

22 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
29th July, 1981.

Miss P. Croft,
Acting Director, A.N.U. Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA,
A.C.T.2600.

Dear Pat,

Thanks for your letter. All seems clear and straightforward, and I enclose a cheque for \$1,638 to pay for my share of the cover; let us hope that Ron likes it for it was done for him.

I hate taking any royalties for I only get a miserable 40 cents in the dollar and the government, for whom I have no particular love, takes 60 cents.

But my tax minimiser warns me that if I forego it I shall lose my right to an author's deductions for books, stationery, heating and the like which amounted last year to just on \$600, on which the tax would have been \$360; so I suppose it is worth it.

You may be glad to hear that we have sorted out the Grimble Papers and filed them in a ten-drawer wooden cabinet. As a book it falls logically into three parts: (1) the four finished papers; (2) the notes on Gilbertese culture, in alphabetical order; and (3) the traditional stories.

The typing will be the main trouble, as far as I can see, since it will have to be done here owing to lay-out and language difficulties. But I will cost it as well as I can and see how it works out. It is good material, and we both find it absolutely fascinating.

Yours,

John



Australian National University Press

P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600

Telephone 49 2812 Telegrams NATUNIV PRESS Telex AA62760

27 July 1981

Mr H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
FORREST ACT 2603

Dear Harry,

Slavers in Paradise

I promised to put into writing the matters we discussed when you and Honor were in here.

First, the total print run is 3,500 copies of these, 1,000 will be paperbound and 750 are the 'Pacific' edition on which you have generously agreed to forgo royalties; on the 250 remaining (of which you want 100 for your own use) standard (10 per cent) royalties will be paid.

On the Stanford edition, you receive in royalties 10 per cent of the invoiced value (your share, about \$700); on the Australian edition, 10 per cent of the retail price (\$25.50).

Would you be so good as to let me have the cheque for \$1,638 that you are contributing to the cost of that blessed cover, please?

We've struck a snag over my bright (?) idea about running extra jackets to use for promotion: the cost would be exorbitant so now it's back to the drawing board for one not so elaborate. I'll let you know.

Regards,

Yours,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Pat' with a horizontal line underneath.

(Miss P. Croft)
Acting Director

27 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
19th May, 1981.

Miss P. Croft,
Director, A.N.U. Press,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.2600.

Dear Pat,

I am worrying you, I hope, for the last time. My trouble is that I have been getting enquiries from all over the place about this Slavers book, and where can it be bought, and I should also like to send out some notice of it to potential buyers who are likely to publicize the book.

Would the A.N.U. Press be willing to print a leaflet ~~on~~ ~~the~~ lines say of the draft attached and let me have about 150? I should be glad to defray costs.

bizarre There is nothing original in the text, which is based on snippets from the blurb or the introduction, and nothing ~~bizarre~~ in the format, which I have based on the one which you did for Hank Nelson's Black, White and Gold (only I should prefer a bit more colour for a work on the colourful South Seas).

If leaflets and brochures are out these days may I have it printed privately please, for my own personal use? I know a good job printer in the city, and also one in Queanbeyan.

Don't bother to reply but just ask Mary to convey your decision; I surmise that you have other more important matters on your plate these days.

Yours,



77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
14th December, 1980.

Miss P. Croft,
Acting Director, A.N.U. Press,
Box 4, CANBERRA, A.C.T.2600.

Dear Pat,

May we please come over and see you whenever you can spare a minute; we should not take up much of your time and the points on which we seek your decisions are:-

- (1) Approval for the coloured cover designed for the Pacific Islands paperback edition by Phil Belpin, regarding which please see my letter of 16 September to Brian Clouston. As stated therein I feel that it is very ~~suited~~ suitable for the Australian paperbacks which he proposed to publish for general sale but I am doubtful if it is appropriate for the hard cover editions for which an austere and unadorned dust jacket might be preferred.
- (2) Information on the U.S.P. edition concerning which Ron Crocombe has asked: 'What is proposed about the separate edition? I assume somebody will do the typesetting and layout and just send us camera ready copy for printing here. Or is it intended to print it all in one place, e.g. Australia, but with separate imprints?'. This edition affects me vitally, i.e. in the hip-pocket, since if the cost is too high I shall have to mortgage the house to bring the retail price down to a level which the islanders can conceivably pay.

I should also be grateful to know if Stanford and Croom Helm are taking both hard-cover and paperbacks or only the former, as we are anxious to send copies to those to whom we stand indebted in America and Europe and would naturally prefer, in most cases, to order the cheaper format.

If you would let Mary know when we may see you she can ring Honor and we shall be there on time; bringing the coloured cover with us.

Yours,



77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
4th November, 1979.

Mr Brian Clouston,
Director, A.N.U. Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA,
A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Brian,

I am engaged in reconstructing my draft on 'Slavers in Paradise', thanks to the help of Pat Croft, to make it run smoothly from start to finish. It seems to me that there are three chapters of summary and analysis in the centre that block the narrative: these can be put as appendixes or possibly deleted. I take it there is no hurry.

This is to let you know that when in Fiji I delivered a lecture at the University of the South Pacific on the 'Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia', which was well attended and well received, though I fancy that it caused a bit of a shock among the mainly Polynesian students there.

I have been asked since by Professor Ron Crocombe, Director of the Institute of Pacific Studies at the University, to request you to be so kind as to state the lowest figure at which you can let the Institute have 500 copies, under their imprint, in paperback form, with a coloured cover.

As you know I wrote this book primarily for the Pacific Islanders and am therefore anxious that they should be able to purchase copies at a price which they can afford. I would not, therefore, expect any royalties on this edition and should be glad if they could be used to reduce the cost at which it can be sold to the Institute.

Professor Crocombe was anxious that I should make it clear that he does not seek any exclusive rights over sales in the Pacific Islands and that the A.N.U. Press would be at liberty to sell as many copies as they can direct or through agents and booksellers. The Institute sells its publications, now numbering over 100, mainly I understand through the University bookshops, its Extension Centres throughout the islands and other channels which do not stock the work of university or commercial publishers. There would therefore be no competition between the Press sales promotion and those of the Institute.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

to create file
1 Copy to Professor R.G. Crocombe.



BC:MJ

Australian National University Press

P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600

Telephone 49 2812 Telegrams NATUNIV PRESS

20 November 1979

Mr H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
FORREST ACT 2603

Dear Harry,

Thanks for your letter about Slavers in Paradise.

I have written to Ron Crocombe saying that we shall be happy to provide him with 500 paperback copies at a special no royalty price.

I am delighted with the plans for re-arrangement of the text which you and Pat have organised.

Yours sincerely,

Brian

Brian Clouston
Director

23 November, 1979

The Director,
Australian National University Press,
P.O. Box 4,
Canberra ACT 2600,
AUSTRALIA

Harry
Copy for Brian

Dear Brian,

Many thanks for your letter of 14 November. I'm sorry to hear that Pat Croft ^{is} required due to ill health. Please give her our warmest regards when you see her.

Slavers in Paradise

You mentioned that we are interested in 500 paperback copies of this which you will be happy to provide. We are indeed interested, but whether or not we take them will depend very much on the terms. ANU and ANU Press are regarded in the imperialist world as specialists in things Pacific. But apart from anything else, they publish at prices which guarantee that almost no Pacific Islander can ever afford to buy them. I realize that a few sell in Pacific Islands bookshops, but almost exclusively to expatriates. Now for much of the Pacific material ~~that~~ comes out of ANU, that is probably the best way. But not for the things that Harry Maude writes, because not only does he ~~get~~ on to subjects that are generally of great interest to Pacific people, but he is so much closer to Pacific sources and to Pacific perceptions that he doesn't see everything quite so exclusively from a white colonial viewpoint. But that's a detail, let's return to Slavers in Paradise. What I originally suggested to Harry was that what was needed ^{was} a version omitting most of the notes, leaving out the appendices and bibliography, translating some of the esoteric terminology into a more generally used English, illustrating the book as well as possible, and making it available to Pacific Islanders at a very low price. Since the type and everything was already set up with you, however, the alternative seem^s to be to look at the possibility of adding to that print run an additional 500, if they could be got at the marginal printing cost of the extra 500.

The other point I made was that if JSP is involved in this exercise we would want that clearly shown on the book, e.g. the Publisher

being shown as the "Australian National University Press in association with the Institute of Pacific Studies of the University of the South Pacific". If we are to be involved it is going to cost quite a bit of indirect USP resources in the handling and marketing of it (our marketing techniques are somewhat unconventional) and the normal expectation is that we will give priority to work by Pacific Islands writers. I don't think our Council would be particularly keen on our simply acting as promoters for a purely ANU exercise.

So if you could confirm that the book (or at least that 500 of it that we are taking) clearly shows the USP involvement in such a way, and if the price is rock bottom, then we will very definitely be interested in taking 500.

Politics in the Pacific Islands

This project is going very well, though we have expanded it a little. About half the chapters are so far in, but a couple of Cabinet Ministers who are contributing chapters don't expect to be able to finish them until after Christmas so it will probably be February or so before we are ready to go to the press.

You ask whether your market would include New Zealand and Papua New Guinea. New Zealand, no, because we have had for some years a very satisfactory arrangement with Polynesian Bookshop, and while that continues as successful as it has been we will naturally want to keep it. We tried several different book distributors in New Zealand and they all turned out to be quite hopeless at distributing our stuff in New Zealand. Since we gave it all to Polynesian, the sales have been totally different. They go to the trouble of putting out special lists for our material and mailing it to every New Zealand bookshop, they advertise, they push and they know the Pacific Islands market in New Zealand. And we had already given them to understand that they would have the New Zealand distribution of this book along with all our others. Our relationship with them is so good that whenever we publish anything we just send them boxes of it (our guess as to how many boxes) and that is usually the first they ever know that the book's been produced. They have never returned anything to us yet.

In relation to Papua New Guinea we would like to have a distributor there as we are travelling the rest of the Pacific fairly frequently. Our contact with Papua New Guinea are limited. Our only difficulty on that score is that we will feel something of a moral obligation to make sure that the Papua New Guinea people got access to the book (which includes Papua New Guinea of course) at the very cheapest price possible. What you charge the rest of the world is not our concern,

but it is important that this book be widely available to Papua New Guineans. So I guess that really depends on whether it would be possible for you to work out a special price ~~and~~ formula for Papua New Guinea, otherwise we would supply them direct from here as we do now but our absorption rate there is not nearly as good as it is in the rest of the Pacific.

Logs in the current of the sea

We were first offered that book for publication., and I had tentatively accepted it. I too think it is a nice book. But we got Tuvaluans to read it for us and they advised that there were statements in it that were definitely libellous and some which they question the accuracy of. We therefore declined to publish but made available all our comments as to what we felt perhaps ought to be done before publishing to avoid legal action. I know they made some amendments in the light of that comment (which they acknowledged in the book). We did say that if they could not find another publisher we would be prepared to look at it again if they were prepared to look again at the alleged libellous and alleged inaccurate portions. But they made their own publication arrangements, which was good.

The problem with us picking up now is that we used particular marketing techniques which are rather time-consuming and require the mobilisation of particular networks. For a book that we didn't produce and that has now been out some time, it's harder for us to raise that enthusiasm against the competing demands of a thousand other things to do. At \$3.50 I don't think we would be prepared to put all that energy in. If you felt able to bring it to a maximum of \$2.00, we would be prepared to take 200 copies.

ASEAN in a Changing Pacific and World Economy

The Table of Contents on pages 39 to 41 look interesting to me and it looks as though a reasonable attempt has been made to involve Asean people in the exercise. I think the situation is that in principle this is the kind of thing that we would support and be happy to be involved with, but in practice Asean is rather too far away from the Pacific Islands for there to be much market here.

Would you be so kind as to send me a photostat copy of Chapter 4 "The Impact of Asean on the Asia Pacific Region" by Yasuba. If it is as interesting for the Pacific Islands as it looks to be, we would be prepared to publish that chapter, or a shortened summary of it, in the journal Pacific Perspective (which sells 2,000 copies) and give the whole book a free full page advertisement to promote it in the area we serve.

South Pacific Agriculture

Our efforts are paid for by Pacific Islands taxpayers, who are generally people with quite low incomes. I'm sure you would not ask them to subsidize Australian academic imperialism in the Pacific Islands, even if they did take a couple of Pacific Islanders along for the ride. Agriculture is an area in which a lot of Pacific Islanders have a lot of expertise, and a lot of practical experience. This particular exercise was a good example of how not to do it. ~~and~~ We would not want to be associated with it.

The Fijian People before and after Independence

In principle we would be interested to help promote such a book by Dr. Lasaga. It would depend on several factors. As with the Slavers in Paradise, it would be more difficult for us to put USP effort into the book unless USP was formally shown a joint publisher or "ANU in association with USP" (as Oxford University Press did with Dr. Rusiate Nayacakalou's book Fijian Leadership and as we have done with other publishers with other books). The second point would be the price. If it sells at a high price it will still sell some copies in Fiji, but not only will it not sell any great number, but it will not reach the Fijian people. And the only justification for USP putting effort into this would be to help it reach a wider range of ordinary citizens in Fiji, and of ordinary Pacific Islanders elsewhere in the Pacific. A third point would be the question of where it was printed. We're putting a lot of effort in trying to build up a printing industry in the Pacific Islands and it would seem to me that a book like this would be better if printed in the islands. Fiji Times can now ~~do~~ good book printing and you may want to look into that possibility of getting them to produce this one. But perhaps you could let us know how long it is, how fully illustrated (having really first class illustrations is important in the Pacific), how many copies you're thinking of printing and so on.

Yours sincerely,

R.G. Crocombe
 Director
Institute of Pacific Studies

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
16th September, 1980.

Mr Brian Clouston,
Director, A.N.U. Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA,
A.C.T.2600.

Dear Brian,

Now that the text of 'Slavers in Paradise' in its final form, including illustrations and maps, is with the Press for printing it may be helpful if I record my views on the question of the coloured cover being prepared by Mr Phil Belpin in Sydney.

The cover was originally suggested by me for the paperback edition required by the University of the South Pacific, since they had specifically asked for a coloured cover, having found from experience that this gimmick was a potent stimulus to sales.

As the book was primarily written for, and at the request of, the Polynesian people in the islands I felt that if this concession to their preferences was agreed to I should in fairness pay for the cost involved in preparing the illustration; and I have informed Mr Belpin that his account should be sent to me accordingly.

After discussions with Mr Adrian Young Mr Belpin was asked to prepare an illustration based on the following three scenes detailed in the text of the work:

- (1) The Rosa Patricia arrived at Fakaofu in the Tokelau Islands 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 from Samoa. Her crew landed, armed with guns and swords, and selected 16 of the strongest to add to the 40 Niueans and 5 from Atafu already on board; as soon as these were safely in the hold she sailed off.
- (2) 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 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'.

- (3) 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.

Adrian Young, and also my wife and I, have examined the preliminary rough prepared by Phil Belpin and consider that he has portrayed the background setting with considerable finesse, while the actual scene during the forced embarkations is very much as I had visualized it when writing the relevant chapters.

Having lived on coral atolls for most of my active life and served as recruiting officer on many labour ships when I was young (though admittedly not as a blackbirder) I feel that he has captured the essence of how embarkation proceedings look to an observer.

Adrian and I have suggested certain modifications to Mr Belpin, partly to eliminate some anachronisms that have crept in but mainly to ensure a toning down of the somewhat melodramatic and technicolour effect produced in his rough. I have stated that for an academic publication the scene should be if anything understated: the slaves ~~smaddelless~~ villainous in their appearance and gestures, the leg irons and handcuffs removed and the people grouped in families.

Subject to your eventual approval of the final draft I would hope that it might be used not only for the U.S.P. paperback edition but also for all other paperbacks published, as these will presumably be produced mainly for sale to the general public, for whom the coloured cover should prove an effective sales attraction.

For the hard cover edition, and particularly those destined for Stanford, I do not personally consider the coloured cover suitable as a dust jacket and predict that it would be considered 'unscholarly' and would therefore tend to inhibit rather than promote sales.

Apart from libraries, which in any case take off the dust jackets on accession, case-bound books of this character are almost exclusively bought by academics - one of the most conservative and tradition-bound occupational groups in the world today. I would therefore recommend that the dust-jacket

for all case-bound books should be of a plain, orthodox type without pictorial embellishment.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'H.E. Maude', written in a cursive style.

H.E. Maude.

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE CULTURA
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

Lima, 29 de noviembre de 1979.

Señor Profesor
H. E. Maude
Australia.

Distinguido Profesor Maude:

Me es grato acusar recibo de su carta de fecha noviembre 4 del presente año.

No obstante lo que usted indica sobre la objetividad del material y los comentarios críticos que la obra contiene, creo recordar que entre el material investigado en el Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de mi país, y del cual remití copia a usted, existen documentos probatorios de la buena fe del gobierno peruano al autorizar la contratación de los trabajadores polinesios. Posteriormente al enterarse por las negociaciones diplomáticas de Francia, la forma como habían sido traídos al Perú, los repatrió a Polinesia pagando los gastos del viaje e indemnizándolos económicamente, hechos que espero figurarán en su libro, por lo menos como material diplomático.

Por lo demás no se si el material aportado merece su reconocimiento y que mi nombre aparezca en una obra tan importante. En todo caso la verdad no daña si se expresa con buena intención.

Le agradezco sinceramente su atención y reciba como siempre las expresiones de mi más alta consideración.

Atentamente.

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE CULTURA
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL

Lucila Valderrama G.
LUCILA VALDERRAMA G.

Jefa Of. de Bibliografía Nac. y Registro Nac.
de Derechos de Autor

Notwithstanding what you say about the objectivity of the material and the critical comments that the work contains, I wish to recall that among the material investigated in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and of which I sent you copies there were ~~con~~ documents proving the good faith of the Peruvian Government in authorising the contracts of the Polynesian labourers. Later, on understanding from the French diplomatic negotiations the manner in which they had been brought to Peru, it repatriated them to Polynesia paying the costs of the voyage and indemnifying them economically, facts which I hope will figure in your book, at least as diplomatic material.

For the rest, I do not ^{know} if the material 'aportado' merits your recognition and that my name should appear in such an important work. In any case, the truth does no harm if it is expressed with good intentions.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
4th November, 1979.

Srta. Lucila Valderrama,
Jefa de la Oficina de Bibliografia Nacional,
Biblioteca Nacional,
Avenida Abancay 4 Cuadra,
LIMA 1, Peru.

Dear Senorita Valderrama,

In the acknowledgments for help in preparing my book on
the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864, I have written:-

My thanks are also due to a Peruvian colleague, Senorita
Lucila de Valderrama G, now head of the Oficina de Biblio-
grafia Nacional y Registro Nacional de Derechos de Autor,
who searched the records of the 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 control-
ling this excursion into uncharted waters would never have
been understood.

This acknowledgment has been carefully drafted to indicate
that but for your help the Peruvian point of view on matters connected
with the trade would not have been appreciated, but it has been
suggested to me that, as the book contains factual material and
critical comments on the trade you may not wish your name to appear
in any prefatory remarks. On the other hand it contains, I
think, nothing more critical than the contemporary pages of El
Comercio.

As the book will soon be going to press perhaps you would
be so good as to let me know your wishes on this matter.

Yours sincerely,


H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,
28th February, 1961.

Dr Judith Huntsman,
Department of Anthropology,
The University of Auckland,
Private Bag, AUCKLAND,
New Zealand.

Dear Judy,

I am sorry to have been such a great age in thanking you for so kindly commenting on my draft of Slavers in Paradise. It was really most reprehensible of me but I did incorporate nearly all your suggestions in the final text, and then I had two bouts of a mysterious illness which kept me immobilized in bed for some weeks. I enclose the detailed notes on your observations which I made at the time.

So the weeks sped on and when I recovered, to the annoyance of a surgeon who was sharpening his knives, I concentrated furiously on finishing everything lest worse befell. All was done eventually and I completed the last caption to the last illustration and the last entry in the index (Zumbohm, Gaspard) at 6.15 p.m. on the 23rd February. And now I am as free as the air, and feeling rather miserable: like giving birth to a child which one is sure will prove to be still-born.

Your contemplated work on the Tokelaus sounds grand to me and just what I should like to have done for the Gilberts had I not wasted too much of my youth on administration and not enough on research. It will be real island-oriented history; in marked contrast to those written by Pacific historians, which are for the most part mainly concerned with Europeans living in the islands, and necessarily so since they scorn to learn an indigenous language.

I tried to write this kind of history in the Evolution of the Gilbertese Boti, where I also refrained from following up European documentation unless it was of particular significance. It proved a complete non-event among European historians but a gratifying success among the Gilbertese themselves; and by a success I do not mean that it was accepted as the dinkum oil by everybody but rather that it provoked controversy, and no doubt at times detraction and abuse - in other words it succeeded in touching on an historical theme of real interest to the community and created a desire to know more about their past way of life.

I am sending another little essay on the maneaba which I finished just before the slaver book; and possibly as a needed antidote. It was published to sell at, I believe, a dollar in the Gilberts and will, if read by the people for whom it was written, provoke even more controversy, being concerned with building techniques in which the man in the village has an interest and many consider themselves to be expert. And certainly if anyone tried to use it as a construction handbook I am reasonably confident that the darned building would fall down.

How I envy you living on your coral islands for six whole months. Like my colleagues here I took such things for granted until I retired; but now I have to pay for everything out of my own pocket I can hardly get as far as Sydney.

You must please have your Tokelau book published, if only for the sake of the islanders, especially those to come, who will be vitally interested in a homeland which many will never see. And if you ever have a duplicated copy of the text I should love to read it; not so much to comment, for which I am unqualified, but because I am trying to work out the lines of a history of the Gilbertese people from the time of the coming from Samoa to first contact with Europeans and I am hoping for leads and ideas. Meanwhile I am commencing that work on 'The Tabiteuean Civil War', for possible publication in the JPS.

With best wishes for a pleasant and fruitful stay in the atolls,

Yours ever,

Lee M.

Enclosure

Slavers in Paradise

My comments on yours

- (1) Yes, it came from you - see the last para. on p.1 of your notes dated 23 April 1979 - and my reference (in the final draft now with the printers) bears the attribution 'Judith Huntsman, pers. comm., 1979'. So I have deleted 'called Tenaka'.
- (2) I guess that the identity of Peni will have to be settled in your history, for despite all oral evidence to the contrary there still seems to be a strong case for regarding the two Penis as one and the same man. If I could lay my hands on the French Government report of the Latouche-Treville's visit to Tongareva it might solve the mystery.
- (3) I must confess that I still think that Ilae was on board the Rosa Patricia and helped to get the recruits, though I do not think that he was responsible for any force used - his reassuring presence, as Maka suggests, would have been enough to instil confidence. Nor does it seem strange that Maka should blame the Catholics for any ~~evil~~ *devilry was quite normal* unusual. And I have little doubt that Jennings was generous and intelligent when Murray met him; was he not a good mission supporter?
- (4) Sorry, I meant that Jules was called Hula and his companion Falahua, but I phrased it badly. To make it clear I have deleted 'Hula and'.
- (5) Many thanks for saving me from this gaffe; I had indeed got it all wrong, but can retrieve it I think without upsetting the printers by altering the lines.
- (6) I had put that Maka was a Rarotongan, thanks to your telling me so in your notes dated 23 April 1979; also I had spotted Gill (or rather the Press Editor had) and changed it to ~~born~~ *Gee*. I must have forgotten to amend the earlier draft which you have.
- (7) I am sure that you are right but have left Iusama because I understand that this is what he was called on Nukulaelae.
- (8) Saved by you again. I should have known because Kennedy told me that Vaitupu was a language. As Telematua only settled it from Samoa a dog's watch ago dialects must become languages very quickly. Peter Buck once said that he could understand and speak any type of Polynesian after a few hours ashore with the people.

- (9) I've put in 'once endemic', for the detailed analysis should not be pinched from you but left for you to set out in your book.
- (10) I agree with you entirely and had not meant to imply anything of an official character by my use of the term 'temporary abrogation'; rather the turning of a blind eye at what you rightly call a 'natural outcome', in the same way as a Catholic Bishop in an overpopulated area is wont to affect not to notice the use of contraceptive measures by the otherwise faithful.
- (11) I should have recorded Mafala's return; but I did not know that Maka remained on Atafu for four years after his replacement.

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Australian National University Press

P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600

Telephone 49 2812 Telegrams NATUNIV PRESS

1 June, 1981.

Mr H.E. Maude,
77 Arthur Circle,
FORREST. A.C.T. 2603

Dear Harry,

Thank you for your note. There have been no proofs of the endpaper map, we only get proof at the dyeline stage. I have asked the printer to return the original map immediately and I hope it has not already been printed. You did see the captions at the galley proof stage and made some corrections.

The dyelines should be in next week, I will ring you when the map and the proofs arrive.

Regards,

(Mrs Jane Basinski)
ACTING EDITOR

22 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
29th May, 1981.

Mrs Jane Basinski,
A.N.U. Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA,
A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Jane,

I understand that there may still be an opportunity for me to check up on the two possible errors that may have been perpetrated in the endpaper maps in that a proof copy of the book should be in the offing any day now.

If I might be permitted to check the endpapers when it comes (it should only take me 3 minutes) I should be eternally grateful, for somehow I seems to have missed out on them, as well as on the maps and illustration captions, at the various stages of the proof-reading.

The idea of errata slips haunts my feverish dreams.

Yours,

J.R.M.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
28th May, 1981.

Miss P. Croft,
Director, A.N.U. Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA,
A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Pat,

Many thanks for your cordial letter; everything about the leaflet sounds excellent and we (not the royal we, but just Honor and I) are particularly pleased about including a Contents List because that better than anything gives an idea of the unusually wide Bauifage coverage of the book, as well as outlining what it is essentially about.

As regards the paperbacks, when Brian rang to say that he would publish the work I thanked him but said immediately that I was interested mainly in a paperback edition. He replied quite categorically that there would be a paperback edition; and by this was meant, I am quite sure by both of us, an edition large enough to advertise and have on sale to the public as in the case of other paperbacks produced by the Press.

The edition for Fiji, and of course for the UPNG, was not then in contemplation, as I wrote to Brian about this much later, and these editions do not, in my view, constitute in any way the paperback edition which we had in mind; which I wrote later offering to subsidize; and which later still I was making plans to publicize by leaflets to potential buyers all over the world.

Remembering that the book is essentially island literature and not a possible text-book or 'required reading' I can envisage say 100 hardcover copies selling to university and other libraries in Australia and New Zealand, or if we include everyone else who can afford over \$20 for an interesting book say an optimistic 200-250, for the most likely buyers will have received free copies from me in return for favours received in past years. The rest of the hardcover edition would presumably be remaindered.

Could you not therefore bind any excess over 250 in the print run in paperback form, in return for a written guarantee that I will buy any of the surplus left after a year, at the wholesale price (I take it that the retail price will be about \$10). On the assumption that you are printing 1000 hardcovers, of which 500 go to Stanford, this would result in

a total of 1250 paperbacks, of which 500 go to the USP and 250 to the UPNG, leaving 500 for sale: just enough to feature and sell - surely 250 more paperbacks with a guaranteed sale is not too much of a concession to an author who was promised a full edition (I was anticipating 1000).

I do realize that the fact that Brian's undertaking has not been honoured by the ANU Press is in no way due to you but presumably to policy changes made by others after the book had been edited. I imagine, however, that the main factor determining this policy is the necessity to avoid all risk of financial loss.

It would seem on the face of it, therefore, a happy solution if the undertaking could be met and at the same time all risk obviated by the arrangement which I suggest.

Yours,

John



Australian National University Press

P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600

Telephone 49 2812 Telegrams NATUNIV PRESS Telex AA62760

25 May, 1981.

Mr H.E. Maude,
77 Arthur Circle,
FORREST. A.C.T. 2603

Dear Harry,

...
Thank you for your blurb for a leaflet. I have to a degree already anticipated you^{by} asking Adrian Young to use the jacket artwork for a leaflet, somewhat similar to the enclosed.

Strictly speaking, we - Stanford, USP and ANUP - are ~~not~~ co-publishing and our leaflet will say 'available in the United States from Stanford U.P., in the U.K. from Eurospan and in Fiji from the USP.' But that, I think, will not worry you.

We consider that the leaflet should also have a Contents list as well as a blurb (I'm happy to use yours).

The foregoing is almost directly along the lines you suggest. The one thing that concerns me is your emphasis on the paperback. We are printing only 1000 paperbacks - 500 for USP and 250 for PNG. You did say you wanted about 100, which leaves only 150 for sale and so we had decided not to emphasise it. If you've decided you do not want that 100, please let me know.

Certainly, if the foregoing suits you we'll be able to let you have 150 or so.

Yours,

Pat

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
19th May, 1981.

Dr Anthony Hooper,
Department of Anthropology,
University of Auckland,
Private Bag, AUCKLAND,
New Zealand.

Dear Tony,

I have been indulging in what biblical scholars call textual criticism of an anonymous reader's report on Slavers in Paradise, prepared for the Stanford University Press, and have come to the conclusion that from its vocabulary and construction it could have been written by none other than your goodself.

If I am wrong no matter for it should have been; but if I am right then I should like to thank you most sincerely for yet another act of kindness on your part. You can imagine with what joy and relief I read the report, which indeed gave me the courage to reset, and in part rewrite, the book on the lines suggested in it.

I have hopes that the story now flows smoothly from start to finish, as narrative history should, with the essential material in the appendixes absorbed into the text and the tables, notes and other scholarly apparatus separated and in small print at the end which nobody need go on to look at unless they want to. In short, I have followed your recommendations in toto and, in my opinion, the result has been a much better book.

The MS had been sent in the first instance to the University of California at Los Angeles or Berkeley, and I heard a rumour (for they would not let me see the report) that some historian wrote that it appeared to be about some unimportant ships visiting unimportant islands in an unimportant part of the world, that it had no historical or other value and was quite unpublishable. But most historians, especially in America, are a constipated lot, with a fixation on political history and an antipathy to the man in the street, or in this case in the village.

Anyway, if you were my guardian angel many thanks for timely help and encouragement; if it was someone else then your w.p.b. is handy for this epistle (but somebody is plagiarizing your style; it could be actionable).

The book itself is at the printers and is due for simultaneous publication by Stanford, the USP in Fiji and the ANU here, with a paperback edition at about half the price of the library hardcover.

I am now working on 'The Iioba cult and the Tabiteuean Civil War' for the JPS, if they will have it; my exit cue after a half century of writing for that Journal. I find the theme quite fascinating, as also the blending of the oral tradition with the documentation.

