas. It tells of how the unsuspecting islanders were captured, leaving in many cases only the aged and the children to reconstruct their stricken communities; of what befell them as slaves in Peru; of how, through the efforts of a resolute Frenchman and a courageous Lima newspaper, the horrifying truth was revealed and the trade stopped; and finally of how all but a handful of the

pitiful remnant died from smallpox and dysentery during mismanaged attempts at repatriation which led also to the deaths of thousands more on the islands where the repatriation ships called.

The book is a rare work of scholarship, not only is it the definitive account of the hitherto untold story of the most traumatic event in Polynesian history; not only does it fill a gap in knowledge of both Pacific and Latin American history, linking for a brief period the fortunes and misfortunes of two utterly dissimilar societies. Above all, sensitively and compassionately, it gives to the island peoples of the Pacific part of their own history, their own heritage.

It ranks among the finest works of literature on the Pacific islands.

