CHAPTER XXI

SLAVE RAIDERS OF PERU

Forced from their homes, a melancholy train,
To traverse climes beyond the western main.

AMONGST the most ruthless and rapacious of the blackbirders were those who supplied labourers for the guano fields, the plantations, and the mines of Peru. It is true that their raids lasted only a very few years, but in that period they swept away thousands of the inhabitants of the eastern islands, very few of whom ever returned. Thus of 200 natives taken from Savage Island in one raid only one ever saw his home again.

After Vasco Nunez de Balboa reached the "South Sea," near Panama in 1513, and took possession of all its coasts and islands for Spain, the Spaniards soon occupied the western coasts of the two Americas, from California to the island of Chiloe. They also crossed the Pacific to the Philippines and made that ocean almost a Spanish lake. It was not, however, till long after Spanish rule in South America had ceased that the slavers from Peru began to raid the Pacific Islands. About 1860 a tremendous demand for the guano of the islands off the coast of Peru sprang up with new developments in the agriculture

of Europe. In Peru, as in Fiji, Queensland, and Tahiti, cotton plantations sprang up or expanded in the early sixties when the Civil War stopped the export of cotton from the Southern States of America. Mining also was active in Peru at this period; and sugar plantations flourished on the coast. The exploiters of these sources of wealth looked round for cheap labour and found some of it in the islands of the Pacific. Whole fleets of blackbirders were sent out.

Beginning with Easter Island these slavers swept away the able-bodied men, and some of the women as well. They raided the Gambier group, the Paumotus, the Line Islands, Savage Island and a whole series of atolls and scattered islets. Something like 10,000 islanders were carried away, of whom all but a small fraction died in captivity.

This Peruvian blackbirding came to an end in a few years for two reasons. One was that the islanders did not make good slaves. The natives kidnapped by the Peruvians were almost all Polynesians and Micronesians. They often refused to work and, at best, were not good labourers. Besides, they died like flies. The other reason was that France and Great Britain joined in putting pressure on Peru. This was in 1863, and it brought about an official ban on blackbirding. The French, too, made it hot for the blackbirders whom they caught making raids on the islands to the east of Tahiti which were under the protection of France. Altogether the game ceased to be worth the candle.

A contemporary account of the Peruvian raids is given by a missionary, the Rev. H. Gee, writing from Upolu, Samoa, in 1863. He mentions reports that the Peruvians had set themselves the task of collecting 10,000 slaves from the islands of the Pacific. An American who professed to be the supercargo of one of the slavers had offered foreigners living on the islands ten dollars a head for every native that they would persuade to go on board his vessel. At Mahi the raiders had made a clean sweep of every male adult on the island. The first Peruvian vessel to visit the island made a display of attractive goods and the crew induced the natives who flocked on board to go into the hold to see more articles. When the natives went below they were shut up. The chief, who remained on deck, went to the hatch to call to his people to come up. He was tripped up and thrown down into the hold. This raid left only two men on the island and they were kidnapped by another raider.

At Fakaofo, on the island of Tokelau, the people were assembled in front of the teacher's house; the raiders then picked out forty men and took them on board the slaver. These blackbirders were armed with guns and cutlasses and they drove the men along with the flats of their cutlasses. This slaver put in at Tutuila, Samoa, for water. When the Samoans found that this was a slave-ship, they seized the water-casks. The captain of the slaver released six of the Tokelau men, apparently as a kind of ransom for his casks. Then, becoming alarmed, he sailed away leaving the casks behind.

Of these six men three died soon after landing and three were sent to Apia, where Gee saw them. One was a brother of the chief of Fakaofo, another his son and the third another native of Fakaofo. They said that there were only seven men left at Fakaofo. The slaver had 300 men, collected from various islands. The captain wished to secure more, although those on board had very little water and their food ration was one ancient coco-nut to each two men every other day.

Of 200 islanders carried off in one of these blackbirding raids on Niue, only one, apparently, ever returned from the slave fields of Peru. This slaver was commanded by an American, who adopted the trick of coaxing the natives on board, inducing them to go down into the hold and then clapping the hatches on them. The chief Fata-a-Iki, a bold and dashing man, gathered a large number of men together and led them in canoes to attempt to rescue their kinsmen. The crew of the slaver fired on them, killing one and wounding another. This disorganized the natives and the slavers then put overboard a boat and manned it. The boat's crew chased the canoes and tried to kidnap their occupants.

The canoe in which was Fata-a-Iki was hard-pressed by the blackbirders. A large, fat man who was one of the canoe's crew suggested that they should stop and pray for help. "Paddle hard and let us get ashore," said Fata-a-Iki, "then you may pray to your heart's content."