With best wishes for the success of your Tokelau study,

Yours,

Lee M.

S L A V E R S I
P A R A D I S E N

H.E. MAUDE

This is the story of the barques and brigs that sailed out of Callao in Peru, calling at every Polynesian island group except Hawaii, kidnapping thousands of men, women and children by violence and treachery and transporting them to slavery and death.

An absorbing narrative of the conflict between human greed and bewildered innocence, set in the romantic isles of the South Seas, it ranks among the finest works of literature on the Pacific Islands, capturing and holding the reader's interest by the sheer drama and pathos of the most sensational event in Polynesian history.

Slavers in Paradise is written by the doyen of island writers who has spent his life working in or on the area, and has visited most of the fifty-one islands ravaged or visited by the slavers. It is based on extensive research into primary sources in Peruvian, French and British archives, as well as the manuscript and published accounts of those who were living in the islands at the time.

Australian National
University Press
Canberra, ACT 2600, Australia

in association with the Stanford University Press, USA
and the University of the South Pacific,
Fiji

OBTAINABLE ALSO IN PAPERBACK except in the USA



Australian National University Press

P.O. Box 4, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600

Telephone 49 2812 Telegrams NATUNIV PRESS Telex AA62760

6 April, 1981.

Mr. H.E. Maude,
77 Arthur Circle,
FORREST. A.C.T. 2603

Dear Harry,

Lest you are concerned about some of the points mentioned in your letter I hasten to reassure you.

1. Abbreviations. Moving these presents a problem. All index entries concerning the introduction and the notes will have to be altered if we move that page to immediately before the notes. I agree it should be there and I don't know how it got into the prelims in the paste-up. I would much prefer not to move it at this stage. There are two other possibilities. We could have it reset one size smaller ^{and} or put it at the bottom of p. 194 immediately after Table 9 (not a good solution) or we could add a sentence to your remarks on the first page of the notes saying 'A list of abbreviations used in the notes can be found on p. xv'.

Your points 2-6 will be taken care of.

7. Your eagle eye has spotted a mistake made by the designer when doing the paste up. I had noticed it, but since to make 'Part I' part of the main text - as it should be - would have meant re-numbering the whole book I let it pass.
8. Will be taken care of.
9. The italic 'Ibids' have been picked up. In this case the typesetter had not made the corrections marked on the galleys.
10. Taken care of.
11. I changed the comma to a colon. That is our preferred style and removes any possibility of ambiguity.
12. p. 21 is the first page of Chapter 4, p. 22 is a full page map that was not included in your photocopy. 30/35 has been corrected.
- 13, 14 Will be done.

2.

✓ Your second letter. New blurbs will be substituted.

... ✓ Your third letter. Your imprint page will be used (a photocopy is enclosed, it will of course be straight). It was never intended not to use it, it just hadn't been set when the paste-up was done since I was waiting to hear from Crocombe.

I hope this sets your mind at rest. If you have a better suggestion for remedying (1) please let me know.

Yours,



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The Australian National University Press
Canberra, Australia

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The Stanford University Press
Stanford, California

Published in the Pacific Islands by
The University of the South Pacific
Suva, Fiji

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77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
6th April, 1981.

~~Mrs~~ Jane Basinski,
A.N.U. Press,
CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Jane,

This is the last of my trilogy on the page proofs and it concerns only the reverse of the title-page.

At an earlier stage I pointed out the incorrectness of this page, as originally set out, in that it did not state that editions were being published separately for sale in America, the Pacific Islands, and possibly the UK.

I drew up a draft page, based on one found in a similar book on my table, and later saw this draft at the Press correctly set out in printed form. Now, however, the typographer has reverted to a standard setting which differs from this by omitting (1) in my enclosure at the top of the page and including (2) at the bottom.

I do hope that it will be possible to indicate the publishers of the other editions, not for reasons of personal prestige but because I am sending a large number of copies of the book to other parts of the world to colleagues and those who have helped me and I know from previous experience that many of the recipients will want to know where copies may be obtained in the nearest country to them.

I realize that I can have an erratum slip prepared for insertion in copies sent out, and this will if necessary be done, but you will I know recognize that nothing is more calculated to sell the book to a prospective purchaser in this or any other country than the statement on the reverse of the title-page that it has been chosen for publication by two other University Presses, and especially by one with the prestige of Stanford.

It seems somehow rather unfair on an author to deny him any slight chance which he may have of promoting the sales of his book. Furthermore the discovery that, at least in the Australian edition, potential buyers in America are being directed to purchase their copies from a competitor can hardly prove an inducement to Stanford to enter into future purchasing arrangements with the ANU Press.

Yours,

John M.

THIS IS THE STORY of the barques and brigs that sailed out of Callao in Peru, calling at every Polynesian 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 how the unsuspecting islanders were captured, leaving in many cases only the aged and the children to reconstruct their stricken communities; of what befel them as slaves in Peru; how, through the efforts of a resolute Frenchman and a courageous Lima newspaper, the horrifying truth was revealed and the trade stopped; and finally 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; but it fills a 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. Above all,

sensitively and compassionately, it recovers and records for the island peoples the vividly dramatic events in which their forbears were the unwitting actors.

It ranks among the finest works of literature on the Pacific Islands.

.....

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.,
4th April, 1981.

Mrs Jane Basinski,
A.N.U. Press,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.2600.

Dear Jane,

I much prefer the new blurbs, as compared with my original drafts, but suggest that while the author blurb is unexceptionable the book blurb could be retouched in places for maximum effect without impairing its character or the sequence of the points which it is desired to make.

I hope that you will approve the text, as amended in pencil on the print and also retyped for your convenience, as it took an unbelievably long time to work out the penultimate sentence.

Yours,

J.R.M.

Enclosure

(1) Published in Australia by
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The Stanford University Press
Stanford, California

Published in the United Kingdom by
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(2) United Kingdom, Europe, Middle East, and Africa:
Books Australia, 3 Henrietta St, London WC2E
8LU, England

North America: Books Australia, Norwalk, Conn.,
USA

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
1st April, 1981.

Mrs Jane Basinski,
A.N.U. Press,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.2600.

Dear Jane,

I am returning the page proofs complete from the half-title to the index. You mentioned that the proof-reader would be going through everything with a fine tooth-comb; I have read through everything but without calling over anything except the tables and index, which Honor and I have worked over together in detail.

The recommended changes are spelt out in the margins for consideration by the proof-reader, though only in pencil and not necessarily in standard form as they are merely intended to draw attention to mistakes which might otherwise be missed.

The most important changes which would seem to be necessary are as follows:-

- (1) Contents sheet: the page headed 'Abbreviations' is put here between 'Acknowledgments' and 'Introduction', *though said to be* p.244. The abbreviations, however, are stated on the page itself to be used in the notes, which start on p.196, and they should I suggest be placed immediately before them, as they were in the final typescript, and the contents sheet amended accordingly.
- ✓ (2) P.2, line 6 from the end: 'Joseph Charles Byrne' has now been removed from the left-hand margin and placed in caps on the right-hand side so that it looks as if it is a signature to the law of 14 March 1861. It is in fact a sub-heading and should be placed in the same position and type and with the same space above and below as any other sub-heading; e.g. those on pp.14, 15 and 18. This was clear in my final typescript and also the galleys.
- ✓ (3) P.3, line 15: 'bankrupt' here cannot have a capital 'b' (see my typescript, p.11) since we are talking about the bankrupt Natal Emigration and Colonisation Office.

- ✓ (4) P.62, line 5 from the end: 'working their way home from Rotuma to Callao against the trades.' This is alas a howler as the three ships did not leave Rotuma until June 3. It should be changed to 'on their way from Callao to the Tuvalu Group (see Chapter 10).' which is the same number of ~~letters~~ so should occasion no difficulty. This is the only mistake which I can discover attributable to my own fault and the cost of correction (being at the page proof stage) should be charged to me in accordance with the usual publisher's rule. That it is a clear inexcusable error is shown by the fact that it is directly contradicted by the statement on the last three lines of p.74.
- ✓ (5) P.65, line 4 from the end: a whole line - the last line on p.65 of the galleys - is missing. I hope that there are no more of these as they are sometimes hard to detect.
- ✓ (6) P.73. The 5 lines at the top of this page should be indented as they form part of the indented quote commenced on the previous page.
- ✓ (7) P.109: 'Part II: Polynesians in Peru'. This is apparently to be paged in arabic numerals as part of the text while 'Part I: Peruvians in Polynesia' is to be paged as part of the prelims, i.e. in roman numerals. I have no objection but felt that I should bring it to your attention.
- ✓ (8) P.159, line 11 from the end: there is only one island of Nukuhiva.
- ✓ (9) Notes: there is an inconsistency - still uncorrected, though I pointed it out at the galley stage - in that 'Ibid' in Chapter 1, notes 2 and 8, are in italics and in Chapter 7, note 19, Chapter 19, note 17, and Chapter 20, note 11, are in roman. Which is correct depends on the house rule but I note that 'passim' has been set in italics.
- ✓ (10) P.220, chapter 22, note 1: 'n.b.' should be 'n.2'.
- ✓ (11) Index: in cases where an entry is not followed by one or more numerals but by one or more sub-entries someone has changed the comma in the typescript to a colon. I like this, though it is not in accord with the usage prescribed by Mrs Roberts, so have left these entries unchanged.
- ✓ (12) We have not changed the pagination but noticed in passing the point referred to in (7) above; also that p.21 is presumably a blank and that p.35 is numbered 30.

- ✓ (13) The unnumbered sheet for insertion in the endpaper maps has several errors: in particular the route signs need to be inserted under Main Routes 1, 2 and 3 and 'Tongareva' added at 15.
- ✓ (14) The unnumbered sheets giving the illustration captions should have '1822' instead of '1968' in Plate 4 while Plates 46 and 47 should be transposed.

I have kept the blurbs for the nonce as I have one or two suggestions for their amendment which I shall make in a separate letter.

Yours,

llm.

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"The 'The'"

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51

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.....
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77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
11th March, 1981.

Miss P. Croft,
Director, A.N.U. Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA,
A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Pat,

Honor tells me that, with escalating costs, you may have a difficulty in meeting the flat rate stipulated by the Stanford University Press.

This book is very close to our hearts, we have worked very hard on it for a number of years, we can afford to help with a subsidy if it is necessary and will be glad to do so. After all Sir Raymond Firth subsidized the work in which Honor and he collaborated, and as you know she has subsidized the publication of two more books on her own.

As regards the royalties on the A.N.U. edition, which Honor mentioned to you, the reason why I did not forgo them from the start is solely because I am advised that the Income Tax authorities would be unlikely to continue my author's tax concessions were I to do so.

After they have taken their 60 cents in the dollar tax, however, the A.N.U. Press would certainly be welcome to the remaining 40 cents, for what it is worth. It would normally go to augment the capital fund which Honor and I have provided in our wills to endow an annual scholarship in the creative arts for Pacific islanders, but if it would help to alleviate a difficulty in costing it might just as well go to the Press.

In any event we would expect to pay for the coloured cover, as this was intended as part of our contribution to the Pacific Islands edition, and the extra copies for the other editions are neither here nor there. I think that you mentioned about \$1,000 and I shall send you a remittance immediately I know the actual amount due.

The editorial paragraphs entitled 'An Unplanned Tribute' in the latest Journal of the Polynesian Society was in reality a very kind and heart-warming attempt to give advance publicity to this book and I have plans for circulating a brochure on it to those on my list of potential buyers, subject to your approval.

In addition, my monograph on The Gilbertese Maneaba published last month (with its lovely coloured cover) will help to notify the world of Pacific studies that I am still in business, as will the study I am now engaged in to celebrate half a century of writing for the Polynesian Society.

Yours,

SLM

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
4th August, 1980.

Dr Judith Huntsman,
Department of Anthropology,
The University of Auckland,
Private Bag, AUCKLAND,
New Zealand.

Dear Judy,

It was good to find you back again and working at your book on the Tokelaus. It will be a red-letter day for me when it comes out as the only islands for which I feel a never-ceasing nostalgia are the central Pacific atolls and the only people I really love live on them. I have vivid recollections of every one of them except the Tokelaus and so look forward very much to making an acquaintance at second-hand through your pages.

My Peruvian slaver effort has been through various vicissitudes since I last saw you. I wrote it essentially for the island people and did not think it likely to appeal to Europeans. As I told the Director of the ANU Press it suffers from three main handicaps: it is a tragedy; it deals with islands which the general reader has never heard of; and it does not attempt to promote the European self-image as being the beneficent protector and civilizer of ignorant savages.

But it seems to have appealed to some and is now, I am told, to come out in hard covers and paperback under four imprints: the ANU Press for Australasia; Stanford for America; Croom Helm for Europe; and the USP for Oceania. I keep my fingers crossed and if one of these publishers turns up at the final party I shall be satisfied.

All who read the manuscript wanted changes made, and their suggestions were in general very helpful; in particular a fine report from the reader for Stanford which enabled me to get rid of appendixes which I had never liked and generally made the final text almost readable.

But I haven't got a copy of this final text as the Press took away my original and sent me a very faint photocopy which won't reproduce, for I've tried. So I'm sending you a copy of an earlier version, after revising the figures in the tables (now at the end of the text) and incorporating one appendix to form Chapter 22.

The text which has gone to the publishers is admittedly different to this earlier draft and so are some of the endnotes, but as far as the Tokelaus are concerned there is no difference

of any consequence (the changes are polishing and tightening ones, not of substance). The chapter and table numbers are OK, but not of course the page numbers.

The changes made to some of the other chapters have been due to the kindness of the de Lesseps family, who have sent me Edmond's private letters from Peru, and Wilma Derpich Gallo's research in the Naval Museum at Lima, which has necessitated the revision of the route of the Adelante's third voyage (she went apparently to Nanumea and Beru) and that of the Honorio (which we now know went to Nukulaelae, Funafuti and Rotuma in place of the Adelante). I have changed your Table 2 accordingly and pencilled all the consequential changes on the other tables.

The reason why I am sending the whole text is because there are references to the Tokelaus (or to ships which went there) in other chapters and because you may want to give a picture of what happened to the Tokelau people in Peru and when being repatriated (particularly those on the Rosa y Carmen). You are of course welcome to anything and everything in the study - for it was written to make what I could find out common property, and if you jump the gun by a few months it might help to advertise the book and so sell a few extra copies.

You ask how to cite what you may use: but I really don't mind, so do as you think best. You could cite Maude or the book, which has now left my hands and could, for all I know, be at the printers. Its title is 'Slavers in Paradise. The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-64'. It was fun fossicking out what happened from a thousand or more bits and pieces and then trying to write it down in some sort of order, but I am only a chronicler and I look on the book as a quarry of raw factual material which others may hopefully be able to make use of for more creative exercises - it certainly took an inordinate time to collect and digest; more like working on a detective assignment than anything else.

You may remember my asking you whether I might submit an article for the December 1981 issue of the JPS. I should like to do so if you are not already full up for that number; for no more worthy motive, I fear, than pure conceit, because our first article, on 'Adoption in the Gilbert Islands', appeared in the Journal for December 1931 and I'd like to try to establish a record, not for quality but for pertinacity, by having one in the Journal half a century later.

I finished a paper last week on 'The Construction of the Gilbertese Maneaba', setting out the traditional methods, with the associated ritual, for building the three types, as I learnt them from the master-builders of the Ababou and Maerua boti 50 years ago. This might do well for the JPS but apparently the Gilbertese, who have more or less lost the techniques and the ritual in the interim, have asked the USP to publish it as a sort of 'Do it Yourself' booklet for them (but whether in Gilbertese or English I don't know). So if the USP (and that means Ron) agree and it is to be published in English I suppose they must

have it: as a small contribution towards the repatriation, not of artefacts or documentation but of their historical and cultural heritage - a subject on which I have been making a bit of a song and dance of recent years.

But I have begun to work on two papers: 'The Evolution of Island Government in the Gilbert Islands' (perhaps one can find a better title; its about the pre-colonial era) and 'The Tabiteuean Civil War of 1870' (which shows how it developed out of a Feather Cult and is mainly based on unpublished primary sources, with a bit of oral tradition), and maybe one of these might do. But only if you have room and the paper is considered by your technical readers to be up to the rigorous standards of the JPS. I should not mind in the least if it is turned down, because there comes a day in all our lives when somebody has to indicate that it is time to put up the shutters and close the shop.

Wishing you both plain sailing with the Tokelau book. I've been reading the islanders' petition re Olosenga - it was a bit off the beam about Quiros. I suppose that you have got all the High Commission correspondence about traders and their troubles in the immediately post-colonial years.

Yours ever,

John

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
26th February, 1981.

Mrs Yvonne Roberts,
Flat 1, 67 Shalley Street,
ELWOOD, Victoria 3184.

Dear Yvonne,

Many thanks for the corrected index. It was all quite clear and I was able to complete the remaining entries on the lines you indicated, for I had several more to do, and the work was completed and delivered to the Press on the 23rd.

I'm glad that you passed 'Chief' and 'Pastor' in cases where there were no first-names or initials because it helped to identify the people in question. But I had no changes to make except in three minor instances where there were special reasons which would not have been apparent unless one had been familiar with the subject-matter of the book.

I enclose a cheque in payment; no need to send an invoice or receipt as far as I am concerned. I never worked out an index for my book Of Islands and Men since the O.U.P. were, for some reason, against one. As a result nearly every reviewer remarked that the book would have been greatly improved if it had contained one.

So I am most grateful to you for saving me from further censure: this time for having prepared one on quite unacceptable principles.

With our best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

Leam

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
16th December, 1980.

Dear Pat,

Slavers in Paradise

Honor has told me your problem and as one who has taken over from many in my life I can understand just how you must feel - you have our heartfelt sympathy.

Re the Stanford edition of 1000 I gather that there is no trouble. Re the ANU edition Brian Clouston rang me on the night before we left Canberra for the Gilberts (the 3rd July, 1979) to say that the Press would be publishing the book (in view of the Reader's Report). I thanked him warmly but stressed that I was mainly interested in a paperback edition for sale to the public, and this he undertook to publish in addition to the library and academic hard cover. Numbers were not mentioned.

Re the USP edition I enclose:-

- (1) HEM to Brian Clouston of 4.11.79.
- (2) Brian to HEM of 20.11.79.
- (3) Ron Crocombe to Brian of 23.11.79.

The pertinent paras are marked in red in the margin and are, I think, self-explanatory. I have more on the subject but only with Ron.

Re Croom Helm, you originally mentioned to me that they were taking an edition (which you presumed would be under their own imprint) and next time you came here I asked you to spell out the name of the house as I had never heard of them. This you did and you added that they were a progressive outfit but had only ordered 300 copies, which I gathered was less than you would have expected.

Re the coloured cover I enclose my copy of the letter to Brian of 16.9.80. Ron's stipulation of a coloured cover was originally notified to Brian in para.3 of my letter to him of 4.11.79.

Hoping this will help to clarify matters,

Yours,

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
19th November, 1980.

Mrs Jane Basinski,
A.N.U. Press,
CANBERRA, A.C.T.2600.

Dear Jane,

I enclose the last batch of galley proofs which have been corrected in pencil. The corrections will need to be amended by the proof reader where our symbols are not in standard form. Most of the corrections are due to errors made by the compositor but a few are mine; in two or three cases where a change from the typescript does not seem to matter we have left the text as is.

There are two important places where I feel that the layout should be corrected. The first is the bibliography, which has a most muddling, jumbled and inartistic layout such as I have not seen before in any book. It does not conform to the typescript in that the entries are not separated by a space and not indented after the first line. If the compositor meant it as an experiment in the new typography it has signally failed.

In my view the listing of both the archival material and the published and unpublished material should have each item separated by a space and have the second and subsequent lines indented, i.e. that they should follow the form set out for bibliographies in the Australian Style Manual, 3rd edition, entries under 'Bibliographies' on pp.98 and 100, which is also the form adopted and approved for my other works and notably Of Islands and Men, and also to be found in the better A.N.U. Press publications. I feel sufficiently strongly on this matter to be willing to pay for all costs involved in resetting the Bibliography on the lines of the original typescript.

The second point concerns the setting of the headings to the tables, which I feel sure that you will agree should be centred over the columns and where they require two or more lines should have the succeeding lines also centred. In Tables 3, 5 and 6 I have also indicated where important sub-headings should be in bold roman type and not italics.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
3rd November, 1980.

125
Mrs Jane Basinski,
A.N.U. Press,
CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Jane,

Herewith the first two batches of corrected proofs. Someone had better check our correction symbols carefully and correct them where necessary.

On the general layout our only criticism is the absence of space after the sub-headings which results, in our view, in an unduly crowded and niggardly appearance. All the other recently published A.N.U. Press books on our shelves have an adequate space, e.g. Spate and Wiltgen, so we have indicated more space under each sub-paragraph (there are not many).

The main mistakes are on p.5 (of the typescript) where the text should read: 'On only one voyage is the route completely unknown - that of the brig Margarita - and it appears possible that she was captured by Tongans.', and on p.10, where 'Joseph Charles Byrne' should be a sub-heading and not a signature.

Capitals have been deleted by the compositor from some of the headings and sub-headings but they look O.K. so I have no objection if you have none and have left them untouched; also the 's' in italicised names, e.g. Empresa's, has (I think invariably) been put in italics, but this may be Australian usage so I have left them as is, especially as it is hardly noticable.

Yours,

John

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
3rd September, 1980.

Mrs J.M. Basinski,
Australian National University Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA, A.C.T.2600.

Dear Jane,

I enclose a list, in order of pages, of amendments made to the text of the Peruvian Slavers book, so that anyone who wants can check for accuracy: they have, however, been checked by Honor and myself, in most cases several times.

As I believe Honor has already told you, ~~thearly~~ all the changes are due to a friend of Ken Henderson, the Editor of Hemisphere, having discovered a thesis in Spanish on the Peruvian Chinese coolie trade which indicates, from naval documents made available by Vice-Admiral Mario Castro, that it was the Honorio which accompanied the Dolores Carolina and Polinesia to Tuvalu and that the Adelante went to Beru for her recruits (and presumably Nanumea).

It is a nuisance but I suppose that it is better to correct the text and related tables while there is still time. Fortunately the remaining pertinent pages of the thesis confirm the deductions made in the text of the book and so give one confidence that the reconstruction of events is as right as one can make it.

In all 13 pages have been retyped while about 45 pages have minor amendments made to the existing text. It should not be difficult to check the accuracy of the changes made, from the attached listing, if desired. Retyped pages are shown by the page and line numbers being in brackets; when line numbers are preceded by a minus sign one should count from the bottom of the page.

Re my letter to Miss Croft dated 15 June, the permission for the new Pl.47 has arrived and I am accordingly including it with the others, with its caption typed on the back; it has been added to the listing on p.x and its suggested position marked on p.216. Its inclusion will necessitate a new caption for Pl.27 and this is being typed on its back.

For record, with reference to Enclosure 2 to my letter of 29 April, the two new captions are as follows:-

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

47. 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).

No one regrets this extra work more than we do, but we hope that from now on it will be plain sailing,

Yours,

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
17th July, 1980.

Dear Ken,

Many thanks for copies of the literature so kindly forwarded by your friend Alan in Lima. I have been through it all and as far as I can make out there is nothing in the items that I have not already got from other sources except one statement in Wilma Derpich Gallo's thesis concerning the barque Honorio.

But I am checking up on every reference to make sure and two professional translators come on Sunday to check through everything. Attachment No. 1 seems to be only a translation into Spanish of parts of Watt Stewart's book on Chinese Bandage in Peru, which I have in the English edition. Unfortunately my main helper in Spanish translation, Marney Dunn, has left for Peking, being the wife of the Australian ambassador to China.

I have been thinking over an article for you and looking over Hemisphere to get an idea of the style of writing and general format. Quite frankly I would much rather not try to write one myself because I have always declined to write for the general reader; and have no desire to change the rule of a lifetime at the eleventh hour.

As you know historical research and writing is a two-way process involving the backroom researchers who work on primary documentation (mainly contemporary manuscripts) and write only in professional journals for other historians; and the popularisers who read their papers and use them and other secondary documentation to produce books and articles for the public (these writers seldom look at primary items, which is a very time-consuming occupation).

I am emphatically a backroom researcher and only write research papers and books (or monographs) and leave to others the financially remunerative but quite distinct job of writing popular historiography.

A second, but most pertinent, consideration is that I have, I suppose, 14 to 15 more months of research and writing before I have to put my feet into carpet slippers and doze by the fire. You will have seen, though you did not have it reviewed, my festschrift entitled The Changing Pacific published by the O.U.P. and the first to be given anyone at the A.N.U.: this is usually considered to be an academic's congé, and it was certainly a beautiful volume to which all the leaders in Pacific history contributed a chapter and Niel Gunson did the editing superbly.

Every day of the period left to me is already under contract or promised. In my prime I used to work to a fairly rigid 7 day, 90 hour week; I still work 7 days a week including Sundays and all holidays (Christmas morning I took off for the first time in five years) but on doctor's advice I have had to cut down to a schedule 9.30 a.m. to 6.30 p.m. and be in bed by 9. Its a nuisance but cannot be helped; and at least I have not deteriorated to the extent of having to work public service hours.

So if you want an article on the Peruvian labour trade I suggest that you engage one of your regular writers to do it from the documentation you already have plus some sources which I can put him or her on to. This would have the advantage of having a more prestigious name than a backroom boy on the masthead, and any competent journalist should be able to do the job in a few days.

If, however, you want me to produce an article (and can show me why this is essential) I will put you on my priority list and should be in a position to start, all going well, perhaps by Christmas. It should take me about a month; I average 3 months on an article but this one would have to utilize material already in my possession or known to me, in order to save time.

It would need to be a research article as I know no other form of writing and I suggest that it might be on the question of whether or not Polynesian labour was recruited for the Chincha Islands. A second choice would be the role (or importance) of the island of Rapa to the Peruvian traders. If, however, it need not be on the Peruvian recruiters than I suggest that it might be on the literature of the South Seas, as I had to give an address on this subject in the Adelaide Town Hall for the Cook bicentenary racket and might be able to condense and rehash part of it.

As to my present commitments, these are:

- (1) To get abreast of some 50 unanswered letters, which invariably pile up when one is on a job; probably a month's work, as so many require document searching and photocopying.
- (2) To check the material which you have just sent, finalize the illustrations and arrangements for the cover jacket. This is re the Peruvian book. Finally I have to do the index, which I'm told should not take over a month.
- (3) Finalize the text, complete the typing, diagrams and illustrations for a monograph on The Construction of the Gilbertese Maneaba promised for publication by The University of the South Pacific. This has a high priority, being requested by the island peoples.
- (4) Write a research paper on 'The Tabiteuean Civil War of

1870' for publication in the Journal of the Polynesian Society. This also has a high priority as it is to celebrate the 50th year of my writing for this journal. This means a lot to me as it constitutes a record, and the journal is, of course, the most prestigious in my field.

(5) Finish work on The Grimble Book, for which I am under contract. This book will contain all the unpublished work of Sir Arthur Grimble, and I have already started on it - Honor and I are working together on it and I see that many of the MSS are in Honor's handwriting, written for Sir Arthur when she kept house for him in 1930.

(6) Complete a paper on 'One hundred years of British relations with Palau' long promised to The Guam Recorder. It was started several years ago but needs revision.

(7) Complete a paper on 'The Evolution of Island Government in pre-colonial Kiribati', owed to my island friends.

Two factors should be emphasized in the above record: that work for the islanders takes precedence normally over work for Europeans; and that I have to do my own typing - in fact if I had not taught myself shorthand and touch typing I should be quite unable to do the work in hand.

The above, I'm afraid, will have to complete my life work, but I could possibly squeeze in an article for Hemisphere, if it is absolutely essential, while engaged on (5), which is a long job, round about Christmas or early in 1981. It would depend on my wife's health, for her comfort and well-being is my first consideration, and my own, for my blood-pressure was up recently through worry over work-pressures. Honor has been a brick right through these very difficult times and really deserves a holiday.

I realize now that I was a fool ever to start on the Peruvian book at my age but I had only meant to write a paper and it just grew; finally when it began to upset us both we agreed that I had, in fact, reached the point of no-return and must complete the job. From that day Honor has answered the phone, kept the daily ~~schedule~~ of letters from worrying me and enabled me to work week after week in another time and place (at one time recently we found that I had not spoken to a single person bar her in seven weeks).

Again many thanks indeed for the documentation. I do so realize that all this is possibly unsatisfactory from your standpoint and can only plead in my defence that an aged and tired man nearing 75 and retired over 7 years is naturally resistant to being called back from finishing his life work for at least a month's hard labour on performing a job of

work when some younger person who needs the money and the kudos of seeing their name in print could do it so much better. Agreeing that I owe your friend and yourself a debt I feel that it can best be discharged by my handing Alan a complementary book and by your finding a professional writer (not an academic but a free-lance) whom I can help by giving a list of microfilms which can be researched in a week at the National or Mitchell. Alternatively he can wait until the book comes out and then copy direct.

Yours,

JRM



HEMISPHERE

AN ASIAN-AUSTRALIAN MAGAZINE

P.O. Box 826, Woden,
A.C.T. 2606 Australia
Telephone 897406

in your reply please quote
.....

11 JUL 1980

Professor H.E. Maude,
77 Arthur Circle,
FORREST ACT 2603

Dear Professor Maude,

Herewith the material sent over by our Ambassador in Lima, who obviously wishes us both well. I hope you find some new sources through it and that it is of use to you.

I do not know the meanings of the words 'blackmail' or 'bribe', but look forward to hearing from you when you have a moment to spare from the big one.

With kindest regards to Mrs Maude and yourself,

Yours sincerely,

Russell Henderson
Editor

PS There is a fuzzy photograph of Tumbes also available, as well as an unauthenticated one of men on a guano island.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
25th May, 1980.

Mr Kenneth R. Henderson,
Editor, Hemisphere,
Box 826, WODEN,
A.C.T. 2606.

Dear Ken,

I received your letter 80/82 of the 15th on my return to Canberra last night. Not that I had been escaping the Canberra winter, as you surmised, but attending the great meeting of Pacific historians at Martindale Hall in the Clare Valley. More than 50 attended from Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific Islands and the U.S. I never knew that there were so many in existence; but then they make good wine in the valley.

However, next month we do hope to escape for a few weeks to Fiji, where I am due to help produce the new history of Tuvalu for the University of the South Pacific, and possibly on to either Niue or Norfolk Island. It depends on whether I can get the Peruvian slaver book completed to everybody's satisfaction. Indeed I thought that I had achieved this feat, but the day before we left for Clare an American publisher said that he would like an edition if certain changes were made - in effect involving the incorporation of the appendixes in the text. So I start on my third revision tomorrow.

It was good of you to interest yourself in procuring illustrations for the work and your friend in Lima has certainly gone to a lot of trouble to locate them. I feel certain, however, that he has been misinformed as to the date on which the Easter islanders went to Peru, which was 1862 and 1863. The population of Easter Island in 1882 was 150; in 1884 it was 160; and in 1886 it was 155. The islanders were by then all Christians; there was a sheep station on the island which employed many of them and communications were with Papeete, where many of the Easter islanders were then living. The records of shipping arrivals and departures in 1884 give no indication of any ship visiting the island from South America: only the Hammonia and Nautilus, which went to French Polynesia with sheep, wool and cattle; and H.M.S. Constance, which was a British warship.

Again, there is no reliable evidence known to me to suggest that any Easter islanders were employed in the Chincha Islands guano industry, but if your friend has found any photos or documentary material which indicates that they

were so employed then I should be most grateful indeed for copies. I know that this was a prevalent idea at the time and that some later writers have accepted the view, but a prolonged search through the Peruvian, French and British archives and contemporary newspapers and journals has failed to produce any evidence whatsoever, and it was apparently not accepted by the Peruvian, French or British Governments or El Comercio. Admittedly two vessels only were licensed to recruit labour for the Chinchas - the Mercedes A. de Wholey and the Barbara Gomez - but one was confiscated and the other sent back by the French authorities at Tahiti without a single islander on board.

I enclose an alphabetical list of the vessels employed in the trade and photocopies of early drafts showing the routes taken by the ships and the numbers recruited at each island. These early drafts have been since amended as the book progressed but are sufficiently accurate to give an idea of routes, islands and numbers. The Tumbes was a coastal vessel which did not engage in recruiting but, with the Peruvian naval steamer Loa, she did carry some islanders from the southern valleys of Pisco and Cañete to Callao for repatriation, so I should very much like a photo of her.

In brief, I should be most grateful for:-

- (1) a photo of the Tumbes;
- (2) any photo showing the Easter islanders, or any other islanders, working in the guano industry;
- (3) any photo showing islanders in Peru;
- (4) any photos of any of the ships which I have listed as being engaged in recruiting;
- (5) any photo, sketch, portrait, copy of a statue, or any other likeness of Edmond de Lesseps, the French Chargé d'Affaires at the time.

The photos of the Chincha Islands guano industry and the port of Callao at the time I already have.

As to payment I can send an airmail Bank Remittance to cover all costs, including postage, either on notification of the amount in advance or on receipt of the copying firm's invoice.

Finally, I am most grateful indeed to both you and your kind friend in Lima for helping me to obtain the illustrations which the publishers so much desire. I can think of no way to repay you two except perhaps to write an article for Hemisphere when the book is off my hands, and to send a copy of the book to your Lima friend should the subject be of any interest to him. If he needs any additional information on the Polynesian labour trade he might care to phone or see Srta Lucila de Valderrama G., head of the Oficina de Bibliografía Nacional y Registro Nacional de Derechos de Autor in

Lima, who obtained many hundreds of documents on it for me from the Peruvian Department of Foreign Affairs and the local newspapers (notably El Comercio, which opposed it almost from the start). At that early stage, however, we were neither of us thinking of illustrations.

With renewed thanks and best wishes,

Yours,

JLM

EnclosureLabour Ships and their Captains

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Registry</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Captain</u>
Adelante	Peru	Barque	151	Grassau
Apurímac	Peru	Brig	189	Grau
Barbara Gomez	Peru	Brig	172	Penny
Bella Margarita	Chile	Brig	286	Henrisen
Carolina	Peru	Barque	150	Morales
La Concepción	Chile	Barque	?	Gervasoni
Cora	Peru	Schooner	88	Aguirre
Dolores Carolina	Peru	Barque	220	Altuna
Eliza Mason	Chile	Barque	176	Sasuategui
Ellen Elizabeth	Chile	Brig	?	Muller
Empresa de Lima	Peru	Frigate	312	Detert
Genara	Peru	Schooner	98	Perry
General Prim	Peru	Barque	203	Olano
Guayas	Peru	Brig	189	Larrazabal
Guillermo	Peru	Brig	178	Campbell
Hermosa Dolores	Peru	Schooner	100	Garay
Honorio	Peru	Barque	173	García y García
Jorge Zahara	Peru	Schooner	171	Davis
José Castro	Peru	Schooner	150	Acebevo
Manuabita Costas	Peru	Schooner	132	García
Margarita	Peru	Brig	198	Ripoil
Mercedes A. de Wholey	Peru	Brig	196	Unibaso
Micaela Miranda	Peru	Brig	156	Carcano
Misti	Peru	Brig	193	Basagoitia
Polinésia	Peru	Barque	220	Garay
Rosalía	Peru	Barque	270	Bollo
Rosa Patricia	Peru	Barque	197	Mota
Rosa y Carmen	Spain	Barque	402	Marutani
Serpiente Marina	Peru	Barque	198	Martínez
Teresa	Peru	Barque	219	Muñoz
Trujillo	Peru	Brig	197	Basagoitia
Urmeneta y Ramos	Peru	Barque	185	?

THE PERUVIAN SLAVERS IN POLYNESIA

Introduction

I - Peruvians in Polynesia

- Chapter 1 - The Peruvian Background
- 2 - Tongareva tryout
- 3 - The Easter Island trinket trade
- 4 - Mangareva and the Tuamotus: follies and failures
- 5 - Brandy for the Marquesans
- 6 - Rapa to the Atolls: the fleet sails west
- 7 - Blackbirding in the Northern Cooks
- 8 - Niue and the Samoan Islands
- 9 - Depopulating the Tokelaus
- 10 - Kidnapping for God in Tuvalu
- 11 - Tonga: the tale of the whaler Grecian
- 12 - Micronesian afterthought: Ellen Elizabeth in the Gilberts
- 13 - Tahiti: anti-slavery headquarters
- 14 - Summary: routes and recruits

II - Polynesians in Peru

- 15 - The Recruiting Fleet
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- 17 - Journey to Peru
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- 19 - Bondage in Peru
- 20 - Political Pressures
- 21 - The French Intervention
- 22 - Peruvian Controls
- 23 - The trade abolished

Epilogue - Repatriation: the final tragedy

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Table 1
Island Routes of the Peruvian Labour Ships

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Left Callao</u>	<u>Route</u>	<u>Ret'd Callao</u>
Adelante (1)	15.6.62	Hivaoa-Nukuhiva-Tongareva	13.9.62
Jorge Zahara	22.9.62	Nukuhiva-Tongareva-Manihiki-Rakahanga-Manihiki-Pukapuka	16.4.63
Manuelita Costas	23.9.62	Hivaoa-Nukuhiva-Manihiki (wrecked on Manihiki 12.11.62)	---
Serpiente Marina	26.9.62	Easter-Mangareva-Papeete (condemned)	---
Trujillo	28.9.62	Tongareva-Manihiki-Rakahanga-Manihiki-Niue	6.1.63
Apurimac	28.9.62	Manihiki (wrecked on Manihiki 12.11.62)	---
Eliza Mason ¹	3.10.62	Hivaoa-Fatuhiva-Easter	26.1.63
Bella Margarita ¹	4.10.62	Easter	24.11.62
Mercedes A. de Wholey	4.10.62	Anaa-Fakarava-Kauehi-(Tahanea)-Katiu-Motu Tunga (captured by French off Makemo and condemned)	---
Barbara Gomez (1)	7.10.62	Papeete (returned to Callao without recruiting)	16.2.63
Adelante (2)	10.10.62	Tongareva-Manihiki-Rakahanga	24.1.63
Teresa	25.10.62	Easter	21.2.63
Genara	(?)	Tongareva	8.3.63
Empress	22.11.62	Nukuhiva-Uapou-Hivaoa-Tahuata-Fatuhiva-Caroline-Huahine-Atiu-Mangaia -Rapa	18.4.63
General Prim (1)	26.11.62	Easter	6.1.63
Cora	29.11.62	Easter-Mangareva-Rapa (captured by Rapans, taken to Papeete and condemned)	---
Carolina (1)	5.12.62	Easter	25.1.63
Guillermo	5.12.62	Easter-Rapa-Mangaia-Atiu-Niue-Nukunonu-Fakaofu-Atafu	9.4.63
Hermosa Dolores	5.12.62	Easter	25.1.63

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Left Callao</u>	<u>Route</u>	<u>Ret'd Callao</u>
Jose Castro	6.12.62	Easter-Rapa-Easter	21.4.63
Rosa Patricia	6.12.62	Easter-Rapa-Mangaia-Atiu-Niue-Apia- Losenga -Fakaofu-Nukunonu-Atafu Olosenga	13.4.63
Rosa y Carmen ²	7.12.62	Easter-Mangareva-Rapa-Rakahanga-Pukapuka-Atafu-Nukunonu-Fakaofu Tutuila-Ta'u-Niue-Sunday-Pitcairn	10.7.63
Micaela Miranda	9.12.62	Easter-Rapa-Manihiki-Rakahanga-Pukapuka-Atafu-Nukunonu-Fakaofu	24.4.63
Rosalía	16.12.62	Easter	3.2.63
Jeoncora	(?)	Easter	9.3.63
Ellen Elizabeth ¹	? 12.62 ³	Tongareva-Onotoa-Nonouti-Tabiteuea-Tamana (?) -Arorae-Rotuma	? 7.63 ⁵
Dolores Carolina	25.1.63	Northern route-Rakahanga-Pukapuka-Nukulaelae-Funafuti-Rotuma	14.8.63
Margarita	26.1.63	(presumed wrecked)	---
Carolina (2)	6.2.63	Easter	1.4.63
La Concepcion ¹	7.2.63 ³	Hivaoo-Tahaa (wrecked on Tahaa ? 6.63)	---
Pollinesia	14.2.63	Northern route-Nukulaelae-Funafuti-Rotuma	16.8.63
Guyas	15.2.63 ⁴	Nukuhiva-Papeete (returned to Guayaquil without recruiting)	? 5.63 ⁶
Misti	26.2.63 ³	Easter-Rapa-Papeete (condemned)	---
Adelante (3)	1.3.63	Northern route-Nukulaelae-Funafuti-Rotuma	16.8.63
Honorio	1.3.63	(Presumed wrecked)	---
General Prim (2)	2.3.63	(Obtained Ata and Niuafo'ou recruits from <u>Grecian</u>)	19.7.63
Barbara Gomez (2)	3.4.63	Easter	11.6.63
Urmeneta y Ramos	(?)	Easter	17.7.63

- 1 Chilean
- 2 Spanish
- 3 Left Valparaiso
- 4 Left Guayaquil
- 5 Arrived Lambayeque
- 6 Arrived Guayaquil

Table 2

Pacific Islanders recruited for work in Peru

<u>Cook Islands:</u>	Tongareva	-	471		
	Rakahanga	-	115		
	Pukapuka	-	145		
	Atiu	-	3		
	Mangaia	-	5	=	739
<u>Niue:</u>				=	109
<u>Samoa:</u>	Upolu	-	3		
	Savai'i	-	4	=	7
<u>Rotuma:</u>				=	3
<u>Tokelau Islands:</u>	Fakaofu	-	140		
	Atafu	-	37		
	Nukunonu	-	76	=	253
<u>Tuvalu:</u>	Nukulaelae	-	250		
	Funafuti	-	171		
	Nukufetau	-	3		
	Nanumea	-	21	=	445
<u>Tonga:</u>	Ata	-	144		
	Niuafo'ou	-	30	=	174
<u>Marquesas Islands:</u>	Uapou	-	19		
	Hivaoa	-	6		
	Tahuata	-	1	=	26
<u>Caroline Island:</u>				=	4
<u>Tuamotu Islands:</u>	Fakarava	-	30		
	Katiu	-	25		
	Motu Tunga	-	54		
	Kauehi	}	42	=	151
	Tahanea				
<u>Easter Island:</u>				=	1,450

<u>Gilbert Islands:</u>	Nonouti	-	25		
	Tabiteuea	-	13		
	Onotoa	-	50		
	Tamana (?)	-	23		
	Arorae	-	50	=	161

<u>Totals:</u>	Polynesians (except Easter Islanders)	=	1,911
	Easter Islanders	=	1,450
	Micronesians	=	161

Total number of Pacific Islanders recruited for Peru = 3,522

.....

Islanders who returned home before reaching Peru¹

(a) Released or escaped before leaving Polynesia:-

<u>Tokelau Islands:</u>	-	6		
<u>Tuvalu:</u>	-	2	=	8

(b) Freed and repatriated before leaving Polynesia:-

<u>Tuamotu Islands:</u>	-	151		
<u>Easter Island:</u>	-	5	=	156

.....

¹ Includes islanders who died en route to their homes after release.



HEMISPHERE AN ASIAN-AUSTRALIAN MAGAZINE

P.O. Box 826, Woden,
A.C.T. 2606 Australia
Telephone 897406

in your reply please quote

80/82

15 MAY 1980

Professor H E Maude
77 Arthur Circle
FORREST ACT 2603

Dear Professor Maude

I have had the following note from a friend in Lima who has been researching the blackbirders. It is more encouraging than I thought. Having tried to get you when you were presumably out of Canberra intelligently escaping from the first onslaught of winter, I am sending this in the hope that you can find a moment to phone when you get back. The office number is 89 7406.

Herewith the message:

As I mentioned in my letter of 24 April the only references to Peruvian black-birding in the Pacific I have been able to locate relate to Easter Island in 1884. I have located a number of photographs relating to this activity including a number of views of the guano industry in which Easter Islanders were employed, a view of the port of Callao at the time and a photo of the vessel 'Tumbes' which brought Easter Islanders to Peru, ship's captain, etc. Negatives of these can be obtained at a cost of about \$2 each.

Professor Maude's book may well have information of Peruvian activity elsewhere in the Pacific of which I am unaware. In this case would appreciate some direction.

With kindest regards to Mrs Maude and yourself,

Yours sincerely



RUSSELL HENDERSON
Editor

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
7th March, 1980.

Mr Kenneth R. Henderson,
Editor, Hemisphere,
Box 826, WODEN,
A.C.T.2606.

Dear Ken,

No sooner did I phone you than the mail arrived with two copies of Hemisphere, for which I thank you. It is certainly a beautifully produced periodical; probably the best in Australia. I enclose a cheque for my subscription.

You had me ringing all over Canberra trying to find out about the alleged symposium on Pacific history, or on the history of Polynesia, to which all Pacific historians (except myself) had contributed.

No one had ever heard of it but we eventually came to the conclusion that you were referring to a work on Pacific prehistoric archaeology, which Jennings had edited and which I had read: but the book is not on Pacific or Polynesian history and no Pacific historian has contributed an article in it.

I shall keep in mind writing something for Hemisphere on the Peruvian slave trade but my first priority must be to interest the potential buyers of works on Pacific history by an article or two in one or more of the regional historical journals, of which we now have eight. When I started in the game there was only one, in which my first article appeared just 50 years ago.

Yours,

SLM.



75-2524

AUSTRALIAN EMBASSY

LIMA

26 June 1980

Ref. 80/82/2277

Mr Kenneth Henderson,
Editor,
'Hemisphere'
P.O. Box 826,
WODEN ACT 2606

Ken Henderson

After a lot of investigation I think we have now accumulated some information about Peruvian activities in Polynesia and Easter Island which should be of interest to Professor Maude.

1. The Traffic of Coolies in Macao, from 'La Servidumbre China en el Perú', (Una Historia de los Coolies Chinos en el Perú 1849-1874) (Chinese Servitude in Perú, a History of Chinese Coolies in Perú 1849 - 1874); Stewart, Watt; Mosca Azul Editores, Lima 1976.
2. Introducción al Estudio del Trabajador Coolie Chino en el Perú del Siglo XIX (Introduction to the Study of the Chinese Coolie Worker in Perú of XIX Century); Derpich Gallo, Wilma; Lima, Perú 1976 (Thesis).
3. The Exploitation in the Guano Islands, Derpich Gallo, Wilma; Srticle
4. Socio-Economic Notes of Chinese Immigration in Perú (1848-1874); Fernandez M., Ernesto and Granda A., German; Centro de Investigaciones de la Universidad del Pacífico (Research Centre of the Pacific University), Lima.
5. Translation of a letter from the Captain of Port of Paita to the Minister for the Navy informing him of the arrival of the ship Tumbes.
6. Photographs;
Ship "Tumbes"
Said to be of "Islanders" working in Guano Industry
(no authentication).

I have the following comments on these -

First of all they were obtained from Instituto de Estudios Historico-Maritimos (Instituto of Historic-Maritime Studies), except Attachment No. 5 which was obtained from the Navy Museum

I have been through the documents (which regrettably we do not have the time to translate) and although the majority of the material relates to Chinese Coolies there are several references of interest relating to Polynesia and Easter Island. For instance in Attachment No. 1 (as marked) there is an interesting reference to the decision to start recruiting workers from the Islands and in the first place from Hawaii.

Attachment No.2, the Thesis by Miss Wilma Derpich Gallo, the marked reference in translation reads: "The system for recruiting locally had different modalities. Some times the procedure was the following: the ship arrived at a big island like Easter which functioned as 'deposito', (store). From there excursions were prepared to small islands looking for locals to complete the number calculated in relation to the tonnage. This was the case of the ships Carolina, Rosa Carmen, Castro, Cora, and Buillermo, arriving on the 22nd of December at Easter Island from which they went out in excursions to the surrounding areas."

I realize, of course, that much of this information may already be known to Professor Maude but it seems to me that the reference to Easter Island as a 'deposito' meaning an assembly point in this sense might be a new one. Also, in this thesis in the latter part which lists names and other details of ships engaged in the trade, there is a reference to a ship, the Elisa Mason, which arrived in 1863 from Easter Island with what I interpret to be 238 natives (some of whom may or may not have been Easter islanders). The footnote is also interesting in that it explains that the 15 men 'de dotacion' (crew) were, in fact, kidnappers.

Attachment No. 3 is an article written by Wilma Derpich almost exclusively about the Chinese coolies but in which there is interesting information about the methods used for extracting guano and the conditions under which they worked.

Attachment No. 4 has a reference marked which translates as follows - 'On 12 December 1862 a fleet of small Peruvian ships anchored in front of Hanga Roa, main settlement of Easter Island. There are two versions of the disaster that happened, but the result was that the sailors disembarked, shot over the multitude that had gathered on the beach to see the novelty and apprehended about 900 or 1000 natives, among which was King Kamakoi and his son Maurata. The prisoners were tied like animals and taken on board. Brought to Perú, they were sold to the Guano companies'.

To my mind this most interesting point is the reference to the fact that those taken at Easter Island were

'sold to the Guano companies' which seems to support the contention that at least for a while Easter Islanders did work in the Guano industry. You will recall that this was a point which has apparently been under dispute for some time.

Attachment No. 5 of this letter relates to the Tumbes and according to the information we were given, reported the rescue of a number of survivors of polynesians from the ship Adelante who had been infected with smallpox.

Attachment No. 6 includes photographs of the ship Tumbes and a photograph of a number of workers on one of the Guano Islands who are said to be 'islanders'. We have no authentication of this.

The only cost involved in collecting this information was the cost of the photographs. This is not enough to worry about, perhaps it could be considered my contribution towards the digging up of a little more Pacific history! I would like an opportunity to buy a copy of Professor Maude's book when it comes out and perhaps he might autograph it for me!

Unfortunately, we have not had any luck in finding a photograph or any other representation of the French Chargé, Edmund de Lesseps.

I am afraid I did not have time to contact Lucila de Valle. It may be of interest to Professor Maude, however, to know that the contact we used was Instituto de Estudios Historico-Maritimos del Perú, 748 Perez Aranibar, Lima 11, Perú; Miss Esperanza Navarro, Librarian who has offered to help in locating other information should Professor Maude care to write to her.

We shall be leaving Perú in September and should be back in Canberra (after some leave in Hawai) in November. Look forward to seeing you.

Jean sends her love

Jean

Alan

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
15th June, 1980.

Dear Pat,

I think that I have done everything that the Stanford University Press reader and you suggested and I have come to the conclusion that the result does, in fact, make the narrative easier reading as a story since it seems to flow on in a logical sequence from beginning to end.

In detail I have:

- (1) Inserted paragraphs on pp.2 and 4 of the Introduction to highlight the bizarre nature of the secondary documentary sources and the contemporary island myths, as suggested in the reader's para.1 on 'General Impressions'.
- (2) Deleted the Appendixes in toto, incorporating such points in them that were not repetitious and seemed sufficiently important either in the text or the notes.
- (3) Placed the Tables together at the end of the final chapter, as you recommended. The original sequence seems logical and has the advantage of preserving the existing references to table numbers in the text or notes.
- (4) Incorporated Appendix 4 in the text with a revised introductory paragraph or two.

As far as the length of the book is concerned the resulting changes appear to have reduced it from 342 pages to 299 pages, and I really believe that I have met everybody's wishes to the best of my ability. Everything incorporated or amended has been triple checked by Honor and me.

I am most grateful to you for suggesting the removal of Appendix 4 to follow Chapter 21, for this is just where it really seems to belong in the story and just about where the reader should be wondering what on earth was happening back on the home front.

I tried to amalgamate the Appendix with the final chapter but they are on two different subjects and war with each other, so in the end I adopted the first of the two alternatives suggested at the bottom of page 1 of your pencilled notes.

The final chapter, which I have called 'After the Storm' rather than 'Epilogue' really does seem to be happy by itself, bringing the whole story up to today; and I must admit that as a reader I like short and easily read final chapters since they leave me with the self-satisfied feeling that I have mastered the whole work satisfactorily.

I have checked through the three pages of your pencilled notes, which are being returned with the manuscript, and I think that all are satisfactorily fixed up in the text (which has been amended as necessary) except for the note on 'Plate captions' at the top of your p.3, which

I can't quite understand. Probably it is something which you intend to fix yourself?

If I am not mistaken the pages which I had to retype, in whole or in part, are: xv, xvi, 2, 4, 5, 6, 17, 18, 19, 42, 47, 48, 49, 60, 62, 64, 93, 133, 146, 180, 186, 194, 206, 207, 210, 214, 215, 234, 240, 241, 242, 246, 247, 249, 250, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 262, 263, 264, 266, 271, 275, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 286. From 246 on they concern notes and not the main text. I found it necessary to place the gist of Appendix 5 in 3 notes as these concern points on which the scholarly reader will not be prepared to accept my word but will want to be able to check my reasoning.

A few minor insertions and corrections have been made on pages other than the above, but they have been carefully checked by both Honor and myself and I do not consider that they are likely to contain any errors now that I am familiar with the house rules. Where any points required your ruling I have put a pencilled cross in the margin, e.g. on pp. 70, 73 and 197, and Tables 1, 7b and 9a, b, and c; they mostly concern how one should refer to notes when the previous references were to Appendixes which the notes replace. All your own pencilled notes in the margins have been acted upon and I trust satisfactorily fixed up.

Once again very many thanks for the trouble which you have taken to get this manuscript into orbit. If anything is still wrong or not clear please phone and I shall esteem it a pleasure to wait on your doorstep at any time convenient. I'll bet that the in the history of the A.N.U. Press no MS has ever caused so much botheration.

Yours,

PS. I forgot to mention that when you have fixed up everything to your liking I feel that it is important for me to take the whole boiling to Rank-Xerox and get them to make a copy of it as is (or more than one if the Press wants any). As it is I have no copy at all, nor has anyone else, and it would take me many months of work to reconstruct one, even if such a thing were possible.

P.S. My love to Honor Pease.



29 November

Dear Harry,

You must be wondering if I've gone out of my mind. I'm so sorry to have kept you typescript for so long, but after having whipped through it, I wanted to do a more careful reading, and that's where the business came unstuck. Almost as soon as we arrived back we had a flock of visitors, which hadn't ended when the

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
17th March, 1988.

Dear Marney,

My conscience pricks me by reminding in the depths of the night that I have never thanked you for your kindness in sending me those Spanish accents, or are they called stress marks. Anyway they came in right on time for I was just starting to work on them.

I appreciate your help all the more because I know what your day must be like, having been a house guest and supernumerary ADC at Government House, Suva, for an odd half year. What with VIPs coming and going all the time, lunch parties and almost daily dinner parties life for a congenital loner like myself was not exactly roses. You must, in short, be busy; but it is ever the busiest who find the time for more.

The book has been substantially changed since you saw it for I have taken out the middle chapters and converted them into appendixes and now the narrative text reads straight through without what Pat Croft and Oskar felt was a disconcerting hiatus. I could see that something was wrong myself but had not the experience to know what it was.

But I have resisted tentative suggestions that I should cut the detail in the island half on the grounds that European readers are not interested in what happened in such obscure places as Manihiki and Nukunonu, Rakahanga or Pukapuka. They are, I fear, correct but after all I wrote the thing for the Polynesian peoples and though it will presumably not sell in Europe or America the University of the South Pacific has ordered 500 copies in advance.

We have collected about 50 prints of people, scenes and events mentioned in the narrative but whether we can get away with as many is still a moot point. It will lighten things up but add to costs. The Peruvian Government have permitted me to include portraits of Ribeyro and Paz Soldan, the two Ministers of Foreign Affairs at the time, and have asked to be informed when the book comes out so that they can buy it. I have a foreboding and may forget.

Everyone is getting ready for the May meeting of Pacific historians at Martindale Hall in the Clare Valley, where for two days they are to discuss whether island-oriented history is a gesture or reality; the use of social theory in Pacific history; and the desirability of thesis writing.

I was to have gone but Martindale Hall is apparently the farm where 'Picnic at Hanging Rock' was filmed and we are all to sleep in flea bags on the floor in a motley medley. I am a bit too long in the tooth now to enjoy bedding down between Bronwyn and Deryck Scarr and felt that to stay in solitary comfort at the Clare Motel might be considered as invidious.

So we leave for Fiji instead to help in the new 'History of Tuvalu' which the Tuvaluans are to write -~~the~~ the success of the Independence book Kiribati: Aspects of History has stimulated several of the other mini-states to do likewise.

By now you must be happily settled in your sumptuous legation compound in the heart of the Celestial City so I shall cease these ramblings.

Yours ever,

Scarr

AMBASSADE DE FRANCE
EN AUSTRALIE

6 Darwin Avenue,
Yarralumla, A.C.T. 2600
Tel.: 73 1525

LE CONSEILLER CULTUREL & SCIENTIFIQUE

Canberra, 4th February 1980

Please address all correspondence to the
Cultural & Scientific Counsellor

CM/OI

Mrs MAUDE
77 Arthur Circle
FORREST 2603

Dear Mrs Maude,

As I intimated in our telephone conversation,
I have been unable to find photographs of the two French
personalities despite thorough research .

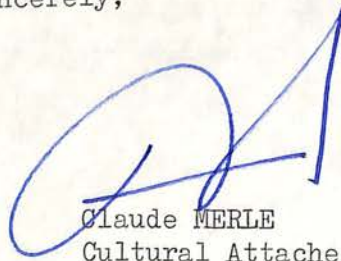
May I suggest that you write to the:

Bibliothèque Nationale
Service photographique
58, rue de Richelieu
75002 PARIS

or

Archives Nationales
Hotel de Soubise
60 rue des Francs Bourgeois
75003 PARIS

Yours sincerely,



Claude MERLE
Cultural Attache

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,
10th February, 1980.

The Secretary,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Private Bag,
WELLINGTON, New Zealand.

Dear Sir,

I have completed a definitive book on the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, which is now being edited for publication by the Australian National University Press.

The publishers have asked me to procure illustrations of one or more of the Northern Cook Islands (Tongareva, Manihiki, Rakahanga, and Pukapuka) and Tokelau Islands (Fakaofu, Atafu and Nukunonu), preferably taken from the air.

Library search has failed to produce a suitable picture and on enquiry at the New Zealand High Commission in Canberra I have been advised to write to you direct, as it is considered that a number of photographs must almost certainly exist in the section of your Ministry concerned with island affairs.

I should be most grateful indeed if you would be so kind as to send me a print of any photographs available, and in return I should be glad to defray all costs involved, including any reproduction fees, and to make due acknowledgements in the text.

These atolls are of particular importance in the story of the slave raids, as will be seen from the following excerpt from my table of numbers taken:

<u>Island</u>	<u>Est. pop.</u> <u>1862</u>	<u>Numbers</u> <u>taken</u>	<u>Numbers</u> <u>left</u>	<u>Percentage</u> <u>loss</u>
Tongareva	700	467	233	66.71
Nukunonu	140	76	64	54.29
Fakaofu	261	139	122	53.26
Rakahanga	340	115	255	33.82
Atafu	140	37	103	26.43
Pukapuka	600	144	456	24.00

Contrary to present-day belief, nobody was taken from Manihiki.

Yours sincerely,


H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
29th January, 1980.

M. Paul Moortgat,
Président, Société des Etudes Océaniques,
Boîte 110, PAPEETE, Tahiti.

Dear M. Moortgat,

I have recently completed a book on the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864, the two heroes of the work being, without doubt, M. Edmund de Lesseps, Charge d'Affaires and Consul-General of France at Lima and M. Louis Eugene Gaultier de la Richerie, Commandant of the French Establishments in Oceania and Imperial Commissioner for the Society Islands.

My publishers, the Australian National University Press, are most anxious to reproduce portraits of both these distinguished officers of the French public service and while I do not suppose that there is a portrait of M. de Lesseps in Papeete I am hoping that there may be one of M. de la Richerie.

If there is one I should be most grateful if you would be so kind as to send me a photocopy, for which I should of course be glad to pay all costs involved.

I should not be so presumptuous as to worry you were it not that I have been a Life Member of the Société des Etudes Océaniques for many years and have never made a request of any kind before.

With apologies for my impertunity,

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
29th January, 1980.

Mr Ian Pearce,
Senior Archivist,
Archives Office of Tasmania,
91 Murray Street,
HOBART, Tasmania 7000.

Dear Mr Pearce,

In your letter of 17 August 1977, File 78/115 WKT/JF, you kindly enclosed particulars of the Tasmanian whaler Grecian. This enabled the completion of my book on the Peruvian slave trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864, which has now been accepted for early publication by the Australian National University Press.