The next day an Irish seaman from the blackbirder came to the mission house on Niue and asked

for medicine, which was given to him. Fata-a-Iki urged that this seaman should be seized and held as a hostage until the kidnapped natives were freed. Lawes the missionary opposed this, holding that the captain of the slaver would simply leave the Irishman behind. So the seaman was allowed to go.

Disease quickly broke out on board the crowded slaver and some of the natives died and were thrown overboard. The slaver put into Denham Bay, on Sunday Island in the Kermadecs, and landed the Savage Islanders, most of whom died there. The few survivors were taken to Callao and sold as slaves. Three years later an American whaler with a number of Aitutaki Islanders in the crew touched at Callao. Two of the Niue men were then there. They decided to make a bid for freedom and told their plight to the Aitutaki whalemen. The Aitutaki men spoke to the captain of the whaler, who agreed to take the Niue men. It was arranged that the two Niue men should be waiting at a certain point on the shore on a given night. The whaler's boat would pick them up and the vessel would sail at once.

When the time for action came the heart of one of the Niue men failed him. It seemed to him that he could not escape the Peruvian guards and he declined to make the attempt. The other went to the rendezvous, and made good his escape. He was afraid to return to Niue lest his father should hold him responsible for the fate of his brother who had remained in Peru. So he left the whaler at Oahu in the Hawaiian Islands where he settled down and married. Years later he finally returned to Niue.

The mysterious Easter Island suffered most from the Peruvian raids. In earlier days the island had suffered from the kidnapping raids of sealers and whalers who carried off men and women to form sealing gangs on desolate isles or to work on the whaling vessels. These losses, however, were small when compared to the results of the organized slaving of the Peruvians.

In 1862 Easter Island had a population estimated at 3000. The slavers came in force with several ships, and landed with boatloads of trinkets and gifts with which they strewed the shore at Hanga Roa. The islanders were wary. They kept up on the hills. But the bait proved too alluring for a few daring spirits. These came down to the shore and gathered armfuls of glittering baubles—beads, gaily-coloured handkerchiefs, and other attractive articles. As nothing happened to them, by degrees others followed, till most of the inhabitants of the island were gathered to see what the white men had brought and to seize what they could of his bounty.

More trinkets were thrown to them and the scramble waxed fast and furious. The men threw down their war-clubs and spears that they might join in the rush to gather up the presents. While this was going on the blackbirders, strongly armed, were closing in from all sides on the milling mob. When the natives realized that they were being trapped and tried to escape to the hills a thousand of them were seized. They were trussed and bound and left lying on the rocks till they could be boated off to the slave vessels.

And so the flower of the population of Easter Island was carried off to Peru. The blackbirds included the last descendants of the long line of the royal family of Easter Island, the great chiefs, the learned men who knew the secret of the strange script found on this remotest island of the Pacific, and the cleverest craftsmen. A third of the population was swept away at one blow; those left were leaderless and disheartened.

When they reached Callao the enslaved islanders were sent to toil on the guano islands off the coast of Peru, wretched, barren, waterless islets. They were not, however, left without friends. The slavers had raided not only Easter Island, then independent of any outside power, but the Gambiers and Paumotus, which were under a French protectorate. The French Minister at Lima called on the Peruvian Government to repudiate the raiders and to repatriate the islanders. The British Government joined with France in demanding justice for the blackbirds. Orders were given to assemble the enslaved islanders at Callao that they might be sent back to their homes.

Of the Easter Islanders only 100 remained alive. Smallpox, tuberculosis, and other diseases of civilization had ravaged them. These diseases, together with the effect of the change of living and climate, the unsuitable food and the hardships of digging out guano under a tropical sun, had killed 900 of them. Before the surviving 100 could be put on board ship many of them began to sicken of smallpox, and eighty-five died before the voyage was over. Only fifteen of the thousand who had been carried away,

lived to land on their native island. These carried with them the infection of smallpox, which almost overnight swept over the island like a fire. It is said to have carried off a thousand souls, leaving only a thousand survivors.

This, as a cynic remarks, may be called the beginning of the Christian era on Easter Island. Soon after this the first missionaries arrived. Another arrival was a Frenchman named Dutrou-Bornier, a Crimean veteran who came to the island on a trading voyage on behalf of Alexander Salmon of Tahiti. To Bornier the southern side of the island seemed suitable for a sheep and cattle run. Though the two Catholic missionaries strongly opposed his scheme, as against the interests of the natives, Bornier contrived to buy from the inhabitants nearly two-thirds of the island. The purchase price was a quantity of red calico. In return for this brightly-coloured cloth Bornier persuaded the leading men to put their marks on the purchase deed. In any case there was plenty of room left for the scanty population which had survived the Peruvian slave-raids and the smallpox. Bornier took a native wife and built a house at Mataveri, which he made the headquarters of his station.