The work includes a chapter on the whaler's connexion with the trade and my publishers are anxious to obtain an illustration of the Grecian for reproduction, with due acknowledgement of its source.

I should be most grateful if you could possibly send me a picture of the Grecian for publication, or alternatively let me know where I could obtain one, for which I should of course be glad to pay all costs involved.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

DR. Nigel Davies

gelati' 80

México 18, D. F.

Tel. 277-46-30

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,
19th January, 1980.

Dr Nigel Davies,
Gelati 80,
Mexico 18, D.F.

Dear Dr Davies,

I have a small black and white photograph of a painting by Sir Henry Martin of H.M.S. Grampus of the town of Papeete, with Moorea in the background.

Cynthia Timberlake of the Bishop Museum Library tells me that you probably possess the original of this item, which I should like to reproduce (about the size of the small photo) as one of the illustrations to a book on the Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia during the mid-19th century.

If you do own the original painting I am naturally anxious to obtain your formal permission for its reproduction and to make the customary acknowledgement in the list of credits.

I do hope that Martin's inimitable journal, with his many lovely illustrations, will be published some day for the benefit of the many readers who love Pacific literature. It is one of the best works I have read on the early French period in Tahiti.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,
19th January, 1980.

Madame M. Pouliquen,
Section Outre-Mer,
Direction des Archives Nationales,
27 Rue Dudinot,
PARIS VIIe, France.

Dear Madame Pouliquen,

In your letter OM/A - 333 of the 1st March 1978 you notified me that you had kindly arranged for the Service International de Microfilms to photocopy for me the material in your archives relating to the Peruvian labour trade in Oceania during the 1860s.

This work was duly completed by SIM and thanks to your kindness I was able to finish my definitive book on this subject.

The two heroes of my book, who were mainly instrumental in the suppression of this infamous trade, turn out to be M. Edmund P. de Lesséps, Charge d'Affaires and Consul-General of France at Lima, and M. E.G. de la Richerie, Commandant of the French Establishments in Oceania and Imperial Commissioner for the Society Islands.

As I do not know to whom I should turn to in France I am writing to ask if you could once again be so kind as to help me by passing this letter to someone - perhaps an individual research worker or a firm - who could locate and have copied for me a portrait of each of these distinguished officers of the French public service, in return of course for all expenses incurred and an appropriate fee for the time and trouble involved. It may be that such portraits exist in your own archives or in some book such as a biographical dictionary, in a contemporary newspaper or journal or with their descendants.

The final text of my book on the Peruvian labour trade in Oceania, in two Parts - Peruvians in Polynesia, and Polynesians in Peru - with 22 chapters and 6 appendixes, has been accepted for publication by the Australian National University Press on the advice of their historical reader and lacks now only some of the illustrations.

If you could help me I should once again be greatly in your debt.

Yours sincerely,


H.E. Maude.

MINISTÈRE
DES
AFFAIRES CULTURELLES

DIRECTION
DES ARCHIVES NATIONALES

SECTION OUTRE-MER

OM/A - 333

PARIS, LE 1er Mars 1978
27, RUE OUDINOT (VII^E)
TÉL. : 734.25.00

Monsieur H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle, Forrest
A.C.T. 2063, AUSTRALIA

Monsieur,

Par lettre du 17 février 1978 vous avez bien voulu me demander la reproduction par microfilm d'un dossier relatif au recrutement de manoeuvres effectué par les Péruviens en Océanie. En effet ce dossier est conservé à la section Outre-Mer sous la cote Océanie B.18 carton 42. Il couvre la période 1862-1868. Comme il est assez important nous avons demandé à la maison SIM :

- 9, rue du Cdt Rivière - 75008 PARIS

de se mettre en rapport avec vous et de vous faire parvenir un devis. Vous voudrez bien lui adresser le paiement, le travail vous sera alors adressé directement.

Je vous prie de bien vouloir recevoir, Monsieur, l'expression de ma considération distinguée.

Pour le Conservateur en Chef
Chargé de la section Outre-Mer



M. Pouliquen
(Mme) M. POULIQUEN

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
17th February, 1978.

The Director,
Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer,
27 rue Oudinot, PARIS 7, France.

Dear Sir,

I am engaged in completing a detailed book on the Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1865, for publication by the Australian National University Press and have been informed by Mr Robert Langdon, who recently visited Paris on behalf of our Department of Pacific History, that there is correspondence on this subject in your archives under:-

B 18 - 1662-68

I do not know if Mr Langdon has copied the reference numbers correctly but in any case I am sure that you will be able to locate the material on the Peruvian Labour Trade without difficulty, and I should be most grateful if it could be microfilmed for me and for subsequent deposit in the Records Room of the Department of Pacific History in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the Australian National University.

An airmail remittance in payment will be forwarded immediately I know how much I owe you for the above photocopying.

I should explain that I have finished the first draft of my book and have rightly given the credit for the abolition of the Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia to M. Edmund de Lesseps, the French Charge d'affaires at Lima, supported as he was by the French Government in Paris. M. de Lesseps appears to me to have been almost the only person to have opposed what was in fact a slave trade and to have done his utmost to alleviate the lot of the unfortunate Polynesians; the debt which Polynesia owes to him is indeed very great.

My evidence, however, is mainly based on the Peruvian Government and British diplomatic and naval correspondence and would be strengthened if I was also able to quote from the French sources as well; at present I have only the excellent report of M. Eucher Henry and a few despatches from the French Legation at Lima and the Governor at Tahiti.

Yours faithfully,



(Professor) H.E. Maude.

Archives Nationales de France

Fonds Océanique caserne avec Archives de la France

d'Outre-mer, dépôt

27, rue Odinet Paris

ODINOT.

B, 18 - 1662-68

Re Pennac' Sloc Truffe

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
1st May, 1980.

Dear Pat,

Just a codicil lest you were exercised about the only illustrations concerning which any questions of copyright might arise, i.e. nos 5, 6 and 17.

The National Library, who refuse to reproduce any illustration where they consider copyright might exist, had no worry about 5 or 6 since 5 was clearly stated to date from 1849 and 6 was a photo taken in 1872 (and has been used elsewhere).

In any case I have told Father O'Reilly, who is one of my oldest friends, that I have used these and I added that if he would like a reproduction fee for one of his church charities I'd send him a remittance. He is keenly interested in the publication of Slavers in Paradise and has been helpful with documentation and there will be no trouble.

As regards 17 Ernest Beaglehole is long dead and the ephemeral press who published the book has also folded its tents and passed into oblivion. Ernest's wife Pearl is non compos mentis, according to Raymond Firth, and quite incapable of managing any affairs (she is, I gather, in a home). In any case Ernest pinched one of my photographs for the cover of his book on Bangai: a village in Tonga, without even bothering to ask me. I'll guarantee that there will be no trouble there either and will take full responsibility.

In the case of 44 and 45 I have written permission and the NL have a copy of it. Any others under 50 years old were sent to me specifically for publication and where there is a fee payable (usually \$20 or \$30) I am paying it as well as all the photographic charges.

The illustrations have been shown in a private exhibition for those interested in the book to view; and they made a superb showing, the general opinion being that they made the book come alive. One dear soul remarked that no one need now read the text.

Yours,

John

25/6/79

H E MAUDE

Slavers in Paradise

PART 1

Xp 9 must formai

Xp 27 nearby(?)

Xp 42 #

Xp 43 for migrator² read migration²

Xp 45 for cognizance read cognizance (?)

Xp 51

Xp 64 for libery read liberty.

Xp 85 Ta'ū

Xp 94 #

Xp 94

Xp 94 (called Oli by Maka)

Xp 140 for midnapping read kidnapping

X for belered read believed

PART 2

- ✓ p161 basic knives? lowichines is right.
 ✓ p179 for tau read Ta'u
 ✓ p181 etc? eat is right.
 ✓ p182 for saw read soy.
 ✓ p191 write for them?
 ✓ p213 'house' (ic on quotes) house is right.
 ✓ p226 for comodious read commodious. Yes
 ✓ p241 for shp reren read ship ferer. commodious
 ✓ p245 landed.
 ✓ p258 for her read them.
 ✓ p265 for where read where
 ✓ p276 #
 ✓ p282 gardener
 ✓ #
 ✓ p284 #
 ✓ p319 care
 ✓ p327 #

APPENDIX 2

X

p 328

for reported read reported.

Bibliography

X

p 331

for Reminiscences read Reminiscences.

X

p 336

the

✓

p 337

#

21

25/4/79

Notes on the Reader's Report

- (1) No difficulty is foreseen in extracting the essential and non-repetitive sentences from Appendix 2 (on collaborators) and 3 (on ships and personnel) and incorporating them in the ^{main} ~~main~~ text. These are for the most part sentences which were removed from the text in the second draft as being more effective in the appendixes (which summarize various points). Their return would not add much to the main narrative.
- (2) The procedure is a bit more difficult in the case of Appendix 1 because if Tables 7 and 8 are to be inserted in the text, or at the end, they must (particularly Table 8) be accompanied by some explanatory remarks on how they have been prepared and what they show. But it can be done.
- (3) After careful consideration I now agree that Appendix 4 would make an ideal epilogue. I can find a new title for Chapter 22 and then all that is needed is the cutting out of the first two paras, a few changes in the rest of the new chapter and perhaps a better end (as its the end of the book).
- (4) The material on Appendix 5, on statistical justifications for figures quoted in the chapters on Easter Island, Niue and Nukulaelae, is too important and controversial to omit entirely but the gist of it could be added, in abbreviated form, to the appropriate endnotes, i.e. where the figures appear in the chapters (this is where they were once).
- (5) I feel that it would be best to leave (or in the case of Tables 7 and 8 to put) the Tables where they are most effective and useful to the readers, and not to bundle them all at the end as the Reader suggests.
- (6) None of the Reader's other suggestions need occasion any difficulty, and I would anticipate that with your help the final text would be typed and ready within say a month of my return from the Conference of Pacific Historians, i.e. all should be over before the end of June at the latest.
- (7) I suggest that in making changes we should keep in mind that the Reader is, unless I am very mistaken, essentially an anthropologist and not a historian, and that some of his recommendations would never be made by a Pacific, or indeed any, historian. This is in no sense meant to be a criticism of what he has written, which is very heartening and constructive, as one would expect from one who knows Pacific studies, and the islands, extremely well.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
29th April, 1980.

Dear Pat,

I really think that the manuscript is ready at last in its final form. Five pages only seemed to require retyping - 305, 318, 333, 341 and 342 - and I attach the originals of these in case you want to check them. In addition I have typed a new title page and half-title page, the only change being 'labour' for 'slave' in the sub-title; and also a tentative page listing other books by me has been inserted as p.ii.

The maps and illustrations are all to hand and have been checked; they are attached in two separate envelopes. The cartographer Pam Millwood said that the captions to the maps would be copied by the printer from the titles set out in the list of maps on p.x and that he would also copy the printed key to the endpaper map and put it underneath the map as has been done in red ink on the sheet marked 'Page sample'. As you will see there are two corrections inserted in pencil: '(Route Numbers)' inserted in Note 2 and an 'i' in Note 3. Additional notes on the maps, in part duplicating the above comments, are attached as Enclosure 1.

I have inserted the list of illustrations (or Plates if that is your preferred term) at page ix and attach notes on the illustrations and a list of suggested captions as Enclosure 2. The same captions are also typed on the back of each illustration.

The only point at issue that I know of is that everyone (including Oskar Spate) seems to doubt that a lower case 'd' in sentences commencing 'de la Richerie' or 'de Lesseps' is correct French practice except in indexes. Would it help if I sought an authoritative pronouncement from the French cultural attache, the man in charge at the Alliance Francaise or the A.N.U. Department of French?

I do hope that all is well now and thank you for your kindness and forbearance. We leave on the 6th May for the Clare Valley Conference of Pacific Historians and then for Adelaide, and in June hope to go to Fiji to help the Tuvalu people with their history.

Yours,

John

80/82

14 MAR 1982

His Excellency the Australian Ambassador
Australian Embassy
LIMA
PERU

Dear Alan,

A poor return for your hospitality eighteen months ago, worsened by the fact that you did not allow me to shout you a meal when you were over here, briefly, I suppose, and laden with work, but then people do eat.

Anyway, this is a crawl. I was wondering whether or not there might be someone in the Embassy who was interested in Peruvian history, or who might be able to ring up the museum or library. I am hoping against hope that Professor Harry Maude will write us a kind of preliminary article to a book he is readying for the published on the Peruvian slave trade in the Pacific, for which illustrations are going to be very hard to come by. Colour or black and white photographs of maps, vessels or old engravings would be fine. I can't imagine any really good source here in Australia, but will try the Peabody in Salem, which can be most helpful with maritime material.

Please give my best love to Jean. I hope that her health is better, and there have been no more parties upstairs that should have been downstairs.

Hope you're still enjoying life, and that news of the boys is good.

With my very best to both of you,

Yours,

Russell Henderson
Editor

c.c. Professor H. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
FORREST ACT 2603

Russell Henderson

16/3/82

Enclosure

Maude - Slavers in Paradise

Final Amendments

- | <u>Page</u> | | |
|-------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| ✓x | 47 | An atoll church service. |
| ✓ | 48 | Renumber 47. |
| ✓4/-1 | ... | at fifty-one islands. |
| ✓5/3-6 | On only one voyage is the route completely unknown - that of the brig <u>Margarita</u> - and it appears possible that she was captured by Tongans. | X |
| ✓5/14 | ... | the thirty-four islands |
| ✓15/-10-11 | Delete 'belonging to the reputable firm of Ugarte and Sant a ago,'. | |
| ✓17/-6 | Delete 'of the voyage'. | |
| ✓39/1-3 | Delete 'but although both ... the latter went.'. | ✓ |
| ✓77/10 | ... <u>Polinesia</u> and <u>Honorio</u> ^{so the three} on their way ... | ✓ |
| ✓80/9 | Delete 'called Tanaka'. | ✓ |
| ✓81/-5 | ... <u>Polinesia</u> and <u>Honorio</u> ^{so the three} on their way | ✓ |
| ✓84/11 | ... <u>Polinesia</u> and <u>Honorio</u> ; but it is | ✓ |
| ✓84/13 | According to Bird | ✓ |
| ✓84/-8 | Change 'later in the year' to 'In 1868'. | ✓ |
| ✓84/-5 | It seems that the Father found that the population was now 80. ²⁰ (Delete remainder of sentence). | X |
| ✓88/8 | ... you and the chiefs.'. | ✓ |
| ✓(91/15) | One of them, the 198-ton brigantine <u>Margarita</u> , left Callao on 26 January and seems to have vanished without trace; she is thought to have been scuttled by the people of 'Uiha in Tonga (see Chapter 11), though she may have been lost at sea or left her bones 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. | ✓ |

- ✓(92/3-4) ... on 14 February, and the Honorio, which left on 1 March, both evidently also by the northern route. ✓
- ✓(92/5) 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 ✓
- ✓(92/20) On arrival at ^{their} ~~her~~ 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). ✓
- ✓ 95/5 Delete remainder of para. after '... the Peruvian ships.'. ✓
- ✓ 95/8-9 It appears that one ship, with Rose now on board, ... ✓
- ✓(97/5) Add at end of para. 1: '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)'. ✓
- ✓(97/14-19) ... 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 ✓
- ✓ 98/7 ... barques visited Nukufetau, there is little doubt that they all ✓
- ✓(99/3-6) ... 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,
- ✓(99/19-20) Delete 'and Honorio' and 'and 1 March'. ✓
- ✓ 100~~1~~1-3 ... for Rotuma to provision. (Delete remainder of para.). ✓
- ✓ 100/18 Change '447' to '427'. ✓

(101/18)

... 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.

✓ 106/-1-2

Delete 'or the Honorio' and 'and 1 March 1863 respectively'.

✓ (109/2)

Change 'Adelante' to 'Honorio'.

(109/11)

After '... to get her easting' add four new paras: 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 Southern Gilberts, 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 recruit 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 island mission records south of Tabiteuea did not commence until 1870.

As in the case of the

- ✓(109/-1-2) Thus the 312 recruits taken by two ships became
- ✓118/18 Change 'escape' to 'avoid'.
- ✓119/9 ... Government Resident in the Marquesas,
- ✓139/6 ... Samoan and Tokelau.
- ✓141/3 If a few succeeded
- ✓193/5 ... from nine islands; a week later
- 193/6~~4~~ ✓ ... 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
- ✓194/12 Change '360' to '470'.
- ✓194/14 ... dysentery as well, so the total number on board at any one time would never have reached that figure.
- ✓196/10 Change 'forty-two' to '162' and '360' to '470'.
- ✓197/11-12 Change '329' to '439' and '360' to '470'.
- ✓198/10-11 Delete 'all from the Tuvalu Group'.
- (201/1-5) ✓ *Pewran* ... of Polynesians were abandoned by the captain but thirty-eight were eventually rescued by the 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.²⁰ It is said that the captain of the Adelante committed suicide.
- ✓(201/10-11) Delete 'as the Group lay farther afield than any of the other' recruiting 'areas'.
- ✓203/1 Change '899' to '1009'.
- ✓203/3 Change '3015' to '3125'; '1106' to '1216'; and '37 per cent' to '39 per cent'.

- ✓ 203/6 Delete 'and never came to Callao'.
- ✓ 203/7 Change '2887' to '2846'.
- ✓ 208/-6 Change 'forty' to 'thirty-eight'.
- ✓ 213/4 ... as was once endemic in the Tokelaus
- ✓ 215/1-2 ... now called by the missionary Pratt 'the notorious Maka' - was
- ✓ 215/2 Change 'returned to Samoa' to 'replaced'.
- ✓ 215/6 ... shortly after his return from Samoa in 1868¹⁰.
- ✓ 216/88 Insert marker for Pl.47 between paras.
- ✓ 227/8 Change '2968' to '3078'.
- ✓ 227/9 Change '899' to '1009'.
- ✓ 230/3 Change '47' to '48'.
- ✓ 231/-1 Add 'Urrubarrencon'.
- ✓ 233/-2 Adelante (3) 1 Mar. 63 Nanumea-Beru 16 Aug. 63
174.
- ✓ 233/-1 Honorio 1 Mar. 63 Northern Route - Nukulaelae -
Funafuti - Rotuma 27 July 63 110.
- ✓ (236/3) Beru 151.
- ✓ (236/6) Change 161 to 312.
- ✓ (236/9) Change 161 to 312.
- ✓ (236/10) Change 3483 to 3634.
- ✓ (237/18) Honorio - 110.
- ✓ (237/29) Total 2116 1009.
- ✓ (238/2) 1009.
- ✓ (238/3) 1216.
- ✓ (238/14) Removed from Honorio 110 470.
- ✓ (238/15) Died before ship sailed 152.
- ✓ (238/16) 446.

- ✓ (238/19) 470.
- ✓ (238/26) 391 551.
- ✓ (238/27-28) 38.
- ✓ (238/-3) 1030.
- ✓ (238/-2) 38.
- ✓ (238/-1) 1216.
- ✓ 239/1-13 3634; 164; 3470; 345; 3125; 2116; 1009; 3125; 345; 1840; 1030; 3215.
- ✓ 239/21 6165.
- ✓ 242/22 Gilbert Islands No evidence 151.
- ✓ 242/23 Totals No evidence 434.
- ✓ 261/n.20 Macgregor 1937:32-4; Judith Huntsman, pers. comm., 1980; Murray
- ✓ 259/n.2 Delete 'Hula and'.
- ✓ 262/n.1 Derpich Gallo 1976:79; Murray 1976:375-80;....
- ✓ 265/n.20 Derpich Gallo 1976:80; Empire 9 July 63:5.
- ✓ 265/n.21 Delete 'and the possibility that the Margarita was at Rotuma recruited in that Group'.
- ✓ (266/n.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 Delete note from 'Colonial Office 1966:75.' onwards.
- ✓ 270/n.8 Anti-Slavery Reporter Dec.63:277;
- ✓ 273/n.22 For recent citings of the story as being factual see Percival 1967:31 and Derpich Gallo 1976:69.
- ✓ (276/n.28) ... Parnaby 1964:13, and for British action see Anti-Slavery Reporter Jan. 1864:22-3. In fairness to Jertingham
- ✓ (278/n.22) Add: 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.

- ✓ 281/n.20 ... Piura 12 Dec. 63, MFA; Harbour Master, Paita, to Minister for the Navy 15 Dec. 63, Instituto de Estudios Historico-Maritimos; Aborigines Friend and
- ✓ 285/n.12 ... Bay of Callao; for the Honorio from Peruvian naval returns quoted by Derpich Gallo 1976:79; for the Barbara Gomez
- ✓ 288 Anti-Slavery Reporter, Sept., Oct., Dec. 1863, Jan., June 1864.
- ✓ 290 Add: ^XDERPICH GALLO, Wilma, 1976. Introducción al Estudio del Trabajador Coolie Chino en el Perú del Siglo XIX. Thesis. Lima.

Retyped

- ✓ 91 ✓
- ✓ 92 ✓
- ✓ 97 ✓
- ✓ 99 ✓
- ✓ 101 ✓
- ✓ 109 ✓
- ✓ 266 ✓
- ✓ 276 ✓
- ✓ 201 ✓
- ✓ 237 ✓
- ✓ 278 ✓
- ✓ 238 ✓
- ✓ 236

Whitened

- ✓ 95/5 ✓
- ✓ 95/9 ✓
- ✓ 98/7 ✓
- ✓ 100/1 ✓
- ✓ 100/18 ✓
- ~~305/n.20~~
- ~~303/n.1~~
- ✓ 106/last 2 lines ✓
- ~~306/n.5 (200)~~
- ✓ 4/-1 ✓
- ✓ 5/3-6 ✓
- ✓ 5/14 ✓
- ✓ 15/-11 ✓
- ✓ 17/-6 ✓
- ✓ 77/10 ✓
- ✓ 81/-6 ✓
- ✓ 84/11 ✓
- ✓ 88/8 ✓
- ✓ 39/1-3 ✓
- ✓ 118/18 ✓
- ✓ 119/9 ✓
- ✓ 141/3 ✓
- ✓ 201/10-11 ✓
- ✓ 208/-6 ✓
- ✓ 215/1-2 ✓
- ✓ 227/8 ✓
- ✓ 227/9 ✓
- ✓ 193/5-6 ✓
- ✓ 194/12 ✓
- ✓ 194/14 ✓
- ✓ 196/10 ✓
- ✓ 197/11-12 ✓
- ✓ 198/10 ✓
- ✓ 203/1-3 ✓
- ✓ 203/6-7 ✓

Whitened

- ✓ 231/last line ✓
- ✓ 265/n. 21 ✓
- ✓ 270/n. 8 ✓
- ✓ 285/n. 12 ✓
- ✓ 288/-4 ✓
- ✓ 290/Dezick ✓
- ✓ 262/n. 1 ✓
- ✓ 265/n. 20 ✓
- ✓ 281/n. 20 ✓
- ✓ 273/n. 22 ✓
- ✓ Table 1 ✓
- ✓ Table 2/2 ✓
- ✓ Table 3/2 ✓

✓ 201, 278 and Tables 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
29th November, 1979.

Dear Pat,

Thank you for letting Honor know that the removal of three chapters is approved. I recommenced the corrections the same day and have now finished them. The next job is to tackle the changes consequent on those made in Chapters and Tables, which will take a little time; the final page or two need to be revised as well but that should not take long.

Wherever you have made changes I have taken them as being in accordance with ANU Press rules, unless there was a '?' in the margin when I have exercised my judgement, e.g. I have left '(eds.)' as on p.336 as a Press variation to normal practice as set out in the Australian Style Manual (3rd ed.), pp.53, 93. Some of these I have queried in passing but not to argue about as I realize that Australian Press rules may sometimes differ from those current in England.

In the case of the Bibliography, however, I have been wondering whether the dictum that variations of the Harvard referencing system must always have a single alphabetical author listing is perhaps a new ANU Press rule and if it would be possible to obtain a dispensation for me in this instance?

This was the point on which Professor La Nauze reported me to Jim Davidson many years ago, i.e. for permitting a doctoral student to have a single alphabetical bibliography by authors without a division between manuscripts and published works. Since then I have come to agree with La Nauze and have adopted the division into categories myself as being a convenience to researchers, e.g. in my monograph, The Evolution of the Gilbertese Boti, now in its 3rd edition.

I realize that the fact that OUP and other publishers may permit the use of the Harvard system with categorization by type of source is no reason why the ANU Press should do so too. But it seems to me that the Press has, in fact, allowed this procedure.

My ANU books have mostly been transferred to Adelaide but I have on my table Hugh Laracy's Marists and Melanesians which is arranged exactly as I have done. For instance n.2 on p.180 refers to Allan 1950:42; Corris 1973:142-4, and in the bibliography Allan 1950 is listed as an Unpublished Manuscript and Corris 1973 as a Published Work. Again take Albert Schutz (ed.), The Diaries and Correspondence of David Cargill, 1832-1843, where f'n.7 on p.204 refers to

Cargill 1842:28-9, which is classified in the bibliography as a Printed Work, and f'n.9 to Hammet 1951:110, which is classified as a Manuscript.

My reason for dividing the bibliography between manuscripts and printed works is based on the fact that while very few readers ever refer to a bibliography those that do are nearly all subject or area specialists who essentially want to find out what manuscripts the author has discovered and therefore like to see them listed in a group, as the archival material is.

I have never found it to be in the slightest degree inconvenient or difficult to look up say Smith 1970 under manuscripts if it is not listed under printed works nor have I found anyone else who has. One cannot compare this with the old-fashioned custom of writing Smith, op.cit., and then requiring one to work back through a host of other references to Smith's work until one eventually finds the first and therefore full citation.

Yours,



77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
26th December, 1979.

Dear Pat,

I think that I've done as much damage to the MS as I can so am returning it to your more experienced hands. But before dealing with the changes made to the text I should like to apologize for three things:-

- (1) Firstly that the MS had to be dealt with at all by you in such a provisional and I'm afraid inchoate state. In my letter of 11 June I made it clear, or thought I had, that the draft was not as yet in its finalized form but was being submitted at that stage for a decision as to whether it was considered acceptable for publication subject to amendment on my return from the islands. My reason for such unwonted precipitancy was because I had a tentative offer of publication elsewhere and wanted to explore this possibility during my trip if the ANU Press felt that the book was not in their line of country. Brian, however, very kindly rang me up before I left to say that it was accepted, and on my return from Hawaii and Fiji I was told that you were already working on it.
- (2) Secondly that you were not, judging from your marginal comments, sent the six pages of 'notes for the Press Editor' which I posted to Brian under cover of a letter dated 30 June (i.e. just before we left) for keeping until the editing stage was reached. I have now included these in my revision and enclose my copy of the letter for you to be able to check on this should you so wish.
- (3) That you should have been told that I had corrected the maps. I am at a loss to fathom why Hans Gunther should have said this in view of the fact that he handed them to me before my departure for correction at leisure on my return. It must have caused you to make a hundred or more marginal queries, notably on the spelling of Fakaofu, Tuvalu and the Marquesas.

From a personal point of view, however, I am glad that you went through the MS in its imperfect form for it enabled you to indicate how it should be revised to make it readable. I have now done everything that you suggested - and more - and am re-submitting the MS in what I hope may prove to be its final form; but nevertheless if there are any other changes, including further deletions, which would, in your opinion, make it better please say so: I have a measure of personal conceit but it concerns a certain pertinacity in discovering what happened and a detailed knowledge of the island world; but not in possessing the difficult art of constructing a book out of these two attributes.

I have now been through the text a few more times and made all the alterations I can think of except perhaps a better final paragraph, and this I have been unable to work out so far despite every effort. My original ending read: 'So may it be: for the Peru of today is a great nation of kindly and progressive people, and the Polynesians of the present generation need not try to forget one of the main episodes in their colourful history - but with an understanding of how it all came about they can and should forgive.'

Good stuff, perhaps, and it was particularly liked by Derek, but those who know Peru have pointed out that in fact it is not true since the country is a reactionary despotism not much improved from the 1860s. So I did another version pointing out the lesson which the slave trade has for Polynesia today, but you may not consider such an ending appropriate for an ANU book?

Wherever a change in wording or punctuation has been made I have, as you requested, put a cross in the margin (I may have missed put occasionally but not often); and everything I've done has been in pencil so that it can be easily rubbed out. The crosses may seem an awful lot but on examination most of them will be found to relate to the Spanish accents (or stress marks) which had not been done properly before (in the main these concern José, Rosalía, Concepción and Soldán), and also to the insertion of glottal stops in Ta'u, 'Ata and 'Eua, and the necessary renumbering of Tables and Appendixes. The pages have all been renumbered consequetively in pencil.

Your own commentary is returned herewith with my replies to all major points raised (the minor ones I have simply altered in the text with a tick or cross in the margin). I have also retyped the worst 45 pages and enclose the original ones as well so that you can recheck if necessary; with them are pages 17 and 158 which I think we agreed were no longer necessary.

I have deleted the two paragraphs at 2 on p.277, together with Table 10, as I felt that they might be construed as criticism of a colleague's work; and although McCall's thesis and article on Easter Island is pretty slipshod stuff and patently inaccurate I should not care to pillory anyone at my age.

The Bibliography I have retyped as a single listing but with the MS material marked with a preceding asterisk, as this seemed to be the only way of reconciling your difficulty in locating McCall 1976a and 1976b with my anxiety to enable students to discover the manuscripts easily. It is a device which has been used in other books successfully.

I think that this is all but if there are any other pages which you consider could be retyped with advantage do please let me know. I should be quite willing to have the whole work retyped but realize that it would necessitate having to call over the text again at least once in order to correct the new mistakes made by the typist.

Once again I would like to thank you most sincerely for your invaluable help. It was indeed unconscionable that you should have been called upon to improve such a very imperfect draft, but I am all the more grateful that you were willing to set to work and put it into a readable form. If there are any queries or points still at issue do please ring us and I'll be down whenever convenient to you.

Yours,

flrm

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
4th November, 1979.

Dear Pat,

I should have written to you before to thank you most sincerely for all the care and trouble which you have taken over my draft on the Peruvian slavers: you have improved it out of all recognition and I shall always feel indebted to you.

I am sorry that the draft should have reached you in that state but we were anxious to get it off our chests before leaving for the islands and to be truthful although I felt that it was wrong I could not see quite what was wrong with it. About ten people had read it but they were all quite wildly enthusiastic which is usually a bad sign.

I realized that for Europeans Part II on Peru was probably the most interesting; but then for the islanders it was exactly the other way round and everyone advised against a reduction of the detail on the islands. So what should one do?

In my view you have now found the answer, but after going over the chapters time and again I feel that not just Chapter 15 (Routes and Recruits) but also Chapters 14 (Thirty Pieces of Silver) and 16 (The Recruiting Fleet) should go as well. These are the three chapters essentially concerned with ~~summaries~~ and analysis and, as you so truly say, this interpolation breaks the whole continuity of the narrative.

This would reduce the text by 33 pages and the chapters from 25 to 22 but, more importantly, it enables one to read a connected story right through smoothly and without interruption or ennui and (though I may be too optimistic here) with a mounting tension as it unfolds.

The page summaries to Parts I and II can now also, I suggest, go as they again disturb what is now a plain story, thus saving another two pages. The three chapters cut out could be relegated to appendixes with only changes to their titles and slight changes to the text; and the six appendixes could be printed in 6 pt or whatever you like to save bulk (they are really only for the academics and most people will not read them in any detail, if at all).

The book then works out as follows:-

Introductory material	- 16 pages.
Peru in Polynesia	- 118 pages.
Polynesia in Peru	- 90 pages.
Appendixes	- 59 pages.
Endnotes & Bibliography	- 56 pages.

Or 208 pages of narrative in all. I don't know what this makes in print but 200 pages of typescript is not too long a story for most people to read.

I realize that without the text you can do little about all this but I thought that at least you could ring me if it is out of the question and I shall reluctantly desist. But I am in hopes that you will consider it merely as a slight extension to your own seminal suggestion. The two tables giving routes and numbers taken from the islands will, I feel, have to be brought forwards in any case as they are in the chapter which you had in mind for relegation to an appendix, and there are none in the other two chapters.

In any case the main object of this letter was to thank you for all your care and consideration. It was not use phoning you for I hear so little on the phone these days that Honor does most of it for me, unless its a very deep male ~~voice~~ voice.

I am not sure whether you have in mind that the whole text should be retyped before you see it again or only the worst pages? It costs \$500 each time; not that I mind that if it is likely to keep the printer happier.

I am over half way with the corrections and so far have agreed with everything you say - indeed it is all so obviously an improvement. But the work moves slowly because I had to drop everything to finish the copy and now I have to pay for it by answering endless letters and many drafts and ideas sent by others to comment on. If baby sitting is the traditional lot of the grandmother then helping others get ahead is the lot of the grandfather. I guess one should have no complaints just so long as people find that one can still be useful when needed.

I have written to Brian saying that the USP want 500 copies in paperback form under their imprint but with no special area rights. I gave them a lecture on the trade which proved quite a sensation - its funny how everybody knows about the Peruvian slave trade but nobody knows what happened. I was asked to go on and lecture on the other Polynesian islands and might do so to publicize the book. Also they've asked me to give a talk in the Auckland Museum Hall, which seats many hundreds.

Yours,

serm

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
30th June, 1979.

Mr Brian Clouston,
Director, A.N.U. Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA,
A. C. T. 2600.

Dear Brian,

I enclose some editorial notes for the Press Editor, just for keeping in case of accidents. No action is required, which must be a relief for everybody; but in the event of our not getting back they could come in handy. Here they could be lost among the piles of paper in my study.

We leave on Wednesday a.m. for Melbourne - Tarawa - Christmas Island - Honolulu - Suva, if all goes well.

Yours,

J.S.M.

Enclosure 1

General points for Press Editor

- ✓ (1) The glottal stop should be inserted in the following place names: Ta'u, 'Ata, 'Eua, 'Uiha.
- ✓ (2) The Spanish accents should be inserted, e.g. José Castro, Rosalía, La Concepción.
- ✓ (3) In the endnotes years during the 19th century are written without the '18', those in the 20th century are written in full, e.g. '1931'.
- ✓ (4) Theses have been underlined in the bibliography, but this may not be the house rule.
- (5) Ch.4, fn 14: I am unsure of the correct spelling of Kosi~~u~~sko.
- ✓ (6) All currency conversions in brackets require checking by reference to 'Currency Values' on p.16.
- ✓ (7) The pagination in the endnotes should be changed to 43-4, 197-9, etc., if this is the house rule.

Enclosure 2

Part 1

- ✓ P.8/last line - New Caledonia; Judith Huntsman for imparting ~~some~~ some of her encyclopaedic knowledge of the Tokelaus; and to ...
- ✓ 9/7 from end - ... support; to Hans Gunther of the A.N.U. for his superb cartography; to Anvida Lamberts ...
- ✓ 27/line 6 from end - Add '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 ...
- ✓ 87/11-12 - 'Nukun^{no}anu, the central island, about 35 miles to the north-west and Atafu, the western island, at least another forty-five miles away'.
- ✓ 87/14 - 'without any reliable boat passage'.
- ✓ 87/lines 4-5 from end - Delete 'It was regarded as a possession of Fakaofu, but was not permanently inhabited' and substitute 'It was regarded as a Yoke~~au~~ possession under the suzerainty of Fakaofu, but may not have been permanently inhabited'.
- ✓ 89/8 - 'for the round trip of the Group. According to local tradition Jennings was accompanied by one of his Fakaofu labourers called Tanaka, who assisted him to secure recruits, particularly on Fakaofu.'
- ✓ 93/last line - '... agrees reasonably well'.
- ✓ 118/line 8 from end - remove fn 5 to end of para: '... eight thousand on the atoll⁵.'
- ✓ 142/line 4 from end - 'much evidence to support them, and the degree of Tanaka's culpability in the Tokelaus, if indeed he was not misled by his master Eli Jennings, remains unknown.'¹⁸

Part 2

- ✓ P.162 - Unibaso.
- ✓ 163/5-6 - The arrival of the Serpiente Marina and Barbara Gomez at Papeete provided a unique ...
- ✓ 163/4 from end - delete 'on'.
- ✓ 165/5 - no 'e' in 'Clarke'.
- ✓ 168/22 - delete 'who' in 'who went on strike'.
- ✓ 170/11 - 'Door, got on deck and'.
- ✓ 178/6 - delete 'of the true slaver type' (it is a repetition).
- ✓ 180/5 - '... better place for recuperating, as its population at the time consisted of only four part-European and part-Polynesian families,'.
- ✓ 18⁴7/10 - substitute semi-colon at end of para, followed by 'and probably the captain noted the Union Jack which was always kept flying ashore by the little community'.
- ✓ 190/3 - Delete 'In point of fact, and'.
- ✓ 201 - there are unfortunatley two pages numbered 201, so the second has been numbered 201a.
- ✓ 207/last line - 'in modifying that country's policies towards the migrants'.
- ✓ 214/17 - Sde la Richerie at Papeete and from other sources'.
- ✓ 245/penultimate line - Change 'condition' to 'state'.
- ✓ 260/last para - Delete first sentence and substitute: 'No oceanic group suffered more from the Peruvian raids than the Tokelaug; and yet in recent years they have become a theme for burlesque representation - for hilarious caricature by village clowns 'trailing behind them a swam of delighted, shrieking children': ~~A favourite performance~~

Islands
the

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.

And when in 1924 Teau, the son of a Fakaofu islander called Hehe Afara, who was one of the nine 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 Fakaofuan community was soon reconstructed and received with acclamation. He had not forgotten; ...'

Footnotes

- ✓ Ch.9, fn 2 - Hooper 1975:90,93; Judith Huntsman, pers. comm. 1979. For an ...
- ✓ Ch.9, fn 2 - '... when four couples from Fakaofu were employed by them, but he left about 1858 on the schooner Tickler (Captain Martin) for Suvarrow, where he was murdered - Williams to Seutes 14.12.58, FO 58/59; Murray, Report Nov. 1868, SSL; Sterndale 1877; Macgregor ...'
- ✓ Ch.9, fn 7 - Judith Huntsman, pers. comm. 1979; Bird to LMS ...
- ✓ Ch.9, fn 19 - '... Gill and Bird, Journal 13.2.63, SSJ; for Takua see Hooper and Huntsman 1973:376-7.
- ✓ Ch.10, fn 23 - 'For the activities of the Ellen Elizabeth in the Gilberts and the possibility that the Margarita and Honorio were at Rotuma and subsequently recruited in that Group see Ch.12 and especially fn 5.
- ✓ Ch.12, fn 5 - At end of fn add: 'There is always the possibility that the Margarita and Honorio were at Rotuma when the Ellen Elizabeth called there (see Ch.10) and, hearing from Captain Muller that the recruiting prospects were good in the Gilberts, sailed north to Tabiteuea and the other southern islands of that Group, recruited there and were subsequently lost at sea; but the evidence for this intriguing conjecture is far from conclusive.'
- ✓ Ch.25 - add the following two footnotes:
18 Huntsman and Hooper 1975:415.
19 Bryan 1924.
- ✓ Ch.23, fn 12 - Add at end: 'The possible effect of repatriates originating from Niuafu'ou and the Tokelaus on the Rapan dialect is dealt with in Stokes 1930, 1955:317.'
- ✓ Appendix 1, fn 5 - add at end: 'For the importance of the kaaiga and kinship in the Tokelaus see Huntsman 1971.'

in general

1971

Enclosure 5

Bibliography - Manuscripts and Theses

- ✓ BRYAN, E.H., Jr., 1924. Field Notes while with the Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition on the schooner France, at Fakaofu Island, April 2 to 5, 1924. Honolulu, Pacific Scientific Information Center, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.
- ✓ STOKES, J.F.G., 1930. Ethnology of Rapa Island. MS. Honolulu, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

Bibliography - Published Works

- ✓ HUNTSMAN, Judith, 1971. 'Kinship and Categories of Kinsmen in the Tokelaus'. Journal of the Polynesian Society, 80:317-54.
- ✓ HUNTSMAN, Judith, and Anthony Hooper, 1975. 'Male and Female in Tokelau Culture'. Journal of the Polynesian Society, 84:415-30.
- ✓ STOKES, J.F.G., 1⁹55. 'Language in Rapa'. Journal of the Polynesian Society, 64:315-40.

Enclosure 6

A few minor editorial points

- ✓ p.9/11 - the former Head of the Department.
- ✓ 43/6 from end - migration.
- ✓ 64/last line - liberty.
- ✓ 94/4 from end - called Oli by Maka.
- ✓ 140/4 from end - kidnapping.
- ✓ 140/3 from end - believed.
- ✓ 179/6 from end - Ta'u.
- ✓ 182/11 - to say exactly.
- ✓ 191/14 - delete 'for them'.
- ✓ 213/last line - 'house' should be in single quotes.
- ✓ 226/2 from end - commodious.
- ✓ 242/1 - ship fever.
- ✓ 245/1 - landed.
- ✓ 258/5 - in their history.
- ✓ 265/9 from end - where.
- ✓ 282/10 - gardener.
- ✓ 328/13 - reported.
- ✓ 331/11 from end - Reminiscences.
- ✓ 336/8 from end - in the Marquesas.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
26th June, 1979.

Dear Grant,

Just a belated note to thank you for your Christmas card. I hope that you got back from your travels in good shape and are now well embarked on your definitive work on Easter Island. We heard, I think from Renée, that it had already been published, but the New York firm knew nothing. It seemed pretty quick work to me.

There's no need to worry about the request in my letter of the 21st July last as the manuscript of Slavers in Paradise has gone to the publishers and I guess the absence of this information will not make much difference.

The figures for Easter Island are, I think, much the same as I sent you then, but I've rehashed my analysis of the population immediately before the raids. All this statistical data has gone into an appendix.

The maps have been done by Hans Gunther and we are now gradually collecting illustrations. Oskar Spate, who read the manuscript for the Press, says that I must have yet another map - of the Peruvian coastline. The Press is now endeavouring to interest publishers in Europe and the US to take on editions.

Meanwhile we leave on Tuesday for Tarawa as official guests of the Republic of Kiribati for their Independence Celebrations; and hope to go on to Hawaii to look up Stokes on Rapa. He photographed the last of the Peruvian recruits brought there by the Barbara Gomez, but alas the Bishop Museum can't find it. However, I have one of his son, Teau, being welcomed when he returned to Fakaofu in 1924.

Wishing you all the best,

Yours,

John

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
21st July, 1978.

Dear Grant,

Thanks for sending me Nancy Phelan's review of The Changing Pacific; would that all reviewers were so generous, but then she is one of Australia's better authors in her own right and can afford to be.

Anyway it made me realize that now I've finished Part I of the Peruvian Polynesian Plunderers and the first draft of Part II it was time that I sent you a few statistical summaries in case you are still interested. Probably you are not by now, having now moved on to more important matters of greater relevance to the world of today.

As you will see, the Easter Island recruiting story forms Chapter 3 out of 14 dealing with the island side of the picture (of course they come into various chapters in Part II, which is thematically and not geographically based).

It occurred to me that you couldn't very well check up on my E.I. figures unless I typed out a more detailed summary so I did one a few minutes ago from the text of the chapter - but I see that I've forgotten to include your General Prim (2), dep.2.3.63, ret'd 19.7.63 with 174. If you add this to the list you'll find that the totals come right, i.e. there should be a difference of 607.

The reason for the discrepancy is, I guess, the fact that, as I found out through an abortive trial, one cannot work out the E.I. figures (or, to be more exact, some of them) until the itemizations relating to the other islands have been ascertained.

In Part II I include tables setting out the numbers landed and those repatriated (by ships), but these are not finalized as yet - I prepare the tables from the text. As you will know the numbers taken and those landed are much the same in a short haul such as E.I., but can differ quite markedly in the case of long voyages.

Thus one finds that the Rosa y Carmen with 284 on board lost 156 (or 55%), the Rosa Patricia with 99 lost 56 and the Guillermo with 61 lost 17; and all through taking on some Fakaofu people who had just arrived from Apia where there was an epidemic of dysentery.

At the moment the second part is a bit held up by the need to digest and incorporate a swag of French Tahitian Government and French Peruvian Legation and Consulate material just arrived from Paris, and also some Chilean Government correspondence due any day now. The primary source material must be over 1,000 items and its a bit hard to keep track of the stuff.

Many thanks for kindly sending me a copy of your thesis, which I have found very useful. Its a much more polished effort than the draft you showed me originally, and I hope that you are licking it into publication shape: its not so easy to do with a thesis as the uninitiated seem to think. I have to read them for various publishers and find that too often they are scholarly but not readable.

I've also found the extracts and quotes from El Comercio in your JPH article and thesis very useful; since several of them I've not seen before. If you've got any others I'd appreciate the loan of them and in return will send any of my material which you may want (or you can wade through it when you're next up this way). As you say in your letter, historiography takes an excessive amount of patience and I suppose that it will be another year of sweat and tears before this MS will be ready for publication.

Its extraordinary how one can go wrong in detail unless one checks, rechecks, double checks and checks again - and then like as not it will have to be changed. Of course a lot must be due to the fact that I'm getting old.

You'll be amused to hear that I've been made a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Anthropology here - Whitlam and me at the same meeting of the Faculty Board! It was a kindly thought as it will enable me to get the maps drawn professionally from Honor's drafts. The one showing the routes of the 33 Peruvian ships on their 38 voyages is quite complicated. I wish I knew what happened to the Margarita and Honorio (they just seem to have disappeared, though I suspect that one of them was scuttled at 'Uiha in the Happa'i Group).

With our best wishes to yourself and family, and be sure to let me know if I can ever be of assistance on anything,

Yours,



77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
21st June, 1979.

Dr J.J. Fox,
Department of Anthropology,
Research School of Pacific Studies,
Australian National University,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Dr Fox,

Since I have been reasonably sparing in my use of departmental facilities I wonder if it would be possible for you to get the University Translation Section (or whatever its now called) to translate the attached Labour Contract from Spanish into English.

As you will see it has already been roughly translated by a friend but I am not satisfied with the accuracy of his effort and am anxious to have it redone by a bilingual expert.

It comes to exactly 100 words which, at the extortionate rate charged by the university translators, will I understand cost \$3. I should be glad to refund this if you would be so kind as to authorize the work to be done.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
20th June, 1979.

Dr Bronwen Douglas,
Department of History,
La Trobe University,
BUNDOORA, Victoria 3083.

Dear Bronwen,

You may remember that in 1974 you kindly sent some information on Joseph Charles Byrne to Grant McCall. I don't know why he wanted it but anyway he didn't use it and after he left the A.N.U. he sent it to me in case it proved useful for my book on the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia.

It was in fact very useful and I took the liberty of incorporating some of it, with acknowledgements, in my introductory section on Byrne - and also thanked you in the Introduction.

I am now enclosing the five introductory pages on Byrne, with the relevant endnotes, so that you can pull me up if I have done any violence to Cleo or to you personally.

Byrne is also featured in Chapter 2 on the first voyage of the Adelante to Tongareva, but I fancy that you are more concerned with his Melanesian pretensions. He died four days after the Adelante left Tongareva and his effects were sent by the Consul in Callao to his brother in Dublin.

If Byrne had not decided, on the spur of the moment, to call in at Tongareva and prospect the lagoon for pearl-shell when on his way from Callao to the New Hebrides for recruits you would be writing about the Peruvian labour trade in Melanesia instead of me writing about it in Polynesia; curious what pranks the fates play with history.

Don't bother to reply if I am not more than usually off the rails; but if I have sinned I'd appreciate a push back to the right line.

We're just off to Tarawa as guests of the Republic of Kiribati for their Independence Week Celebrations, but will, I hope, get back. I hope that all goes well with you; I am of course long into my dotage.

Yours,

John

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
20th June, 1979.

Professor G.M. Dening,
Department of History,
University of Melbourne,
PARKVILLE, Victoria 3052.

Dear Greg,

I am taking the liberty of enclosing the chapter on the Marquesas from my effort on the Peruvian Labour Trade, together with a brief piece on the Diamant repatriation, which was the only one to affect the Group, and the supporting references, in the hope that you will be so kind as to let me know if there is anything which you consider should be put in, amended or taken out.

You mentioned that you had some material concerning the Marquesas section of the story but I did not like to bother you until I had done my worst first. It is always quicker to check through work than to provide references out of the blue; and it could be that I have already ferreted them out. If not, its never to late to mend - and amend.

There are other mentions of the Marquesas strewn about the book (the trial of Captain Detert in Peru, the rounding up of the Empresa's Marquesans at Huacho, the killing of Autoro at Uapou and the ransoming of Whalon by Kehela on Hivaoa occur to me at the moment) but Chapter 5 is the main one on visiting ships.

I trust that all goes well with you and your good wife. We have been so long out of circulation that I hear no news these days and just keep plodding on at odd subjects that interest me.

We leave for Tarawa as guests of the Republic of Kiribati for their Independence Week Celebrations in a few days, if strikes permit, but will be back soon, we hope via Christmas Island and Nawaii. I want to look through the Stokes papers on Rapa, as he met and photographed the last of the kidnapped islanders there: Hehe from Fakofa.

With best wishes,

Yours,

J.M.D.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
12th June, 1979.

Mr E.H. Bryan, Jr.,
Bernice P. Bishop Museum,
P.O. Box 6037,
HONOLULU, Hawaii 96818.

Dear Eddie,

Many thanks indeed for the photo and all the information which you so kindly sent me.

The photo will do fine for the book, with a caption saying that it was taken by you in 1924; and the information will enable me to correct the last chapter: which I have called the Epilogue.

We took a photocopy of the final text, bar a few last-minute corrections still to be made, to the Press yesterday. They seemed delighted with it and expect to sell American and English rights for simultaneous editions to be published in the U.S. and G.B. It is certainly a dramatic story.

We leave shortly for the Independence Week Celebrations of the new Republic of Kiribati at Tarawa, as guests of the Government, and present plans are to go via Christmas Island to Honolulu on a NASDA Japanese Tracking Station plane, so we hope to meet you once again and thank you in person.

Among other things I should like to read up Stokes' notes on Hefe Afara and any traditions concerning the landing of the repatriates from Peru and their effect on the local culture: I understand that their advent had a marked linguistic effect on the Rapan dialect, and probably other repercussions.

If you do come across that photo of Hefe Afara it would be worth its weight in gold to me.

With our best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

John

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM

P. O. Box 6037, Honolulu, Hawaii 96818 • Telephone 847-3511

May 21, 1979

Mr. Harry Maude,
77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,

Dear Harry:

I was delighted to receive your letter of May 12, with regard to the Tokelau man who was kidnapped from Fakaofu, taken to the guano islands of Peru, and returned to Rapa. I have read over my field notes, written while a member of the Whitney Bird Expedition, on the schooner France, back in the spring of 1924. Then I made a pilgrimage to the Bishop Museum Library and ran through some of the field notes made by the late John F.G. Stokes concerning his visit to Rapa Island in 1921-22. Although I found a note stating that he had found records of persons from central Polynesian islands who had been taken to Chilian Guano Islands and not returned to those islands, there was no detailed information about Hehe (from Fakaofu).

When I learned that I was to spend several months with the Whitney Expedition, and that the France ~~was~~ would very likely visit the Tokelau Islands, I received quite a variety of requests. Among these was to try to get more information about the relatives of Hehe. Mr. Stokes gave me a picture of the old gentleman to give to his relatives on Fakaofu, and in return to see what I could learn about his relatives. I tried to locate another copy of this picture today, but without success. I couldn't even find further information about him. (Hehe Afara)

I enclose a page of notes taken from the typed version of my field notes and a photocopy of the two pages in my field notebook which give the genealogical information which I learned at the meeting of the "chiefs and old men," just as I copied them at the time. The "37:-" numbers refer to photographs which I took. Only one of them (37:4) reached the Bishop Museum Library clear enough to do you any good. I asked the head of the picture section to try to get a good print. She said she would try, but it might take a week or even more. If it is accomplished, I will post it to you; but don't count on it too much.

If the picture effort isn't successful, I will return your \$10.00. Or if it isn't worth publishing, I will send you copies of my next two books. I hope one of them will be an annotated bibliography of the central Pacific atolls.

Bob Langdon misquoted me slightly. I told him I would like to get out an annotated bibliography of Micronesia; but I doubt if I ever actually succeed in producing one. Too many other calls on my ever decreasing time!

With best wishes, success to your book and regards.

Ed Bryan-

The following are extracts from the field notes of E. H. Bryan, Jr. while with the Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, on the Schooner "France", at Fakaofu Island, April 2 to 5, 1924.

"Wednesday, April 2. Sighted Fakaofu at daybreak. Ashore at the village (Fakaofu) and had a conference with the Magistrate and chiefs on the official lanai. The Magistrate, Sōanoa, is a languid man of 45, and does not speak English. The chief, Vaniale, is younger, about 37, of fine physique and personal appearance, well educated and speaks fair English.

"After a long pow-wow over Correia's killing birds, I had a quiet talk with the Magistrate and chief men, explaining the Bishop Museum's interest in the people of the south seas and the plant and animal life of the islands. As a concrete example, I told them about Hehe, who had been kidnapped 60 years before, taken to Peru and returned as far as Rapa, where he had married and was still living. They were much impressed by this news. Some remembered his disappearance. They were pleased to see his picture, which J.F.G. Stokes had taken of him in Rapa a few years before, and a copy of which I had brought to give them. They were also glad that his grandson, Tæo, was mate on our schooner, and could visit with them." They invited me to be present at a meeting of the old men, which they would call.

* * * * *

During the next three days I had a very pleasant visit to 47 islets of the atoll, ~~island~~, in part walking along the reef at low tide, in part by canoe or row boat. My observations fill a dozen typewritten pages. " On the afternoon of Saturday, April 5, the bulk of our scientific party attended a meeting of the chiefs and old men at the Government House. Teau, mate of the schooner "France", who was the son of Hehe, whose picture we gave them, was given a special welcome. The group of old men provided us with the following information:

88 to see Jeau. (the mate), obtained the following information about Hehe and his immediate relatives: -

Jaupe[♂] married (1st) Jeanga[♀] and had 2 sons:

1. Kakaia[♂] married Iekafa[♀]

2. Sakalo[♂] Iekuga[♀] married Fona[♂]

Seli[♂] + Fura[♀] Sina[♀] Vaikhe[♀] Jevau

Fura[♂] (the oldest of Hehe's relatives who will take the pictures after all have seen them)

Jaupe[♂] married (2nd) Papa[♀] and had 7 sons and 2 daughters

all
Dead

1. Iekota[♂]
2. Laua[♂]
3. Ikamoana[♂]
4. Foliga[♂]
5. Loalua[♂]
6. Fala[♂] (father of Hehe)
7. Moko[♂]
8. Vaimalama[♀] + Atuli
9. Pipi[♀]

Siemi[♀] + Peni uto
(the old man living
on Saumatofaga.)

Siliu + Fas
Panto[♂] Siemi[♀]

No. 6. Fala. (same as Fara) had two sons

- (1) Hehe (who was kidnapped and taken to Peru + lives on Papa).
- (2) Jelauoa (who died leaving no descendants).

89

37:2 The procession bringing us gifts for our having brought them tidings of Hehe after 60 years. (The first ~~was~~ certain information they had received).

37:3 + 4. The old men who furnished the genealogical information.

37:5 Our party, the gifts and some of the chiefs.

37:6. Group of most of those present at the ceremony (taken at about 4:30)

38:1. The Secretary of the Government, Jacona, his wife ana, and Mr. + Mrs. Correia on the steps of his house. (by request).

38:2 + 3. Other groups taken by request. (getting too late for good pictures)

Back to the schooner at 5 P.M. in Mr. Ukilifi's canoe. He presented the Pandanus leaf basket and strings of shells.

BERNICE P. BISHOP MUSEUM

P. O. Box 6037, Honolulu, Hawaii 96818 • Telephone 847-3511

May 29, 1979

Mr. Harry Maude,
77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,

Dear Harry:

The photographers have finally produced a print of the picture which I took of the "Old men of Fakaofu who furnished the genealogical information about Hehe Afara, the Tokelau man who had been kidnapped from Fakaofu, worked on the Peruvian guano islands, and later had been returned to Rapa Island instead of his home island. I took it on Saturday, April 5, 1924. Hehe's son was the Mate on the Schooner France (from Tahiti), which carried the Whitney Bird Expedition on its voyages around the central Pacific. I spelled his name Teau in my notes, it was pronounced phonetically, to the best of my remembrance, TA-AU, accent about equal on both syllables. In the picture he is 4th from the right, wearing a coconut fiber hat with a dark band, and standing behind the shoulder and right arm of the man with the white coat and with a cane in his right hand. You are welcome to include it in your book if you wish, but I doubt if it would add anything to the account.

With my very best regards, I am

Yours very sincerely,

Ed Bryan

Edwin H. Bryan, Jr.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
12th June, 1979.

Dear Derek,

You may have well been wondering what has happened to us all the while. In the euphoria of finding that there was a general approval of the Peruvian effort, and notably from yourself, we went off to New Zealand to celebrate.

Unfortunately Honor's back gave out by the time we got to Gisborne and has only just recovered - it is a very painful affliction, which I used to suffer from myself until my vertabrae welded together.

Meanwhile I have completed the text of the book, except for recent minor amendments suggested by Judith Huntsman on the Tokelaus and Eddie Bryan in Honolulu; and there may be some others from Dening on the Marquesas and Ron Crocombe on the Cooks, and yourself. Eddie Bryan has sent a photo of Teau, the son of the Fakaofan Hehe Afara who was repatriated to Rapa on the ill-fated Barbara Gomez, and I now have an account of his reception when he returned to Fakaofa to see his relations in 1924.

Mr Gunther the cartographer has nearly finished the maps and they look very well, though I haven't seen the endpaper one showing the routes as yet.

We took a reduced copy of the text to the A.N.U. Press yesterday and they seemed happy enough with it, but I fancy no one has read it properly as yet. At the moment they are in an understandable flap due to Pat Croft's unexpected retirement on Monday with her bad back. Meanwhile I am asking Sue if we can do two more full-sized reproductions on the departmental machine, as they are needed for editorial work.

Herewith is the second reduced copy of the text, which you said that you would kindly have a look at, in particular the Samoan part and Appendix I, in case you felt that changes were desirable. Perhaps you could give me a ring and I could come across and see you about bits where I may have fallen down on the job. Then if I could take it back I'll hand it over to the Press who want two reduced copies for sending to England and the U.S. with a view to publication of editions for the European and American markets. I hear that Brian Clouston took typescripts of three specimen chapters with him on recent visits and found university presses who were anxious to have first refusal.

We are due to leave ourselves for Nauru and Tarawa to attend the Independence Celebrations of the Republic of Kiribati (100 square miles of land and 2 million of sea, but fishing rights are becoming vital issues in the Pacific today). The Government has kindly invited us, with all costs paid, and talk of taking us on to Christmas Island and Honolulu on a Japanese charter flight, from whence we can find our own way home after a stop-over in Hawaii and Fiji.

Again many thanks for all your help and encouragement. I was delighted to see that a forthcoming review of The Changing Pacific considers that your article and Oscar Spate's were the two outstanding ones in the book.

Yours,

JRM

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
11th June, 1979.

Miss P. Croft,
Australian National University Press,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA, A.C.T. 2600.

Dear Pat,

I enclose a copy of the typescript of Slavers in Paradise for consideration with a view to possible publication by the A.N.U. Press. It is in its proposed final format, though there are a few minor changes to be made to Part I consequent on suggestions received from area specialists to whom relevant chapters have been submitted. These will result in one or two pages being retyped but will not affect the length or the substance, except in minor detail.

No change is envisaged to Part II other than a revision of the final page to add to the dramatic effect, now made possible by information provided by E.H. Bryan, of the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, on the visit of Teau to his father's home at Fakaofu in 1924, together with his photo taken with the reception committee. Teau was the son of Hehe Afara, who was kidnapped from Fakaofu in 1863 and was one of the nine survivors to be landed at Rapa from the 360 placed on board.

Area maps as listed on p.10 are being prepared by Mr H.E. Gunther and are now nearly ready. Nos 2-12 are intended for insertion in the text somewhere near the beginning of the relevant chapters; and No.1 is designed for the endpapers. Honor and I hope to discover and submit about a dozen contemporary illustrations of islands, islanders and shipping, etc.

As I declined contracts to produce this work from the A.N.U. Press and other publishers, as being psychologically inhibiting, it is recognised that the Press is under no obligation to publish it. I did, however, promise to give the Press first refusal and should be grateful if it could be read, or at least skimmed through, if possible by the Director himself.

I think that it may be fairly claimed that this is an unusual book in that it deals with an event of great importance about which no one, not even regional specialists, knew anything except a few vague and usually incorrect snippets, and which consequently had to be researched almost entirely from primary archival material (for the most part in France, Peru, England, Australia, Tahiti and Hawaii).

The events narrated take place over approximately a quarter of the earth's surface, comprising the whole of Polynesia and parts of Micronesia and Melanesia, as well as Peru, Chile and Ecuador; and because of their dramatic character the work should be of interest to a wide readership not only in Australasia and the Pacific Islands but also in North and South America, England and France. In this connexion I understood from the Director that he proposed (should the book be approved for publication) to dispose of the American and European rights to publishers in the United States and Great Britain.

It should be emphasized that the activities of the kidnapping ships in the islands are dealt with in detail because the island picture has been awaited for a century by the people of Polynesia. To some others, who may be more interested in the repercussions in Peru itself, the treatment adopted has the advantage of gradually increasing the tempo of events as the narrative progresses, working up to the climactic, albeit tragic, denouement of the final chapters.

Owing to my obligations to the Pacific islanders, who do not buy expensive hardcover books, I am particularly concerned about the possibility of a paperback edition. Should the manuscript be considered suitable for publishing only in library format perhaps I might be permitted to make my own arrangements for subsequent publication in a paperback edition, probably in association with the University of the South Pacific. This could be, to save costs, without appendixes and endnotes.

Honor and I are due to leave for Nauru and the Gilbert Islands on the 4th July to attend the Independence Celebrations of the Republic of Kiribati, as official guests of the Government. Present plans are to leave Tarawa later in July for Christmas Island and Hawaii. As it is hoped to lecture in Honolulu and Suva on the subject of the book now submitted, and to show the MS to the representatives of the various Polynesian States present at the celebrations, it would be greatly appreciated if a decision as regards its acceptability could be made before then, if only because we are certain to be asked who is publishing it by prospective purchasers.

The quarto typescript of Slavers in Paradise is available if required and additional copies can be run off on quarto paper, or in enlarged or reduced size, as desired.

Yours sincerely,

Leem

Maude - Slavers

Title Page - Best make it 1864 as on p.14.

P.5 - The latest book from UH has Papp Pago so I guess is accepted modern local usage (see p.16). It is certainly how the average American pronounces the word.

P.6 - Re foreword or preface: this seems to be essentially a preface by English usage (see Fowler) and, it is submitted, by Australian usage (see Style Manual, 3rd ed., p.200).

- Suggest date of preface be altered to suit time of publication.
- Any time in 1980 would suit the observation on lines 15-17 as we landed on Tarawa in 1930; but 'island' should be changed to 'atoll'.
- If it is felt that there should be a reference after Taole on 1.9 it is Cowan 1936:40-59. Otherwise perhaps to add 'the Niuean who escaped' would meet the difficulty?

P.8 - If one changes 'their' to 'this' it should be OK?

P.10 - Map 8 is now 'Niue and the Samoan and Tokelau Islands' and the rest should be renumbered 9 to 12.

- I have retitled the Maps in pencil to accord with the captions under each.
- Map 5 should be 'The Marquesas Islands'.

P.11 - The date of the epigraph is 1936; and it is taken from p.44 of Cowan's book 'Suwarrow Gold ...'.

P.13 - Former Table 5 (now Table 1) follows p.15.

We have now renumbered all the pages in the MS consecutively from one to the end so from now on I shall quote the old numbers of the pages with the new numbers following (in brackets). Otherwise they will be hard to find.

P.14 (15) - I am glad that you asked me to reconcile pp.14 and 17 because I must have done them early on in the piece and they bring out (for me) some interesting points:

(1) As regards ships I did not include the Australian whaler Grecian but now think that I should have. This makes, with those set out in Table 2 on p.136 (which does not and should not include the Grecian as she was not a Peruvian ship and neither left from or returned to Callao) 33 ships, of which Table 1 shows 27 as being of Peruvian registry, and these made, by a count of those in Table 2 plus the Grecian, 38 voyages.

(2) As regards islands, from Enclosure 1 it will be seen that, again including the Grecian, they called at 48 islands; and that these comprised 12 Polynesian Groups and one Micronesian Group (the Gilberts). This leaves four isolated islands - Easter, Pitcairn, Niue and Rotuma - which are so-called by geographers because they do not belong to any island group. The discrepancy is due to the inclusion of Tonga (only visited by the Grecian) and two islands (formerly classed as isolated) being included within groups. The group table has now been checked and is in accord with 'accepted modern usage', i.e. in Rapa being included in the Austral Group and the French Leeward and Windward Groups being lumped together as the Society Group.

- To make everything crystal clear perhaps 'see Table 1' might be inserted in line 9, and 'see Table 2' in line 10?

P.162-(14) - (Sorry that this note is out of sequence). I agree with your excellent suggestion that Table 5 should be brought forward and renumbered Table 1. To prevent readers becoming hot and bothered over there being only 32 ships in the Table and 33 in the text I have inserted a footnote explaining that the whaler Grecian is excluded.

P.16 (17) - I have returned p.16 from where I found it before p.287 as it may have only been misplaced. It seems to me that it should be here lest the reader is left wondering to the end of the book, if he gets so far, at what rates the many currency conversions to US dollars have been made, since they are so very different

to those current today. Again he might well be wondering what is the justification for place names being spelt in a manner diferent from his own usage. Cf David Lewis, We, the Navigators, where the explanation about place names comes at p.xi after the Contents List.

P.17 (-) - Your pencilled redrafting seems to me fine, but the page is now deleted.

P.22 - OK if one puts in 'about' before the sum?

- I fancy Berard's initials would not be obtainable in Australia and it would not seem worthwhile to have them searched for in New Caledonia, so suggest deleting his name and substituting 'a colonist'.

P.23 - Original Spanish text has 'D.J.L. Brine' so better put that in, with a 'sic' in square brackets?

P.25 - Best put in 'Ugarte y Santiago' to be safe.

P.26 - Don't you think that the first sentence would be clearer with semi-colons?

- Perhaps if one put 'Soon after leaving Nukuhiva Byrne decided to stop pver ...' and change 'Byrne' to 'he' in the next sentence all would be well.

P.27 - I have checked and the name is Pablo Gamero.

- Surely 251 is right? 251 left, 1 was born and 1 died, making 251 who arrived.

P.28 - Mr H. (for Henry) Watson.

P.29 - If one puts the part in brackets to '(possibly she sailed from some minor port)' it will be clear?

P.32 - To avoid the repetition of South Sea or South Seas in the last line perhaps we had better put Oceania here?

P.40 - El Comercio is right.

P.41 - Would 'as to' be better than 'of' (line 8 from the bottom)?

P.48 - Three-masted is a recognized nautical term and I do honestly submit that it cannot be abbreviated into '3-masted'. Any abbreviation would have to be 'three-m's't'd' or some other contraction, i.e. the 'masted' should be contracted rather than the 'Three'. In several places I note that it has not, in fact, been abbreviated (e.g. on p.37, line 9 from the end).

P.50 - Manuel Morales.

- The ship is always called the Mercedes A. de Wholey (she was named after Madame Mercedes Abeleira de Wholey). The company is called in the more or less verbatim transcript of the trial of the captain and supercargo of the ship by Langomazino: Arturo M. de Wholey et Cie (he is writing in French) and I think that this is likely to be right. The person is sometimes called de Wholey and sometimes Wholey (e.g. Andres A. Calderon, in assigning the official Recruiting licence to him calls him 'M. Arture Wholey' and in the trial he is usually called M. Wholey but sometimes M. de Wholey). In view of the name of the company, of the ship and of Madame I suggest that one can safely call him Arturo de Wholey: it sounds more consistent. I suppose that he was of French extraction and the 'de' was gradually disappearing as he became assimilated into Peruvian society.

- All I know about the firm is that it was apparently called Yver, Kelly and Company, and that it traded in the French islands from its head office in Papeete. These small merchant houses were little known to fame. Perhaps one had better call it 'Yver, Kelly and Company of Papeete'.

P.51 - I have checked through the record of the trial in the Messenger de Taïti and have changed the wording to 'Lee Knapp told the islanders that' to be on the safe side, though I think that Grandet said the same.

P.54 - Marquesas Islands.

P.60 - His name was definitely Edward Lucett, though the French sometimes called him Lucette and he was also called Lucatt.

- P.62 - How about a compromise: 'After the raids on Easter Island in December 1862, six of the eight vessels engaged in them ...'?
- P.64 - I suppose one could say 'The Misti from Valparaiso made for Rapa with her two recruits from Easter Island, where the stranded ...'?
- P.65 - No objection to deleting, but I have added the short sentence left to the previous paragraph (on p.64).
- P.69 - I have retyped the page and hope that the altered phrasing now seems all right. I find that in practice not everyone reads Chapter 2 before Chapter 7, and it seems desirable to indicate that Pongareva has been already dealt with out of sequence.
- P.72 - I agree, let us delete. But I think that the Rosa y Carmen should then be given a slightly more informative introduction, perhaps as follows: 'Shortly afterwards, however, the Rosa y Carmen arrived from Rapa and was actually boarded by the ariki, ...'.
- E.R.W. (Ernest Rudolph William) Krause.
- P.73 - Fine
- P.77 - Fakaofo is right and Gunther is wrong in saying that I corrected the Tokelau map. I was too busy trying to get him to have a separate map of the Tokelaus for Chapter 9, as originally requested. I still have all the maps with me for correction when I have got the text done.
- P.80 - I take it that my para.2 will pass with a shove since you have not listed it. This particular dispersal of routes is by far the most difficult to grasp and a modicum of help by way of recall would seem to be permissible.
- P.90 - Yes, delete endnote 13 and, on rereading, I think that there is no need to put anything in the text.
- P.92 - P.G. Bird is right.

- P.94 - Thanks for spotting the howler; it should be Gee.
- Should 'Revs' have a full stop in view of the ruling in the Australian Style Manual (3rd ed.), p.53 (h)?
- P.100 - O.K.: (see Chapter 11).
- P.101 - Ditto.
- 'Off and on' is the correct phrase for a sailing vessel standing off a lee shore and changing her course to keep her position relative to the land.
- P.105 - Book is right: he gives '140' and 'over 140' in his 1876 book 250 and 140 in his 1872 report.
- P.107 - Tuvalu is right. I have never seen, let alone corrected, captions to maps other than those in final approved form. They contain other elementary mistakes such as 'Marquesa Islands' for 'Marquesas Islands' and incomplete titles such as to Map 8. So far as I am aware these were merely drafts for approval before being finalized and I have my copies on my desk for correction at the moment.
- P.119 - Both changes seem to me to be great improvements.
- P.126 - Yes, please delete.
- P.128 - J.-J. (for Jean-Jacques) Cébort, but his name has been already given on p.52 and I have since ascertained that he was not appointed to the Government Service until 1870, so he must go out. Re de Kermel I am stumped as he never uses his initials: I have nine or ten letters from him but all are signed 'de Kermel' and the captain of the Latouche-Tréville refers to him as M. de Kermel.
- H. J. (Henry James) Nichols, already mentioned on p.57; G. B. (George Black) Duniam (see p.56); H.W. (Henry William) Carr (see p.55); A. (Alfred) Lacombe.
- P.132 - While 'Government' is a noun of multitude I have treated the Peruvian Government as plural and five lines later the British Government as singular. Better make both plural?

P.137 (245) -Delete repetition.

P.139 (247) - O.K. so long as 'Beni' is inserted in brackets as you have done, since I fancy that his real name has not been given before.

P.144 (234) - I agree: note 1 should come at the end of the Table.

P.145-7 (136-8) - The whole of the 'numbers recruited' column has been rechecked in Table 1 (now Table 2) and it agrees with the total of 3,483 in Table 2 (now Table 3). The title is changed as it is now removed to follow Ch.13. The numbers on the Adelante (1) should be 294, which is correct and agrees with the numbers in Ch.2. Note c has been put against the number, as you suggested, to show how the 251 who left home became 254. Note j j has been inserted as you suggested. I should be grateful if the line re the total could be left as people seem to find it difficult without an explanatory line to understand that the Totals in Tables 2 and 3 (i.e. 3,483) are the same but that the first is calculated by numbers of embarkees on ships and the second by numbers recruited on each island. The two tables had better be retyped?

Pp.150-1 (139-40) - Is Rotuma and Easter Island to have their total printed twice and Niue and Caroline Island only once? I have inserted an explanatory note b, as in Table 2, to show how the Tongarevan total is arrived at. I should be grateful if the line re total could be left for the reasons set out for Table 2.

P.148 (235) - Number of voyages and figures at (ii) have been rechecked and are as stated.

P.149 (236) - I have added 'or British naval' to agree with note c to Table 5.

- Yes, 3,483 is correct from Tables 2 and 3.

P.152 (237) - O.K.: have removed not to bottom of table.

P.154 (250) - Right: but should not line 3 then continue 'from this also'?

P.155 (251) - Utopia sounds just right.

- P.158 (-) - Deleted as no longer required.
- Pp.159-161 (252-254) -Changes O.K.
- P.163 (255) - The endnote reference to de la Richerie relates to the first two sentences; the last two sentences are from Miller to FO, Miller being the British Consul.
- P.164 (256) - All references are being changed to 'Ugarte y Santiago' and 'Arturo de Wholey' for consistency.
- P.169 (141) - Re 'recruit' or 'recruitment': I was a government recruiting agent on at least six ships in the early thirties and in official correspondence and general usage we always talked of 'a recruit', and I have never heard of the word 'recruitment' before. But if the word understood outside the Pacific is 'recruitment' I have no objection, even though it sounds to my ears a bit bizarre.
- P.172 (144) - Hamburgh was the old spelling but I see it is Hamburg these days.
- P.198 (170) - Both the interpolations were inserted in round brackets by the writers of the passages quoted, so I take it that they are all right as is?
- P.202 (175) - Dr L. Gautier.
- P.204 (177) - St-Sernin is referred to officially as M. de St-Sernin, lieutenant de vaisseau, and signs himself as 'C. de St-Sernin. Le lieutenant de vaisseau, commandant le Latouche-Tréville'. I do not know French usage but it seems best to call him Lieutenant rather than Mons. or Captain, though he was both by our usage.
- P.210 (183) - Paz Soldan is how he is always referred to in official correspondence and the Diccionario Historico-Biografico del Peru cites what I take it to be his father as Manuel Paz Soldan.
- P.216 (189) - Sorry, a typing error - drooling it is.
- P.229 (202) - H. (for Henry) Detert, already given on p.55. Chavez I cannot locate without re-examination of the Spanish microfilms but he can be easily cut out, not being of any importance.

- P.230 (203) - I agree, I seem to be a dedicated repeater. Perhaps in line 8 put 'As regards the latter,'?
- P.238 (211) - line 6 from the bottom. This is the only occasion in the MS where I feel that your construction of a sentence is not better than mine. I reckon that the sentence runs 'It was a fruitless diversion, but it resulted ...', with a subordinate clause describing why in the middle. But the substitution of a semi-colon for 'for' makes the continuity difficult to follow?
- P.242 (215) - It should be 'ship-fever'.
- P.243 (216) - '... the captain of the Adelante committed ...'.
- P.246 (219) - Agreed - it is.
- P.250 (223) - Yes, it would be clearer to insert 'Gilbertese' within square brackets.
- P.254 (227) - Oskar has an eagle eye, even for footnotes. I have changed notes 5 and 6 to read as they should.
- P.260 (233) - The Table seems O.K. as you have it; I have never been taught how to make out tables and should have got Alaric to do them.
- P.262 - ref. is to Table 9.
- P.266 - (see Chapter 9).
- P.278 - Table 10 deleted.
- P.282 (281) - I have checked from the photostat of the original contract and find that Anvida has typed a faithful copy. In preparing a version for printing in GBP 1864:9-10 someone at the FO has amended it to make better sense. I have therefore typed and substituted a copy of this amended version since it is actually the one referred to in note 1 to Appendix 3 (now Appendix 6).
- P.284 (283) - Not my interpolation but made by Captain Sasotategui, who had written in the Spanish version 'Mapa y Panca (nombre del Indio)' in ink. The ~~5~~' and ~~1~~' are similarly in the Spanish text, but not in brackets. I was advised, however, that the English usage is to have amounts in figures following amounts

in words in brackets; but if you feel that the brackets should be removed its quite O.K. by me.

P.291 (290) - Please see my note to p.210. The family name appears to be 'Paz Soldan' and not 'Soldan' or 'Paz-Soldan'.

P.293 (292) - Eyraud.

P.298 (297) - Note 19. Can one really have 'ibid' in a Harvard system reference? I have never ~~SEEN~~ seen it before.

P.299 (298) - Yes, Lawes wrote this letter on 27 March 1868. I have checked and it is so.

Old 332 - The Marquesas Islands were named after Las Marquisas de Mendoza and the 's' is essential - see Spate's index at p.364 under Marquesas Is., or any atlas or geographical work. It is possible that you are thinking of French usage, but then they speak of Les iles Marquises and not Marquise.

Enclosure 1

Reconciliation of statements re numbers of island groups and isolated islands visited by Peruvians

Marquesas Group

Nukuhiva

Uapou

Hivaoa

Tahuata

Fatuhiva

Cook Group

Tongareva

Manihiki

Rakahanga

Pukapuka

Atiu

Mangaia

Society Group

Tahiti

Huahine

Tahaa

Tuamotu Group

Anaa

Fakarava

Kauehi

Tahanea

Katiu

Motu Tunga

Mahemo

Tokelau Group

Nukunonu

Fakaofu

Atafu

Olosenga

Tuvalu Group

Nukulaelae

Funafuti

Nukufetau

Nanumea

Line Group

Caroline Island

Austral Group

Rapa

Tonga Group

Niuafu'ou

'Ata

'Uiha

Samoa Group

Upolu

Tutuila

Ta'au

Gilbert Group

Nonouti

Tabiteuea

Onotoa

Tamana

Arorae

Kermadec Group

Sunday Island

Gambier Group

Mangareva

Isolated Islands

Easter Island

Niue

Rotuma

Pitcairn Island.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
12th May, 1979.

Mr E.H. Bryan Jr.,
Pacific Scientific Information Center,
Bernice P. Bishop Museum,
HONOLULU, Hawaii 96818.

Dear Eddie,

My book on the activities of the Peruvian Slavers in Polynesia is on the eve of completion but before I send it off to the publishers I should be most grateful indeed if you could kindly let me have a copy of your narrative of the reception of one of the descendants of the slaves repatriated to Rapa when he got to Fakaofu.

I had already included an account of this episode in my final chapter from an account given to me verbally by Tony Hooper, but Judith Huntsman says that either he or I have got it a bit muddled and that in any case the correct story is given in your typescript Journal or Report on the Whitney Bird Expedition (I think that she said it was on pp.81-97).

I should much rather quote your Journal and give you the credit for the account than reproduce a garbled third-hand story; and Judith agrees that it is only fair to do so.

Hence my request for a photocopy of the pages on Rapa and the Tokelaus and the correct citation for insertion in my acknowledgments and the bibliography. I have already quoted several of your other works, including your Panala'ou Memoirs, which I found absolutely fascinating; it took me right back to the old days when I too was roaming around the Phoenix Group.

Robert Langdon tells me that he met you when he was in Honolulu recently and found you working harder than ever, if such a thing was possible. And Overy writes from Tarawa that you are preparing a bibliography on the Kiribati and Tuvalu Groups, which is certainly a much-needed work. We leave for Tarawa ourselves in July to attend the Independence Celebrations.

I enclose a \$10 note to cover any expenses in photocopying and airmailing the pages, in the hope that you will be willing to let me have them.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

John

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
26th March, 1979.

Dear Derek,

I enclose a copy of the draft of Slaves in Paradise: the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862-1864, as sent to Anvida Lamberts for typing. It seemed best to give it to her as she has done our work in the past and can read my handwriting.

I hope that you will not mind having a glance through the prelims, any of the narrative chapters that are of interest, and perhaps Appendix 1, even though the text is so messed about and hard to decypher, as there may well be points which you feel should be amended or could be better expressed and it is relatively easy to change copy at this stage. I would hesitate to show it to anyone else because it looks so awful with its numerous amendments and taped on insertions but I know you will realize that it will at least look more respectable when properly typed.

I welcomed the suggestion in your kind letter that the book might be dedicated to the Polynesian islanders - who are indeed the people likely to be most interested in the events in which their forbears featured - but I have taken the liberty of adding your name as the person without whose help and interest the project might never have been completed. I only hope that the book has been worked out on lines which you consider valid and is at the same time interesting as a narrative.

The story will, I hope, flow more easily when the endnotes are taken from the end of each chapter and banished to the end of the book, as Anvida is doing; not one reader in hundreds reads footnotes or endnotes and checks citations. For the same reason the chapter on crises has been relegated to an appendix as it rather broke the continuity of the story. It is based really on what I learnt from the atoll people myself when discussing reactions to disasters, which were all too common in the Gilbert and Ellice, but if you think it should be deleted as unscholarly I shall not be hurt.

While naturally conscious of my inability to do justice to such an amazing story I have been astonished at how much it has been possible to discover about the rise and fall of the Peruvian labour trade. As far as I know we were the only two in the world who felt that anything could be discovered at this late stage.

Again many thanks for your interest and help,

Yours,



PS. I never thanked you for your seminar paper; to be truthful I have only now begun to raise my nose again from the grindstone and read anything apart from labour trade documentation. But I look forward to reading it this week as it is on a subject which has long interested me as being fundamental to so much which one takes for granted without really having thought out.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
25th March, 1979.

Professor Derek Freeman,
Department of Anthropology,
Research School of Pacific Studies,
Australian National University,
P.O. Box 4, CANBERRA, A.C.T.2600.

Dear Derek,

I mentioned to you last week that Pat Cröft, of the ANU Press, felt that a number of maps seemed essential for the proposed book on the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, which you have already contributed materially to bring into being through your help with documentary sources and general encouragement.

Thinking it over during the past few months I feel that Pat is right in her contention, for most of the islands visited by the kidnappers are quite unknown to the general reader and even, in Australia at least, to Pacific oriented people, whose knowledge of the geography of Oceania seems to be mainly confined to Melanesia.

Honor has therefore traced out 12 maps, the first being a general one covering the Central and Eastern Pacific from Callao to Rotuma and Sunday Island, and from Nonouti to Rapa and Pitcairn, this being the area ranged over by the labour ships. It will show the routes taken by the recruiters from and to Peru, the ships being indicated by numbers only (names being shown on a key) to avoid confusion.

The other eleven maps are small (they average about $4\frac{1}{2}$ " by $3\frac{1}{2}$ ") and simple maps intended for insertion in the text somewhere near the beginning of the particular chapter dealing with the island or group of islands and giving the island and place names mentioned in the narrative. On them will be inserted the detailed route of each ship visiting the area. I enclose her sketch of Map 5, on the Marquesas Group, to show the sort of map envisaged.

All the maps are essentially thematic, without topographical features (except a few hills to break the monotony of Easter Island) and can be readily traced from admiralty charts or existing non-copyright maps. I enclose the list and have indicated the sources from which the sketches have been copied. The size does not seem to be the main consideration as they can be enlarged or reduced by the publishers to suit their requirements.

The only information to be included on the maps which cannot readily be traced are the shipping routes and it seems best for me to pencil these in lightly when the rest of the maps are finished and return them to be completed professionally.

I should be most grateful if, as originally suggested, you could use your good offices to have me placed on the waiting list in the cartographic section of the Department of Human Geography to have these maps prepared for publication.

Yours sincerely,

J. W. M.

Enclosure

Maps for book on the Peruvian Slavers in Polynesia

- (1) The Central and Eastern Pacific, showing the routes of the Peruvian labour ships (Source: Admiralty Chart 2683).
- (2) Tongareva (Source: Admiralty Handbook, Pacific Islands, vol.II, p.552).
- (3) Easter Island (Source: *ibid.*, p.65).
- (4) The Tuamotu and Gambier Islands (Source: *ibid.*, p.193).
- (5) The Marquesas Islands (Source: *ibid.*, p.261).
- (6) The Austral and Southern Cook Groups (Source: Admiralty Chart 2683).
- (7) The Northern Cook Islands (Source: Admiralty Chart 2683).
- (8) The Samoan Islands and Niue (Source: Admiralty Chart 780).
- (9) The Tokelau Islands (Source: Admiralty Chart 780).
- (10) The Tuvalu Group (Source: Maude, Of Islands and Men, p.125).
- (11) Tonga (Source: Admiralty Handbook, Pacific Islands, vol.III, p.14).
- (12) The Southern Gilbert Islands (Source: Maude Of Islands and Men, p.108).

.....

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
9th August, 1978.

Srta. Lucila Valderrama,
Jefa de la Oficina de Bibliografía Nacional,
Biblioteca Nacional,
Avenida Abancay 4 Cuadra,
LIMA 1, Peru.

Dear Senorita Valderrama,

Many thanks indeed for sending me the extracts from the two books by Garland and Novo y Colson. They were exactly what I needed and will enable me to sew up the last threads of my book.

Please do not worry any more about the dates on which the Dolores Carolina, Polinesia and Adelante returned to Callao. I have just found them in El Comercio for 19 August 1863, where it says that the Dolores Carolina returned on 14 August with 174 islanders and the other two on the 16th with 113 and 130 islanders.

As for the Margarita and the Honorio I've written them off as lost at sea or wrecked on some reef, though I suspect that one of them was captured and scuttled by the people of 'Uiha in the Hapa'ai Group of Tonga.

So now I have everything that I require; and have but to thank you again for your many kindnesses,

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

Lima, 18 July, 1978.

Professor H.E. Maude,
77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
Australia

Me es grato dirigirme a Usted para proporcionarle la información solicitada de la obra de Novo y Golsen, ubicada en la "Biblioteca de Catalunya" de Barcelona, la misma que transcribe a continuación:

Novo y Golsen, Pedro de. Historia de la Guerra de España en el Pacífico. Madrid, 1862.

"10 de julio de 1862".

"La barca española Rosa y Carmen habían salido meses antes del Callao para las islas Tahiti con objeto de contratar y traer al Perú colonos polinesios, lo que efectuó previa las formalidades y autorizaciones necesarias. Pero al presentarse de nuevo sobre el Callao fue advertida de que la Escuadra francesa surta en él se disponía a apresiar la barca y prendera su capitán bajo el pretexto de que este había cometido muertes y violencias entre los indios que estaban bajo el protectorado de Francia. Vio el almirante Pinzón que, en efecto, uno de los vapores de Guerra que componían parte de la escuadra francesa fondeada a la vista se había puesto en marcha, y decidido a evitar el apresamiento de la barca, el general dispuso los buques para un combate posible. Observada por la escuadra francesa esta maniobra, ordenó a su vapor retroceda, y la barca Rosa y Carmen fondeó tranquilamente cerca de las fragatas. Este rasgo de energía tan propio de Pinzón produjo muy buen efecto; el capitán de la barca, Sr. Maristany, promovió una solicitud para que se esclareciera su conducta por medio de un proceso, resultando plenamente probada su inocencia. Sin la oportuna intervención de las fragatas españolas, acaso el capitán de la barca jamás hubiera conseguido recobrar el buque de su mando, ni sincerarse de injustas acusaciones".- Ref. páginas 124-125.

Atentamente,

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE CULTURA
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL



LUCILA VALDERRAMA G.
Jefe. Of. de Bibliografía Nac. y Registro Nac.
de Derechos de Autor

Lima, 6 jun, 1978.

Professor H.E. Maude,
77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
Australia

Por encargo de la Srta. Lucila Valderrama, Jefa de la Oficina de Bibliografía Nacional y Registro Nacional de Derechos de Autor, me es grato acusar su atenta carta de fecha 21 de mayo del presente año. Con referencia a su solicitud le envío los siguientes datos:

Garland, Alejandro. Reseña industrial del Perú. Lima, Imprenta La Industria, 1905.

"No está fuera de lugar, consignar en esta nota, que en 1862 se hizo un nuevo experimento para proporcionar peones baratos á nuestra desfalleciente agricultura. Pero el resultado del nuevo ensayo, resultó la página más triste y vergonzosa de la historia de la contratación de brazos para el Perú. Nos referimos á la inhumana importación de aquellos infelices semi-salvajes habitantes de las islas Polinesias. Dos años escasos duró este inicuo comercio; pues alarmado el Gobierno por los abusos que se cometían no sólo la prohibió de una manera absoluta en 1863, sino que obligó á varios barcos que llegaron posteriormente á regresarse al lugar de procedencia, con su mercancía humana. El número de polinesios (canacas) que llegaron á desembarcar fué de 720, muriendo al poco tiempo la mayor parte de ellos".- Ref. página 46.

Respecto al libro: "Historia de la Guerra de España en el Pacífico", por Pedro de Novo y Colson, no se encuentra en la colección de la Biblioteca Nacional. Sin embargo, la señorita Valderrama ha viajado a Europa y visitará España, donde tratará de ubicar la obra en mención. A su regreso le dará respuesta sobre el particular, además de otros datos complementarios.

Atentamente,

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE CULTURA
BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL


LUCILA VALDERRAMA G.
Jefa Of. de Bibliografía Nac. y Registro Nac.
de Derechos de Autor

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
21st May, 1978.

Srta Lucila Valderrama,
Jefe del Departamento de Bibliografía y Ediciones,
Biblioteca Nacional,
Av. Abancay 4 Cuadra,
LIMA 1, Peru.

Dear Senorita Valderrama,

You may have been wondering at times whether I was dead or alive these days, but I felt ashamed to write until I could tell you that I had at least started on my account of 'The Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia'.

Since we last corresponded I have been engaged on many other papers on different aspects of Pacific Islands history. Now, however, I have retired, being over the age of 70, and last year I started seriously to write on the Peruvian labour trade.

It has become a book of some 100,000 words, and fortunately three publishers seem anxious to publish it. I have finished the first draft and am working on a rewrite so that the chapters flow on in a consecutive narrative from beginning to end. It is longer than I had intended due to the quite astonishing amount of detailed information obtained from the London Missionary Society and Catholic Mission correspondence; the records of the British, French and United States Legations at Lima and their Consulates at Callao; those of the Hawaiian Consulate-General; the material in the Chilean National Archives; the correspondence of the British Consulates at Tahiti, Raiatea and Apia; the British Admiralty papers; the French material from Tahiti; the Messenger de Tahiti and several other newspapers and periodicals.

This material (some 1,000 items in all) serves to confirm and complete the magnificent series of Peruvian Foreign Office correspondence which you so kindly searched out, had copied and sent me. These have been translated by Mrs Marney Dunn, the wife of the former Australian Ambassador to the Argentine, with the help of Spanish-speaking friends in Canberra.

There are only two relatively small matters needed to complete the book and I am hoping very much that you may be willing to procure the answers yourself or find someone who would do it.

The two queries are as follows:-

- (1) The dates on which the following ships returned to Callao and, if possible, the number of passengers and where they came from -
 - (a) Dolores Carolina (left Callao 25.1.63).
 - (b) Margarita (left Callao 26.1.63).
 - (c) Polinesia (left Callao 14.2.63).
 - (d) Adelante (left Callao 1.3.63).
 - (e) Honorio (left Callao 1.3.63).

The last ship for which I have a record of arriving at Callao, from El Comercio, was the General Prim on 19.7.63, and the Dolores Carolina, Polinesia and Adelante are recorded in a Peruvian Foreign Office Table as already being in the Bay of Callao on 16.9.63. They presumably arrived at Callao, therefore, between the 19th of July and the 16th of September and I would hope that their arrival was duly reported in El Comercio. The return of the Margarita and Honorio would also have been after the 19th July, but as they are not given in the Foreign Office Table as having returned by the 16th September it is possible that they never returned at all.

- (2) There are two books which I have been unable to locate in Australia and I should be most grateful if you could send a photocopy of the required page in each -
 - (a) Garland, Alejandro. Reseña Industrial del Perú. Lima, Imprenta La Industráa, 1905. Page 46.

On this page the author apparently states that Easter Islanders were taken to work in the Chincha Islands guano industry.
 - (b) Novo y Colson, Pedro de, Historia de la Guerra de España en el Pacífico. Madrid, 1882.

The date would be about 10 July 1863

The page, or pages, wanted are those on which it is stated that the Spanish commodore, Ail Pinzon, protected Captain Maristany of the Rosa y Carmen from the French at Callao and enabled him to clear his name in the Peruvian Courts of Justice.

If you can possibly spare the time for this work I will send you a Bank Cheque to cover all expenses and for your time spent on it, at whatever rate you consider to be appropriate. If, however, you are too busy perhaps you

- 3 -

would be so kind as to ask one of your staff to undertake the work. It should not, I imagine, take very much time as the matters are so explicit.

Hoping that everything is well with you; and with my most sincere thanks for all that you did for me in the past and which has been duly acknowledged in the Preface to my book,

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

The COMMERCIAL BANKING COMPANY
OF SYDNEY LIMITED

17 APR 1970

19

Lodged as per Slip therewith

Fifty three dollars

79c.

Australian Currency

~~Draft~~
covering Cost of Mail Transfer } on/to
~~Telegraphic~~
Transfer

PERU.

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FOR ADVICE AND PAYMENT TO/OR CREDIT OF

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Twenty five Pds.

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S 61B

H. E. MARSH



As from: 77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
4th August, 1970.

The Manager,
The Commercial Banking Company of Sydney, Limited,
Bougainville Street, MANUKA, A.C.T. 2603.

Dear Sir,

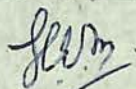
I should be grateful if you would send
an airmail remittance for £100 (sterling) to:-

Senorita Lucila Valderrama,
Jefe del Departamento de Bibliografía
y Ediciones,

Biblioteca Nacional,
Av. Abancay 4 Cuadra,
LIMA 1, Peru.

I would be appreciated if this sum could
be sent by the quickest means possible, since the
previous remittance for £25 to the same recipient
took a month or more to reach her, by which time
I had received several letters asking what had
gone wrong and requesting me to make urgent
enquiries.

Yours faithfully,



H.E. Maude.

Department of Pacific History,
4th August, 1970.

Srta. Lucila Valderrama,
Jefe del Departamento de Bibliografía y Ediciones,
Biblioteca Nacional,
Av. Abancay 4 Cuadra,
LIMA 1, Peru.

Dear Senorita Valderrama,

Many thanks for your two letters, which have been duly received. I doubt if it takes quite 30 days for a letter to get from Peru to here, though I have known it to take 19 days for one to come from Sydney, which is only 40 minutes by air. However, as I explained in a previous letter, I am not by any means at Canberra all the time and often when I do return I find 30 to 50 letters awaiting me to answer. And then your letter goes to a friend to make sure that I have understood what you have written correctly, and he may take a week or 10 days before returning it with his translation.

This is the only Department of Pacific History (by which is really meant Pacific Islands history) in the world and part of my work is to keep in touch with all the isolated Pacific historians in other countries and to provide them with the bibliographic and other information which they need, and generally help them in their research. I have many such correspondents in Europe (particularly in Northern Europe) and North America, but none in South America, though there was one in Uruguay for a time working on Malespina's voyage to the islands. This seems peculiar and regrettable when one considers that South America borders the Pacific Ocean and so much of its early communication, such as the pearling trade of the Tuamotu Islands in the 1820s and 1830s, was from Valparaiso and other ports in Peru and Chile.

I was most excited to read of your important discoveries on the Pacific Islands Labour Trade and, in particular, the record of the lawsuit of the French Chargé d'Affaires which includes the antecedents of the importation of Kanakas and tables regarding their arrival and departure. It seems that we should have this most useful volume and I hope sincerely that you will be able to have it microfilmed. Where the documents are in both French and Spanish I should prefer to have the French version, please, since I read French without difficulty (as my home is on the island of Jersey just off the French coast where they speak a Norman patois). Perhaps, as you say, some of the letters which are difficult to microfilm could be typed, if they are of sufficient importance; you indicate that some documents in the file

are merely repetitious or acknowledgements and therefore not of sufficient importance either to type or microfilm. The historical data is of special importance, and that includes anything which shows the attitude of the Peruvian Government and the Peruvian people towards the labour trade, the treatment of the labourers and the work which they were required to do.

Thank you for the very clear statement of all that you have done and for the microfilm containing 101 exposures. I did not acknowledge it in my last letter because it arrived after I had written this. I have not sent it to be enlarged and translated as yet for I shall wait until you have sent everything and then advertise for a Spanish translator to come and work with me on everything in my library. Once I start on this work of writing the history of the Labour Trade I shall do nothing else for maybe a year.

I think that the best thing that I can do now is to go and see my Bank Manager and get him to send you a remittance for £100 (that is, I take it, about 10,000 soles) by the quickest means he can find. I shall tell him that the last time was too slow. It is all a bit complicated because we do not use English Pounds in this country but Australian dollars and cents and also I think there is no way of sending money direct, but only through a clearing house in London or New York.

Then when all the work is completed, or at least you are in a position to say what it will cost, I can send you a remittance to cover the balance still owing. It would not, in my opinion, be worth while trying to save £10 by putting aside all documents other than the ones in the volume dealing with the lawsuit.

It is quicker to send you a remittance through my Bank rather than ask the University to send it to you, since they might take a year to get moving. However I hope that they will eventually refund me part, if not all, of this expenditure. Who knows?

We are glad to read in the news that Peru is recovering its equilibrium and from you that your family was not affected. As to the tremor in Lima which you mention, we heard over the radio the frightened voice of the telephone operator girl in Lima - it made me sad, for I have been through earthquakes in India and know how helpless one feels at the time.

I hope that I have replied to all in your letters. I am most grateful to you for all that you have done and please accept my sincere congratulations on your finding the French lawsuit file. I shall dedicate my monograph to you for your great help.

I shall be leaving Australia next week but will be back in September,

Yours sincerely,

Seeley

29/7/70

Harry:

Herewith a fairly free translation of dearest Lucila's latest effusion.

ADL

TRANSLATION

Lima, July 10, 1970

Dear Dr Maude,

That's what she says!

I received your letter of June 26 on July 6, or ten days after you sent it, in which you make reference to my letter of May 25, which means that my letter took almost 30 days to reach Canberra. You did not mention the registered letter that I sent you on June 18 together with a small packet containing 101 exposures of microfilm. The letter bore the registration number 236158 and the packet number 236159. They were both posted in Lima on June 18. I hope that by now you have received them. If not, please claim them at the post office, quoting the numbers I have given you.

In the letter, I gave you a detailed account of the work I have done and am doing, as well as an account of the films that I had sent you separately. I also included a list of the expenses that had been incurred and of those that were still outstanding. It is necessary that you should let me know whether or not I should have microfilmed the documents concerning the law-suit in which new people and new names of ships appear, as well as a table of the kanakas who had arrived in Peru. The table refers to kanakas who had died, etc.

Undoubtedly not all of the documents can be microfilmed as they are very difficult to read. These can be copied on the typewriter. Others, because of their repetitions, or because they are merely acknowledgements of the receipt of letters, have no value either. Microfilming is in this case more economical than having documents typed. However, to do this, I need money, as the work must be paid for on delivery. In the letter, I told you that what had been done up to then had cost £57 more or less; that the cost of microfilming the volume containing the law-suit was estimated at about £50, or a total of £107 sterling. It is probable that more money might be needed; if so, I will let you know in due course.

Thank you for your condolences for what occurred in the north of my country. It has been something dreadful. It was an unprecedented tragedy for Peru, which has left us with a "hangover" of desolation and psychical depression which is very difficult to describe. Happily, my family was not affected as almost all of them live in Lima, where only a strong ^{rumor} ~~quake~~ was felt which caused no serious damage.

I thank you also for your concern over what your government sent. For us, all help has been welcome, above all because it has meant attentiveness and solidarity. That has pleased us even more than the material things (food-stuffs, clothing, etc.)

Hoping to receive early news from you, and thanking you once more for your attention, I remain, as always, at your orders.

Lucila Valderrama G.

Lima, julio 10 de 1970.

Señor Doctor
H. E. Maude
The Australian National University
CAMBERRA

Estimado doctor Maude:

Con fecha 6 de julio recibí su carta de 26 de junio, o sea diez días mas tarde de haberla usted remitido, y en la cual hace referencia a mi carta de fecha 25 de mayo, quiere decir que mi carta ha demorado en llegar a Camberra casi 30 días. Tampoco hace usted mención a la carta que le remití certificada el 18 de junio junto con una pequeña encomienda con 101 exposiciones de microfilm. La carta tiene el certificado N° 236158 y la encomienda el N° 236159 y fueron depositadas en el correo de Lima el 18 de junio. Espero que en estos momentos obre en su poder y sino por favor, reclámelos en el correo con los números de los certificados que le remito.

En la carta le doy una relación detallada del trabajo realizado y del que se está efectuando, así como de las películas que le he remitido en encomienda aparte. También incluyo una relación de gastos hechos y de lo que queda pendiente. Es necesario que me indique si debo o no microfilmar los documentos del juicio en los cuales aparecen nuevos personajes y nuevos nombres de buques, así como un cuadro de los "canacas" que han ingresado al Perú. Se hace referencia a "canacas" muertos, etc.


Es indudable que no todos los documentos van a poder microfilmarse por estar muy borrosos, esos se pueden mecanografiar, otros por ser repeticiones o acuses de recibo de documentos no valen tampoco. Microfilmarse resulta en este caso más económico que mecanografiar, pero para poder contratar necesito el dinero ya que el trabajo es contra entrega del dinero. En la carta le indicaba que lo realizado hasta ese momento era £ 57.- más ó menos, que el trabajo de microfilm del volumen del juicio lo calculaba en £ 50.-, o sea 107 libras esterlinas. Es probable que falte algo más que se lo haría saber oportunamente.

Le agradezco sus condolencias por lo ocurrido en el norte de mi país, ha sido algo realmente pavoroso. Una tragedia sin precedentes en el Perú y que nos ha dejado un saldo de desolación y depresión psíquica muy difícil de describir. Mi familia felizmente no sufrió daño alguno ya que casi todos residen en Lima, donde sólo se sintió un temblor bastante fuerte que no causó mayores daños.

Le agradezco asimismo su preocupación por lo remitido por su gobierno, para nosotros toda ayuda ha sido bienvenida, sobre todo por lo que ha significado de atención y solidaridad. Eso lo hemos agradecido aun más que la misma represen

tación material (víveres, ropa, etc), de dichos sentimientos.

Espero recibir pronto noticias tuyas y agradeciendo una vez mas su fina atención, quedo como siempre a sus órdenes.



Lucila Valderrama G.

TRANSLATION

Lima,

June 16, 1970

Mr H.E. Maude,
Australian National University,
CANBERRA.

Dear Mr Maude,

I am sending you today by air the microfilm (101 exposures) corresponding to: El Peruano, official newspaper, 1861, 1862, 1863; El Comercio, 1862 and first quarter, second quarter (incomplete) and fourth quarter, 1863; Revista de Lima, 1861, 1862 and 1863; Revista Americana, 1863; Diario de los Debates; La condicion jurídica de los Extranjeros en el Peru, Santiago, 1872, by Felix Cipriano Coronel Zegarra; La inmigracion y su desarrollo en el Peru, Lima 1929, by Mario E. del Rio; Revista Peruana de Derecho internacional.

For the rest I have examined the following:

BOOKS

Coronel Zegarra, Felix C. La condicion juridica de los extranjeros en el Peru. Santiago, 1872.

Paz Soldan y Unanue, Pedro. La inmigracion en el Peru. Lima, 1891.

Rio, Mario E. del. La inmigracion y su desarrollo en el Peru. Lima, 1929.

Tamayo Barrios, Alberto. La politica migratoria e inmigracion china en el Peru (1849-1941). Lima, 1969. Thesis.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

El Peruano, official newspaper, years 1861-1863.

El Comercio, 1861 (nothing), 1862, 1863 (incomplete, lacks

the second quarter).

Anales of the National University of San Marcos, 1862-1863
(nothing).

Revista Americana, 1861 (nothing), 1862 (nothing), 1863.

Revista de Lima, 1860 (nothing) 1861 (nothing), 1862, 1863.

El Cosmos, 1862-1863 (nothing).

La Bolsa, 1861-1862 (nothing).

El Independiente, 1861-1862 (nothing).

Diario de los Debates de las Camaras de Diputados y Senadores.
1861-1863.

Guia Politica de forasteros, 1861, 1862, 1863 (nothing).

Annales des Voyages, 1861, Vol. 191 (nothing).

MANUSCRIPTS

Work on manuscript documents is being carried out in the Ministry of External Affairs.

As a first step the indexes of the archives have been examined. However, it is to be regretted that these are not properly organised. In addition, it has been necessary to examine a total of more than 200 documents without coming across anything [of interest to you].

At present the documents that have been found in the letterbooks are being typed. Fourteen of these volumes have been examined and information [of interest to you] has been found in seven of them.

I have now found a voluminous tome which includes the full record of the lawsuit which followed the claim* of the Charge d'Affaires of France in Peru, including the antecedents [~~the~~ of the importation of Kanakas] and tables regarding the arrival and departure of the Kanakas. To microfilm ~~the~~ this volume would cost perhaps some £50 sterling, if the Ministry would allow a private company, perhaps Kodak, to do it. The contents of this volume are most interesting - some of the documents are in the original French, and then translated into Spanish. If you would prefer that the French or Spanish version only should be microfilmed, please let me know.

* or complaint, of charge

In the Biblioteca Nacional I have examined 20 manuscripts concerning French claims without finding anything of interest to you.

EXPENSES

101 microfilm exposures	S/.	616.00
50 airmail sheets		22.50
Correspondence [postage]		82.00
2 Xerox copies, courtesy of the Embassador Carlos Ortiz de Zevallos		-
		<hr/>
	S/.	720.00
		<hr/> <hr/>
Money sent, £25 = S/. 2,500	S/.	2,500.00
		<hr/>
	[less]	720.00
		<hr/>
[Cash in hand]		1,780.00
		<hr/>

TO BE PAID FOR

Typewritten copies now being made, about 100	S/.	1,500.00
Hours worked by undersigned - 60		6,000.00
		<hr/>
		7,500.00
[Less cash in hand]		1,780.00
		<hr/>
[Amount owing]	S/.	5,720.00
		<hr/>

The figure of 5,720 soles is equivalent to £57 more or less. This figure does not include either a microfilm or a typewritten copy of the volume concerning the lawsuit, which I estimate would amount to another £50.

If all the other documents were put aside and only the volume dealing with the lawsuit was dealt with one could cut down costs by about £10.

I do not know if my expense account will be cleared to you. If it is not please let me know so that I can clarify it. If possible, I would like you to send me half the amount owing to me for my work, i.e. £30. The rest could be sent to me when the work is finished.

I would be glad if you would let me know promptly that the documents have been received.

Yours sincerely,

Lucila Valderrama G.

30 June

Harry:

Herewith a translation
of dearest Lucila's latest
epic.

Also, I'm returning
Karl Du Rietz's review
of Geoffrey Rawson's
book. I have now ordered
a copy of the Greathead
article from the Library
of Congress.

W.D.

Plate I. Natives of Rapa, Female: A, Finau a Tamata; B, Oigaigariki a Turoua; C, Tuku a Maiuri; D, Ninirei a Riaria; E, V-ineramaia a Avaeoru; F, Tamahine a Parima; G, Vaineikatonoa a Tuio-mae; H, Torogakieva a Avaeoru; I, Aniahu a Tuanua.

Plate II. Natives of Rapa, Male: A, Kareka a Faraire; B, Gariki a Ahuore; C, Uka a Tuanua; D, Hehe a Afora, better known as Mato; E, Pataritari a Avaeoru; F, Rogotaumua a Tuanua; G, Terauriki a Tuio-mae; H, Teraau a Parima; I, Tupou a Make; J, Teumurau a Turoua; K, Tapaa a Taniera (in Raivavae); L, Moearo a Maiuri; M, name not given.

Plate III. Women of Rapa, showing manner of wearing pareau and of carrying bundles. (8400, 8401, 8557, 8540, 8542).

Plate IV. Sandals of purau (8549).

Plate VI. Package of taro made from kiekie in the process of opening, showing construction (A, B, C, D).

SERVICE INTERNATIONAL DE MICROFILMS

9, RUE DU COMMANDANT RIVIERE

PARIS 8

TEL. 359-16-31



S. I. M.

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 33.750 NF.

R. C. SEINE 55 B 9563

Paris, le 20 Décembre 1978

M/mag

Madame H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603
Australie

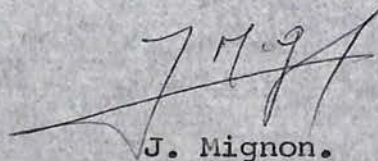
Madame,

Nous accusons bonne réception et vous remercions de votre lettre et de notre chèque de 163.30 Francs en retour.

Renseignement pris auprès de notre bureau de poste, il n'est pas possible d'expédier de France en Australie un "mandat postal international". Il faut passer par l'intermédiaire d'une banque.

En conséquence, nous vous demandons de bien vouloir nous indiquer le plus rapidement possible votre identité bancaire pour nous permettre de faire le nécessaire sans tarder.

Nous vous prions d'agréer, Madame, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.


J. Mignon.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
6th December, 1978.

Service International de Microfilms,
9, rue du Commandant Riviere,
PARIS 8, France.

Dear Sirs,

Under cover of your letter JM/mag of 4 September you kindly sent me a Bank Cheque on the Banque Nationale de Paris, No.2053225 for 163.30 francs.

This cheque has been returned to me by my Bank in Canberra as the French Government currency restrictions apparently prohibit the cashing of cheques issued to non-residents of France outside France itself.

I have since been to the French Embassy in Canberra where the existence of this restriction has been confirmed.

The Embassy officials have suggested that I should return the cheque to you with a request that you would be so good as to send me the sum by International Money Order, which apparently is not subject to the same restrictions.

I am accordingly enclosing the cheque herewith in the hope that you will see your way to doing as your Embassy recommends. The ways of Governments in these days are truly wonderful and not for us mere mortals to question.

Yours faithfully,



H.E. Maude.

SERVICE INTERNATIONAL DE MICROFILMS

9, RUE DU COMMANDANT RIVIERE

PARIS 8 TEL. 359-16-31



S. I. M.

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 33.750 NF.

R. C. SEINE 55 B 9563

Paris, le 4 septembre 1978

JM/mag

Madame H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603
Australie

Madame,

Selon les instructions formulées dans votre lettre du 21 juillet 1978, vous trouverez ci-joint un chèque bancaire sur la Banque Nationale de Paris - agence Champs-Élysées - N° 2053225 de Francs 163.30.

Nous vous en souhaitons bonne réception.

Toujours dévoués à vos ordres, nous vous prions d'agréer, Madame, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.


J. Mignon.

88&Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
21st July, 1978.

Service International de Microfilms,
9, rue du Cammandant Riviere,
PARIS 8, France.

Dear Sirs,

Thank you for your letter MD/mag of the 29th June and for the microfilm reel of documentation from the National Archives, Section Outre-Mer, Oceanie B. 18, as itemized on your account F. 32/251 of the same date.

The microfilm which you sent is very clear and a great deal easier to read than the material sent from the Peruvian Archives in Lima recently.

I note that there is a balance of 163.30 francs due to me, which was a pleasant surprise, and I should be grateful if you would send me a remittance for the amount in due course.

I shall not be requiring any additional items, I hope, until I have finished my book on the Peruvian Labour Trade; and when I start again on the next project I can always send you a further cheque.

With many thanks for your good service,

Yours faithfully,



H.E. Maude.

SERVICE INTERNATIONAL DE MICROFILMS

9, RUE DU COMMANDANT RIVIERE

PARIS 8 TEL. 359-16-31



S. I. M.

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 33.750 NF.

R. C. SEINE 55 B 9563

Paris, le 29 juin 1978

MD/mag

Madame H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603
Australie

Madame,

Nous avons le plaisir de vous informer que le coût de la réalisation de votre commande s'avère inférieur à notre estimation.

Nous vous demandons de bien vouloir nous indiquer si vous préférez recevoir cette somme ou si vous désirez que nous la conservions pour de futurs travaux.

Nous vous prions d'agréer, Madame, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

J. Mignon.

Keith Onion Skin

OPTODOCUMENTENTALS A

SERVICE INTERNATIONAL DE MICROFILMS

9, RUE DU COMMANDANT RIVIERE

PARIS 8 TEL. 359-16-31



S. I. M.

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 33 750 F

R. C. 552095630 B RC PARIS

FACTURE DE REGULARISATION

PARIS, le 29 Juin 1978

Réf. **F. 32.251**

DOIT: Madame H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603
Australie

V/Commande du 31 mai 1978

Reproduction de documents conservés
aux Archives Nationales, Section
Outre-Mer

Réf. OCEANIE B. 18

- 485 clichés négatifs de deux pages	à 0.98	475.30
- 485 clichés positifs de deux pages	à 0.24	116.40
		<hr/>
		591.70
	frais d'expédition	25.00
		<hr/>
	TOTAL FRANCS	616.70
		<hr/>
	V/chèque du 2 juin	780.00
		<hr/>
	Reste à votre crédit	163.30

Exonéré de taxes.

Selon l'usage, le négatif a été
déposé à la Bibliothèque.

SERVICE INTERNATIONAL DE MICROFILMS

9, RUE DU COMMANDANT RIVIERE

PARIS 8 TEL. 359-16-31



S. I. M.

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 33.750 F. R. C. : 552095630 B RC PARIS

FACTURE DE REGULARISATION

PARIS, le 29 Juin 1978

Réf. F. 32.251

DOIT: Madame H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603
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	Reste à votre crédit	163.30

Exonéré de taxes.

Selon l'usage, le négatif a été
déposé à la Bibliothèque.

SIREN n° 552 095 630.

C.C.P. 6960-20 Paris

BANQUE NATIONALE DE PARIS

Agence Champs-Élysées

Compte n° 214.298

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
26th May, 1978.

Service International de Microfilms,
9, rue du Commandant Rivière,
PARIS 8, France.

Dear Sirs,

Thank you for your letter MD/mag of the 17th May, forwarding a provisional estimate of the cost of microfilming the contents of Océanie B 18 in the National Archives, relating to the Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia.

As requested, I enclose a Bank Cheque for 780 francs as a deposit, the balance to be payable on receipt of your invoice.

I should be grateful if the work of microfilming this documentation could be undertaken as soon as convenient to you, as I have completed the first draft of my book on the Peruvian Labour Trade and am now engaged in finishing what I hope will be the final text for publication. As the French were responsible for putting a stop to this slave trade I am anxious to give them full credit.

I thank you for a prospectus of your microfilmed set of the Messageur de Tahiti, an invaluable journal which I use almost daily. Professor Douglas Oliver found six fairly complete sets of the Messageur in an old building in Papeete and deposited two of them, at my suggestion, in the National Library at Canberra and the Mitchell Library in Sydney; and I use photocopies made from these.

I shall recommend, however, that the Research School of Pacific Studies or the Department of Pacific History at the Australian National University should purchase a copy of your microfilm, which scholars can then borrow for study at home. If they can find the money they will no doubt communicate with you direct.

Yours faithfully,


H.E. Maude.

SERVICE INTERNATIONAL DE MICROFILMS

9, RUE DU COMMANDANT RIVIERE

PARIS 8 TEL. 359-16-31



S. I. M.

SOCIÉTÉ À RESPONSABILITÉ LIMITÉE AU CAPITAL DE 33.750 NF.

R. C. SEINE 55 B 0563

Paris, le 17 Mai 1978

MD/mag

Madame H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603
Australie

Madame,

Nous vous remercions de votre lettre du 17 avril 1978, relative à la reproduction d'archives conservées aux Archives Nationales, Section Outre-Mer.

Ce travail vous serait facturé comme suit :

OCEANIE B 18

(reproduction intégrale)

- 625 clichés négatifs	à 0.98	612.50
- 625 clichés positifs	à 0.24	150.00
		<hr/>
		762.50
	frais d'expédition	25.00
		<hr/>
	TOTAL FRANCS	787.50

Exonéré de taxes.

Selon l'usage, le négatif sera déposé à la Bibliothèque.

Pour diverses raisons techniques, il est très difficile, dans la reproduction d'archives, de déterminer un prix avec précision. Une marge de 20% est possible; aussi vous voudrez bien nous faire parvenir Francs 780,00 à titre d'arrhes, le solde étant payable à réception de facture.

Nous vous permettons de vous joindre le prospectus de notre dernière édition sur microfilm, LE MESSAGER DE TAHITI, qui serait susceptible de vous intéresser pour de futures recherches.

Nous vous prions d'agréer, Madame, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

J. Mignon.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
17th April, 1978.

Maison SIM,
9, rue du Cdt. Riviere,
75008 PARIS, France.

Dear Sirs,

I received a letter from Mme. M. Pouliquen, of the Section Outre-Mer of the Archives de France, dated the 1st March, stating that you would be kindly sending me an estimate of the cost of microfilming the material in Oceanie B.18, carton 42, 1862-1868, concerning the Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia.

I should be glad to receive this estimate as soon as convenient, since I am hoping to be in a position to finish my book on the Peruvian labour trade in Polynesia within the next few months.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,



H.E. Mauds.

In your letter of the 17th February you have requested the
copies by microfilm of the papers concerning the recruiting of
labour by the Peruvians in Oceania. In fact these papers
are preserved in the Overseas Section in Oceania B. 18, Box 42.
They cover the period 1862-1868. As they are numerous
we have asked the firm of SIMI to get in touch with you
and give you an estimate. You should send him the
amount, the rest will then be forwarded to you direct.



Public Archives
Canada

Archives publiques
Canada

Archives Branch

Direction des archives

20 October 1978

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

78-8730/MA-MD--7373

Professor H.E. Maude
77 Arthur Circle
FORREST, A.C.T. 2603
Australia

Dear Professor Maude:

I regret to inform you that a search of our Pacific Station Records (our reference RG 8 III Great Britain: Admiralty, Pacific Station Records) has not revealed the 14 enclosures forwarded by Captain George Henry Richards which you are seeking. Because of the limited extent of Pacific Station Records, I examined all the volumes relevant to the time period you mentioned, but without success. For your information, I have enclosed a listing of the Pacific Station records that the Public Archives of Canada does hold.

Yours sincerely,

Bruce G. Wilson

Bruce G. Wilson
Archivist
British Records & Manuscripts Section
Manuscript Division

/sv

GREAT BRITAIN: Admiralty, Pacific Station Records

Originals, 1858-1903. 7 feet. Photostats, 1866-1900. 1 foot.
Microfilm, reel M-126. Finding Aid No. 762.

Correspondence, memoranda, and reports accumulated by the Commander in Chief of the Pacific Station and left at Esquimalt when the base was transferred to Canada in 1910.

The Pacific Station was created as a separate entity in 1837 and Valparaiso was named as its headquarters. From the year 1848 ships of the Pacific Squadron began to use Esquimalt harbour. During the Crimean War the first naval buildings were erected at Esquimalt in 1855 when Rear Admiral Bruce requested James Douglas, Governor of Vancouver Island, to provide a building to serve as a temporary hospital. Douglas prepared three buildings which, although not required for hospital accommodation, were soon utilized as a store and provision depot. In 1865 Esquimalt was made a permanent base by the British Order-in-Council and for all practical purposes the port soon came to be recognized as the headquarters of the Pacific Station.

The records of the Commander in Chief were arranged by geographical area until 1893, when Rear Admiral H.F. Stephenson assumed the command. Stephenson gave instructions that all records were to be filed chronologically in one general series. In 1896 Stephenson's successor made a partial reversion to the old system by setting up separate files for British Columbia, Esquimalt and the Behring Sea but apparently continued the general series for other records. The three series which were re-established have thus a gap, 1893-96, which may only be filled by reference to the general series.

In 1923 the Admiralty placed some of the records which had been left at Esquimalt on deposit in the Public Archives of Canada. An additional group from the same source was deposited in the British Columbia Archives in 1937.

The original Pacific Station records on deposit in the Public Archives of Canada are organized as follows:

Vols.

- | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1-20 | General Correspondence, 1893-1903 |
| 21-22 | Esquimalt Correspondence, 1889-93, 1896-1900 |
| 23-32 | Behring Sea Correspondence, 1890-99
(includes vols. of published correspondence). |
| 33 | Rough contemporary table of contents relating to
(vols. 1-32). |
| 34 | Copies of letters relating to Russian territory
(1858-73). |
| 35 | Copies of letters relating to international subjects
(1859-75). |

Vols.

- 36 First Report of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Defence of British Possessions and Commerce abroad, together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix, Confidential, 1881. (Sir John A. Macdonald represented Canada before the Commission).
- 36 Third and Final Report of the Royal Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Defence of British Possession and Commerce Abroad with the Appendix, Minutes of Evidence and Digest of Evidence. Confidential, 1882. (Incomplete)
- 37-39 Correspondence and reports relating to San Juan Island, 1859-72.

Volumes 1 to 39 are also available on microfilm, reels C-12602 to C-12616.

Admiralty 155 contains a subject index to volumes 1-22 of these records.

The following volumes were deposited in the British Columbia Archives in 1937:

- Vancouver and Queen Charlotte Islands, 1848-57
Vancouver Island and British Columbia, 1857-60
British Columbia: Records of the Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, vol. 1, 1866-79
British Columbia: Records of the Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, vol. 2, 1874-81, 1900
British Columbia: Records of the Senior Naval Officer at Esquimalt, vol. 3, 1880-98.

These volumes have been copied by the Public Archives. The first two were microfilmed in 1954 (reel M-126); the last three were photostated in 1937. A list of subject files in each volume is available.

August 1978
B. Wilson

7-6244
British Records &
Manuscripts

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
29th September, 1978.

The Dominion Archivist,
Public Archives of Canada,
OTTAWA, Ontario, Canada.

Dear Sir,

Admiralty: Pacific Station records

I am trying to trace the 14 enclosures forwarded by Captain George Henry Richards of H.M. Surveying Ship Hecate in a letter dated Fanning Island, May 8th 1863, addressed to Rear Admiral John Kingcome, then in command of the Pacific Station.

Captain Richards' letter was forwarded to the Secretary to the Admiralty by Rear Admiral Kingcome under cover of his letter dated 'Sutlej', at Esquimalt, 12th September 1863.

While I have copies of both these letters I cannot locate the 14 enclosures to Captain Richards' letter in any of the series and it would seem possible that they are still filed with the original correspondence, or if sent to the Admiralty were returned at a later date.

I should be most grateful if a search could be made for these enclosures among your Pacific Station records, and if photocopies of them could be forwarded by airmail. They are wanted to complete my book on the Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, due at the publishers at the end of the year.

All expenses incurred in connexion with this search, copying and postage, will be gladly paid by airmail remittance, if desired in advance. I have recently retired as Professorial Fellow in Pacific History in the Institute of Advanced Studies at the Australian National University and am at present Visiting Fellow in Anthropology at the University and Hon. Professor in History at the University of Adelaide; the book is being produced with the aid of a Commonwealth Government Literary Fellowship.

Yours faithfully,



H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,
24th September, 1978.

Dr Bengt Danielsson,
B.P. 558, PAPEETE,
Tahiti.

Dear Dr Danielsson,

Many thanks indeed for letting me have a photocopy of M. Langomazino's eloquent Discours on the Affaire du brig Mercedes A. de Wholey. It came at an opportune time just when I was engaged in sketching the highlights of the trial for my book on the Peruvian Slavers in Polynesia.

Contrary to what I had thought, Langomazino's booklet is not a recapitulation of the main trial, for which one is dependent on his transcriptions of the evidence for the Messenger, but reproduces his own two speeches made during the trial on behalf of the partie civile. They include, however, useful summaries of the main points adduced by the Prosecution and defence.

I have finished the first draft of the book but have still to make it run smoothly from beginning to end instead of in a series of starts and stops. At the moment I am working on the correspondence between the Governor and the Minister of the Navy and Colonies, and between the Charge d'Affaires in Lima and Consul in Callao and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. De Lesseps in Lima was always the hero of my story but now I have acquired a second one in de la Richerie, who I fancy did a fine job in looking after the people of the Protectorate.

One labour trade seems to lead to another for I have just been reading one of the Governor's despatches showing that when the Peruvian ship Ellen Elizabeth dumped the Gilbertese recruits on Tongareva seventeen of them came down to Tahiti on the second trip of the Latouche-Traville to work for Stewart. And he liked them so much that he sent to the Gilberts for more, thus starting a new labour trade which eventually resulted in hundreds more coming from the Gilberts to Tahiti - I met some of their descendants in Papeete. As far as recruiting methods were concerned this new trade was not a great improvement on the Peruvian, but once in Tahiti the treatment of the recruits was vefy much better.

Again many thanks for kindly sending me this key source, and with our best wishes to you both,

Yours sincerely,

Sam

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
17th July, 1978.

Dear Derek,

I have to thank you for so many things that, not being loquacious or even coherent, I feel it best to put my thoughts on paper.

First and foremost I am most grateful for the extended loan of your typescripts from the L.M.S. archives, the P.R.O., Sydney Morning Herald and other sources. Quite simply without them I should never have started to write about the Peruvian slave trade at all since for many years it had lain in my 'too difficult' basket, involving as it eventually proved research in Britain, France, Hawaii, Peru, Chile and Tahiti, as well as Sydney, Melbourne and Hobart - including four national archives in three languages.

Even when I did start it was really to salve my conscience by producing a paper for the J.P.S. or J.P.H. But, rather to my astonishment, the romance of the story, with its tragic denouement, began to grip and now there is no stopping until it is all unravelled.

And then I have been meaning to thank you for your kind thought in writing that gem of a research paper for The Changing Pacific. I have read through it twice now and feel that it is an object lesson to Pacific scholars on how to describe and interpret an episode in a different cultural setting as seen by a participant observer. I tried to do this in my 'Swords of Gabriel' but I fear without some of your insights into not only what happened but why. Anyway it stands out in a symposium of papers, most of them of a high standard, both for its scholarship and readability.

Again I must thank you most sincerely for yet another act of kindness in arranging for me to be made a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Anthropology. Though I may well take advantage of your generosity, in particular by having my maps for the Peruvian slavers drawn professionally - though willingly at my expense - and also having some drafts typed should occasion arise, this is secondary to the pleasure and pride this gesture has given me to find myself in the eve of my days recognized by the doyens of my own discipline as a disciple, albeit a recusant.

I may say in confidence that the stigma of being compelled to leave the University before my time was up through the sustained opposition of a junior staff member, and later having to relinquish my Honorary Fellowship for the same reason, had bit rather deep. And although my initial emotions at rustication have long since melted in a warm feeling of gratitude for the many subsequent kindnesses received from colleagues,

culminating in my festschrift, it is this sense of being welcomed back into the fold as a Visiting Fellow that has given me such genuine pleasure, and encouragement to finish the work in hand.

You may be interested in the attached preliminary list of chapters: the first twelve are finished in second draft, but no doubt need pulling together and tightening; the last two chapters of Part I should be ready by the end of a fortnight; while Part II will need reworking in the light of the new material from the French and Chilean National Archives.

The final total of islanders recruited may also be of interest. Actually its not quite final as I've not yet rechecked my Easter Island figures and I fancy that its one out there; and also two short on Atiu (which should read 3 and send the total up by 2). The grand total of 3,494 is probably not correct, in the nature of things, but I should be surprised if it is more than 50 out either way. The Peruvian figures of numbers arrived, which forms another table (arranged by ships) agrees remarkably, after one deducts known or suspected deaths.

Again many thanks indeed for your very material help and encouragement; I hope that you don't mind the book being dedicated to you - I've ~~exonerated~~ ~~you~~ from all blame for the errors in interpretation,

Yours,

JRM

PS. I ~~held~~ held this up in the end until I could get the table worked out giving the real final (we hope) figures by islands; In Part II there will be a corresponding table showing the numbers landed (by ships) but it is not quite finalized yet. I also enclose a Route Table showing the islands visited by each ship (believe it or not it took over a year to work out) - from this Honor is preparing a draft map giving the routes.

JRM

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T. 2603, Australia,
7th July, 1978.

Dr Ramon Campbell,
Casilla Postal 322,
QUILPUE, Chile.

Dear Dr Campbell,

Thank you for your kind letter. I am most grateful for your kind offer to send the Chilean archival material and will look forward to incorporating information from it in my book, of which Part I on Peru in Polynesia is nearly finished. The second part is on the Polynesians in Peru and is still only at the stage of the first draft, except for one or two chapters.

I think that the figure found in 1872 in the Chincha Islands is the one described by Thor Heyerdahl in his book The Art of Easter Island (London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1976), pp.44-5 and Pls 109b-111.

Heyerdahl seems to think (or hope) that it was taken there in pre-European times, as Paracas on the neighbouring coast was an old Peruvian navigation port. But I agree with you that it was probably taken to the Chincha Islands by an Easter Island worker in 1862 or 1863. For though I have found no evidence that the Peruvian Government licensed any ship to recruit labour for the Chincha Islands it seems quite possible (indeed probable) that some labourers already working for the hacienda owners were sent there by transfer of their contracts.

My wife tells me that she already has a copy of the chapter of your book illustrating and commenting on the string figures of Easter Island. She also has Handy's book that you mention - Willowdean Handy was an old friend of ours and I published her last book, Thunder from the Sea, a very fine novel about the Marquesas, shortly before she died.

My wife taught Julia McCall to make string figures with the idea that she would learn the Easter Island figures while her husband was working there. But she did not do the job and now Robert Langdon is trying to persuade my wife to go there to record the method of construction of each. He apparently knows an old lady there who he says is an expert.

But there is no need to go to all this trouble and expense if your friend Sra. Baeza has done this work, or if her husband recorded the detailed methods of construction;

so I am taking advantage of your kind offer by enclosing a letter from my wife to Sra. Baeza which perhaps you would be so good as to send on to her.

My wife has in her various books and papers recorded the exact method of making each figure in collections from the Gilbert Islands, Nauru, Solomon Islands (with Sir Raymond Firth and Christa de Coppet), Tikopia (with Sir Raymond Firth) and the Tuamotu Islands (with Kenneth Emory) and is very anxious to see at least the Polynesian Groups published.

Again my grateful thanks for your kind help,

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
7th July, 1978.

Dear Sra. Baeza,

I am a specialist on the String Figures of the Pacific Islands and have written five books and several shorter works about them. These works illustrate and give the method of construction of each figure in a particular island or island group.

I understand from a letter which my husband has had from Dr Ramon Campbell that you have a collection of string figures from Easter Island made by your husband.

I would very much like to know whether this collection contains descriptions of the methods of making each figure, so that they can be made by others, and if so whether you have published them or have plans to publish them. If not, would you care to have them published in Australia?

We have collections published for all the Polynesian groups with the exception of Samoa and the Cook Islands - and Easter Island. Your husband's collection would be of great value in helping us to make the necessary comparisons of Easter Island construction techniques with those of other areas.

I have, so far, been unable to find any works on the string figures of the indigenous peoples of the west coast of South America. Do you know of any?

I look forward very much to hearing from you,

Yours sincerely,

Honor Maude.

Honor Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
21st May, 1978.

Dr Ramon Campbell,
Casilla Postal 322,
QUILPUE, Chile.

Dear Dr Campbell,

I was delighted to receive your cordial letter and to know that I had at last succeeded in catching up with you. The Congress of Americanists of Lima must be as slow in publishing their papers as the congresses are in Australia.

Grant McCall has given me copies of his published and unpublished material collected as a result of his visit to Peru, in which he also went to the Chincha Islands. This was a condition of the grant which the University here gave him to enable him to make the journey.

I should indeed be most grateful if you would be so kind as to send me microfilms, or other photocopies, of any documents which you consider would be of value in tracing the history of the Polynesian traffic. In return I would of course send a Bank Cheque to reimburse your costs and make full acknowledgements to you in my book. Also I should be glad to send you a copy of the book when published; I am afraid that it is not very complimentary to the Peruvian Government of the time though I have tried hard to be purely objective and not to judge people living in the 1860s in terms of our ideas today.

I see that I already have copies of six letters from V. Cantuarias, Chilean Consul at Callao, to his Minister in Santiago, dated the 20th January (No.66), 5th October (2wo letters, of which one is numbered 89), 20th October (No.91), 5th November (No.93), and 5th December (No.94), all written in 1863. Also I have a book by Claudio Veliz, Historia de la Marina Mercante de Chile, Santiago, Universidad de Chile, 1961, which has some pages on the Peruvian slavers.

I should be interested to know if you have found any proof that Polynesians worked in the Chincha Islands, because my own researches have led me to the opposite conclusion. Two ships only, the Mercedes A. de Wholey and the Barbara Gomez, both owned by Arturo de Wholey and Company, were licensed by the Peruvian Government to recruit Polynesians for Andrés Alvarez Calderon, who took over the guano loading concession in the Chinchas when Domingo Elias lost it in 1862. The first left Callao on the 4th September for Anaa in the Tuamotus and was captured and

confiscated by the French authorities, and the second left on the 7th September for Tahiti and was sent straight back to Callao. Neither obtained a single recruit.

M. de Lesseps, the French Chargé d'Affaires in Lima, was unable to discover that any Polynesians had worked in the Chincha Islands, despite sending a French warship there with a Polynesian interpreter. The Commission which he sent to investigate the employment of Polynesians found that all were working in the haciendas or as domestic servants. So if any contemporary account speaks of seeing Polynesians in the Chinchas I shall be happy to change my chapter on the subject, with due acknowledgements to you.

My wife, who has written five monographs on the String Figures of Oceania, tells me that she has a number of illustrations of Easter Island string figures by you and asks me to enquire if the methods of construction have been described anywhere. She is anxious to include them in her Table of Comparisons of designs from other Pacific Islands, but though she can make many of them she is not sure that the construction technique on Easter Island is the same as elsewhere in Oceania.

Again many thanks for your kind letter and offer, and with my best wishes,

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
17th February, 1978.

Dr Ramon Campbell,
Casilla 14,
QUILPUE, Chile.

Dear Dr Campbell,

According to La Prensa for 5 August, 1970, you gave an address on 'The Traffic in Polynesian Slaves in the Nineteenth Century' at the Congress of Americanists held in Lima at the Colegio de Nuestra Senora de la Merced.

I have just completed the first draft of a book on the 'Peruvian Labour Trade in Polynesia, 1862-63' in which I have endeavoured to trace the routes of the 34 ships engaged in the trade on their 39 voyages to 45 islands in Polynesia and Micronesia. The book also deals with the methods of recruiting (or kidnapping) in the islands, the voyage to Peru and sale at Callao, the conditions of work there, the opposition to and final abolition of the trade, the attempts at repatriation and the repercussions of the trade in the islands.

My primary source material is in the main obtained from the correspondence in the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the British, French, American and Hawaiian Foreign Office and Consular correspondence, the British Admiralty reports, the Tahiti government and consular reports, the Protestant and Catholic missionary letters and journals, the Papeete, Raiatea, Honolulu and Apia British and American consular material, and contemporary newspapers and journals, notably El Comercio, the Messenger de Taiti and the Sydney Morning Herald. It comprises some 1,000 items and took about 15 years to collect.

Despite every effort, however, I have unfortunately been unsuccessful in locating a copy of your own valuable paper. I had hoped that Dr Grant McCall would have been able to obtain one, as he was given a university grant to visit Chile and Peru to search for documentary material and oral tradition on the Peruvian labour trade. Efforts were also made to contact you through the Australian Embassy and later, hearing that you were on Easter Island, Mr Robert Langdon was asked to see you on his recent visit there.

You had unfortunately left the island but in Santiago Robert Langdon was able to obtain the address to which I am now writing this letter.

If it would be possible to let me have a copy of your paper I should be most grateful indeed, and I would of course refund all costs of copying and postage by airmail. As an historian of the Pacific Islands our work seems to have common ground in the Peruvian labour trade and I should be unhappy to publish my book without being able to give you all credit, and full acknowledgements, for having pioneered the road I am now treading. I should also be glad to send you a copy of the book in return on its publication, if it would be of any use to you.

Yours sincerely,



H.E. Maude.

Ramon Campbell

Casilla 14

QUILPUÉ,

Chile

77 Arthur Circle, Forrest,
A.C.T.2603, Australia,
9th May, 1978.

Dear Marney,

I'm appalled that I have not replied to your very kind letter long ere this but, as I hope you may have guessed, we were on our annual visit to Adelaide to count the grandchildren and make sure that all is kosher and they know their catechisms.

And since we got back all has been chaos, with Niel quite overwhelmed through the simultaneous arrival of his Messengers of Grace and The Changing Pacific. With two gold medals in a week he is now right on top in the academic games and Deryck has departed discomfited on, I'm told, a world tour. Gavan as usual is away, writing his book on porpoises, or are they dolphins.

Norma gave everyone connected with The Changing Pacific, including ourselves, a lunch party when I was presented with the book and put it in the beautiful green leather case they gave me so many years ago - and it fitted just right.

The articles in it, which I'm now reading for the first time, are superb - I guess its the first time that the new school of Pacific ethnohistorians have got together in a symposium on our pet theme of cultural dynamics. I find that I can understand some of the papers quite well if I spell out the longer words and keep a glossary handy.

Robert has written 'The Life and Opinions of Harry Maude, Gent.' in the proper Tristram Shandy style but without chronicling the howlers and failures - maybe because I forgot to mention them to him. And Niel has written a characteristically sympathetic and kind introduction in which he credits me with accomplishing the things that I certainly should have wished to but never did, and with possessing an influence on Pacific historiography which again it would have been nice to have had. Let us hope that after I'm dead and gone it will be accepted as the gospel and not the apocrypha.

I got a copy ready to send to you and then I thought how awful to be sending something not even partly by oneself but only of oneself: talk about skiting. But I sent a copy to each of my many sisters because I know they always speak of me amongst themselves as 'the loon': as sisters will.

Your letter sounds as if Nairobi is just as strenuous but more interesting and nicer than expected. Certainly the garden must be a never-failing joy, especially with plenty of local gardeners to help. I suspect that they do not require the ruling Canberra rate of \$8 an hour.

We are continuing to mechanize instead of doing our duty by employing people and have just acquired a Victa-Vac: a sort of oversize perambulating motorized vacuum cleaner which does two days work on the autumn leaves in half an hour, sucking them up, pulverizing and compressing them into hessian bags for compost or leaf-mould. An incredible machine; but one has to avoid getting too near the front end for fear of being pulverized and neatly bagged with everything else.

How exciting it must be to wander round at will seeing all the countries one reads about in the news (not in the Canberra Times because they've been on strike for two weeks) and never gets a chance to visit. And being the representative of a Third World Country (or am I wrong there?) the Australian Ambassador is welcomed everywhere as non-aligned. But I bet if Honor and I tried to get into Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Ruanda or Burundi we wouldn't stand a chance; or if we got in we'd never get out again. Must be like visiting Lhasa in the bad old days of imperialism.

Beware of acquiring the 'furore Africana' which we used to be warned of in the Colonial Service. It only affects Europeans in the Kenya highlands and the antidote was a week or so in Mombasa or some other low-lying spot to recover one's equi-pose. But probably you're O.K. because you move about so, unlike the highlands planters one used to meet. I wonder if there are still many of them there?

The book stopped while I was away and I had to fight myself hard to start it again. But I succeeded last week and now it goes forward happily whenever I've got time. You'd never think that a long-retired fossil could have any demands on his time, nor did I once, but everyday the telephone rings or the postman calls with something new wanted and the old mind is not alert enough to say 'drop down dead' to each and all. Half an hour ago they rang from Sydney to say that they were coming tomorrow morning to televize us for 'This is your life' and I was expected to say something nice to David Lewis, whose life is being featured. Poor David, I have an idea he hates these publicity stunts as much as I do but probably he needs the money so that he can get drowned in the antarctic; he's tried often enough. And the girl on the phone said they're bringing all his wives and ex-wives to the party; how nice for them all to face each other for the first time - and in public.

Anyway the first draft of the book is more or less typed, but I have to restructure it so that it flows instead of spluttering along. When I read the earlier bits I marvel at my naiveté and how little I knew; and when I read the more recent its obvious I can no longer see the wood for the pleni-tude of trees.

The French National Archives have written saying that they've found a pile of correspondence 'conserve a la section Outre-Mer sous la cote Oceanie B.18, carton 42. Il couvre la periode 1862-1868.' Its being microfilmed and I hope it won't be too much to digest at this late period.

Also I've found Dr Ramon Campbell at Quilpue and he's offered to send the correspondence in the National Archives of Chile, mostly from their Consul at Callao. He sounds very kind and co-operative but actually I've got so much now, thanks to you, that the point of diminishing returns must have been reached. One always hopes to find something new but almost everything nowadays just duplicates what one already has.

How I do ramble on - a sure sign of old age. Do come back soon and we'll finish it as a joint effort. Derek Freeman has produced some more letters; and maintains that it is the biggest thing left in Pacific history.

Yours,

Harry Brisbane

3rd March 1978

Dear Professor Maud,

I certainly didn't expect
the crocuses to be blooming
when I finished the
translation: sorry it's been
such a slow job. It was

difficult to read and I
hope you will find ^{helpful} what
is done.

Sincerely,

Jayce Hodgson.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
26th April, 1978.

Dear Mrs Hodgson,

Alas for good intentions, for I find I owe you my apologies; if you said that you were remiss over the translation I am doubly so in not fulfilling my side of the contract - and all I had to do was to count the words, not to translate them.

My excuse is that I was taken off to Adelaide soon after your visit to see the grandchildren, and when we had spent a few weeks in this reasonably pleasant occupation, I returned to face a mountain of correspondence and was only able to settle down again to my beloved slavers on Monday.

Many thanks for your translation of the effusions of Sr Cantuarias; it is just what I wanted and provides some valuable conformatory information on the activities of the Eliza Mason, Adelante and Ellen Elizabeth. I have added up the words and they come to 2,100, which at the rate of \$1 per 200 comes to \$11 or thereabouts, and I enclose a cheque accordingly. It won't, I'm afraid, exactly make your fortune, but even in these days it should serve to buy a few plants for the garden.

I have just received a most cordial letter from Dr Ramon Campbell of Quilpue in Chile saying that he has discovered a small swag of consular correspondence and newspaper cuttings on the trade in the Chilean National Archives and kindly offers to send them. The kindness of people never ceases.

Yours sincerely,

Leem

mm

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T.2603,
23rd April, 1978.

Dear Susan,

I've been on other work until today, but its finished and tomorrow I start once again on the Peruvian slavers.

I have been through the list of letters which you gave me and find as follows:-

- (1) Miller to Admiralty, 3.3.63. I think this must be Miller to Senior Naval Officer, Callao, of 3.3.63? Please check because if so I have it and if not I havn't.
- (2) Miller to Earl Russell, 30.4.63 (2nd enclosure, Capt. Williams to Miller, 23.3.63). I think the date of Williams to Miller is 21.4.63? Again, if so I have it and if not I havn't.
- (3) J.C. Williams, Consul at Apia, Samoa, 9.2.63 (4 pages. Frame 280), enclosing copy of contract in English and Spanish. No, I have not got this. Please copy, including the contracts.
- (4) J.C. Williams, from Sydney, 16.6.63 (2 pages. Frame 307). No, I have not got this either. Please have it copied.

So would you please check (1) and (2) above and copy (3) and (4), and many thanks for finding them because they could have new information.

I can only find one account from you and this is for 8½ hours, plus 3 photocopy receipts totalling \$9.20. So I enclose a cheque for \$34.70 and hope this is right. If not be sure to let me know. Also if you want anything on the Gilberts.

Yours,



P.S. Re FO to CO, 3.1.63, C0201/528, please copy all the letters which follow it; I think you said that you had not copied at least the last two until you heard whether I had got them. I havn't.

Dear Professor Maudslayi,

Here are the letters that you asked for at the end of your last letter. One letter (3) FO to CO 3-1-63 CO 201/528 is followed by a number of letters which are also on the subject. I photocopied some of them but thought that I would check with you before doing the last couple to make sure that you wanted them.

Item no. (6) Rogers, CO, to Admiralty was not there. There was a sheet with the particulars that you have on it and the letter that should have followed it was not there!

I looked up the Subject Index, Cumulative List and Country list and this is all I found:-

Pacific Islands.

June 24 '68	Correspondence	Slave Trade in New Hebrides.
1868-9	"	Kidnapping natives in Pacific Islands.
Nov 22. 1870	Report.	"Atlantic" kidnapping.
1869-71	Further correspondence	Deportation of South Sea Islanders.
"	"	"
1873	Instructions	Suppression of Kidnapping Trade.
1875	Correspondence.	Labour Trade in the Pacific Islands.

Hope everything is all right,

Love

Susan.

77 Arthur Circle,
Forrest, A.C.T. 2603,
26th January, 1978.

Dear Sue,

Would you please have the following journal photocopied:-

Gill, George, and P. Gould Bird, 1863. Journal of Third Missionary Voyage to the Tokelau or Union group of islands, January 1863.

It should be somewhere among the LMS South Sea Journals.

The most important missing gap in my records is now the material on the Peruvian Labour Trade in the British Consulate, Papeete, Post Records, FO 687, which are available on microfilm from 1853-64 (see p.217 of my 'Searching for Sources').

Please have all the relevant material photocopied, and also the Register of the Raiatea Consulate, 1853-64, which is filed in this series. While you are at it see if you can find the correspondence of the Raiatea Consulate, which should be incorporated with the Tahiti Consulate records when Raiatea was closed down in 1864 and placed with the Tahiti correspondence for that year (at least there should be a note about it).

Of lesser importance, but you had better go through it for 1862-1864, is the British Consulate, Honolulu, Post Records (also listed on p.217 of 'Searching for Sources').

In all cases, when photocopying post records, or any BG correspondence, please write the full citation on the photocopy, e.g. FO 687/10, or FO 331/27, or whatever it may be.

On the subject of the Foreign Office Confidential Print Series, you told me that the volumes for the Pacific Islands, 1862-1864, are missing from the National Library set. Would you therefore please look up the three microfilms giving the Subject Index, Cumulative List and Country List. Better do the Country List first and copy out the references relating to the Peruvian Labour Trade, which you will most likely find under Peru, but maybe also under Tahiti, Samoa, Cook Islands, or even Niue. This list may only give dates and for the subjects you will have to look in the two earlier indexes under these dates. Then if you find any gold I can go to Sydney and check in the actual volumes there, which one hopes will not be missing too. If the library people tell you that there are no indexes show them the entry under '2' in 'Searching for Sources'.

You have kindly photocopied the 'Report of Revd W.W. Gill's voyage from Samoa to Mangaia, 1863', 9.2.63 to 23.3.63 but your copies stop at the page ending: 'I suppose that there are at Rakaanga at present 320 inhabitants. 60 are already at Fannings Island, where they have been accustomed to go for years past, and where they have always'.

This is the most important journal of all so please would you photocopy the rest of it to the end; and also the missing page or pages between the one ending 'I heard from Okatai that 180 persons have been baptized' and the one beginning 'not come on to Apolo's station ill (?), late in the afternoon'. I've typed out carefully all that you've given me.

Please would you also have the following items photocopied:-

- (1) J.H. Wodehouse, Consul at Raiatea, to FO (Earl Russell), 6.12.62: FO 58/97.
- (2) J.H. Wodehouse to FO, 6.4.63: FO 58/99.
- (3) FO to CO, 3.1.63 (Including minute by Rogers, CO): CO 201/528.
- (4) FO to CO, 25.8.63, CO 201/528.
- (5) Treasury to CO, 27.6.63 (Including minute by Rogers, CO): CO 201/529.
- (6) Rogers, CO, to Admiralty, 15.11.67 (including minute by Richards): Adm.1/6026.

I think (10) in my original list of photocopies needed is the only one of the LMS South Sea Letters you were unable to locate. I have looked up the reference and it reads:-

Saville to Mullens, 14.9.71, London Missionary Society, South Seas Correspondence 33/1/B.

Perhaps you could have another look for it?

Sorry to give you so much to worry about, but it is the penalty of becoming too useful.

Yours sincerely,



Dear Professor Maude,

Here is some more information for you. I found the letter about David returning to Mangai fairly easily. I was unable to find any correspondence from the British consul at Papeete. Actually I could not find the correspondence from the consul at Apia in the catalogue either and I obtained it only because the girl there went looking for it. We could not see the correspondence from the consul at Papeete near the ones from Apia.

I looked up the reference that you wanted. —
Great Britain Commons Papers. Correspondence respecting removal of inhabitants of Polynesian Islands to Peru. 1864. [3307]

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I also found the articles in the Diccionario historico-biografico del Peru.

I also found the other citation.

United States, Department of State Records, U.S. Consuls in Tahiti, despatches from, 1836-1906. U.S. National Archives. Microcopy G. 196, Roll 5. Jan 25 1861 - Dec 16 1868. I could not find a despatch of 21-2-63 but there was one 26-2-63. I have ~~to~~ looked before ~~at~~ for despatches after this date and after 9-4-63 but I looked quickly again and found one short reference. I wrote out the "written in words" in the "Empresa de Colonisation". The microcopy is only very faint so I may have made some mistakes.

I also found another reference in the British Consul Samoa papers when I looked in the next reel.

I am starting another job as a tea-lady next Tuesday (31-1-78). However I would be happy to do some more work before then if you have any. I would also be happy to do a little work at lunchtimes as I will be working near the library and will have 2 hour lunchtimes. Well I think that is all,

I hope that you will find this useful,

best wishes

from

Susan Luggage.

Hours.

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E. Cot

FOR DIRECTOR-GENERAL

Dear Professor Maude,

I am just writing to tell you what I have found for you.

Items 1 to 11 - letters to L.M.S. - I have not yet found A.T. Saville Huahine to L.M.S. ~~28~~ 14-9-71 to 23-12-71 but I will look further. You have all the others except Gills journal 9-2-63 to 23-3-63 in which I could find no mention of the trade.

Item 13. S.M.H. 10-9-64 - You have this.

Item 14 "Austral Islands, Visit of the Rev. J.L. Green." Missionary Magazine and Chronicle. They only had one issue of the magazine and it was the wrong one (of course). Also they could not find it recorded as being anywhere in Australia.

Item 15. S.C. Williams, Consul at Apia to F.O. 9.2.63 B.C.S.-N.A. (British Consul Samoa - I don't know what N.A. means). As you can see, I also found 2 other references by Williams on this ~~tape~~ ^{film}. Also the last one - 28-Jan-'64 was the last letter on the film so perhaps you might like me to look at the next consecutive tape.

Item 16. The admiralty material I have. However you gave 1/6059 as one of the references and none of the dates fall in this section. The letters in it were dealing with the Q.I.d. Karaka trade and also reports on the potential of certain islands for mining guano.

Item 17. Votes and proceedings of N.S.W. Legislative Assembly 1863-4. I found these.

Item 18. I have not yet looked for these.

Item 19, 20. The library did not have these books and does not usually get books on inter-library loans. They asked that we try to get them through the Menzies Library at the Uai. However they will try to get

them if we can't get them through the Mercedes
Library.

Item 21. I found this.

I have also unexpectedly got a job as a
sea lady but this is only until the 6th Jan. I will
have next Wednesday off and I can do some work
for you then.

Anyway I hope that you have a very Happy
Christmas and New Year,

Yours faithfully,

Sue Cabbage.