Not satisfied with this, Bornier made plans to ship a large number of the surviving natives off to Tahiti to work on the sugar plantations of Brander and Salmon. Here again he was strongly opposed by the missionaries, Fathers Eyraud and Roussel. He had his way, however, and shipped 300 men and women away to Tahiti by force. Roussel, disheartened by

this wholesale deportation of the survivors, left Easter Island for Mangareva. Practically the whole of the remaining inhabitants would have gone with him had not the captain of the schooner, fearing for the safety of his overcrowded little vessel, sent 175 of them ashore. Of the 300 who were taken most never returned. As for Bornier, he was murdered in due course, an end which aroused no surprise. To-day Easter Island is Chilean territory. Most of the island is a sheep run—and not a very good one. Round the edges of this sheep station live 400 natives. These are all that are left of the people whose gigantic stone statues, script and other elements of a curiously developed culture make up the greatest riddle of the Pacific.

When Captain Moresby, of H.M.S. *Basilisk*, visited Mitchell Island in the Ellice group in 1872 Peter Laban, a German trader, told him that when he first came to the island in 1857 it had 470 inhabitants. They were pure Polynesians, harmless and docile. One of the natives tried to instruct the others in Christianity as no native missionary had visited them. Laban left the island in 1860. When he returned in 1864 he found only fifty old men and women and some young children left. The old natives told him that a few months earlier three barques came to the island. An old man who spoke Polynesian landed and told the natives that the barques were missionary vessels and that the missionaries wanted the people to come off and receive the Sacrament. On this the able-bodied men manned their canoes and went on board. The ship's boats came on shore

and the women and children were told that the men had sent for them. Then the kidnappers bore away with their prisoners.

Two young men jumped overboard and swam ashore. Of the others nothing more was heard.

A very similar story was told to Moresby at Funafuti in the Ellice group. A Peruvian barque called at the island pretending to be a missionary vessel. The Peruvians induced 250 natives to go on board and nothing had since been heard of them.

Details showing the savagery, brutality, and treachery of these Peruvian blackbirders are given in a letter from S. Ella, a missionary, published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* on 11 June 1863. Ella quotes the following passage from a letter written on 30 April 1863, by Mr Lawes, a missionary stationed on Niue or Savage Island:

> You will be grieved to hear that we have again been tried by these wretched slavers. We have had four here, taking in all 160 men. We have lost one deacon, three assistant teachers, and about twenty-five church members. No African slave tragedies exceed these in cruelty and horror. Two men have been shot. One recovered, but one was shot dead on the spot.

The story of the raids is told by Samuela, a native teacher, in a letter written on 30 March. He says:

> Foreign ships of manstealers have brought distress to this land of Niue. On the 28th of January a ship came off here said to be a ship of Spain. I do not know whether this is true or whether we were deceived also in this. The captain said that they had come to purchase fowls and pigs. Then our people unsuspiciously went off

with their good things to sell. When the captain saw that there was a good number of men on board he made sail, carrying off forty of the people, and moved out of sight of land. Then he fastened the people down in the hold and went round to the other side of the island to steal more men. There other natives in their simplicity went off to the ship to sell things. When the men who were fastened down below heard some of their people on deck they called out to them to help them out of their confinement. Then seven managed to burst out of their prison and the canoes hastened to the shore with these seven men. They were fired on from the ship. One man was wounded in the neck and nearly killed. He is still confined with his wound. Another man was hacked by a hatchet. His hand is badly cut with one of the strokes. All the canoes reached the shore with these seven, but the ship went off carrying away thirty-three; among them were twelve church members and six candidates.

Samuela goes on to say that the chiefs and rulers of the land had been stolen by the kidnappers:

Great was the lamentation of the people. To this day their wives and children continue to weep and mourn; some have nine, some six, others five and others four children thus bereaved. What means have we got of ever getting these men? Alas for them! Where are they?

Samuela then describes another raid. On 9 March a vessel stood off the island. Mr Lawes sent off a four-seated canoe with a letter to the captain. The four men were taken into the ship and their canoe was hoisted on board. The ship's boat came to the shore and one of the crew landed. This man went to Mr Lawes, pretending that he wanted medicine for the captain. He obtained the medicine and the

boat returned to the vessel. Nine canoes went off to seek the four men who had been detained. The crew of the vessel fired into the canoes. One man, a church member, was hit in the eye and fell dead. The firing went on. Some of the canoes were broken up and while the canoemen were swimming the ship's boats pursued them. The men were seized and dragged off to the ship. Then the vessel sailed away with nineteen men. Amongst these were three teachers, a deacon, other church members and some candidates.

> The wives and children cease not to weep for their husbands and fathers, not knowing whether they were killed or where they are taken by these manstealing ships. It is as if the work of God would be hated here, for some of the people think that these calamities have come upon them and foreigners have visited them from having missionaries and teachers living amongst them; for such things never occurred in the former days of heathenism.

Samuela claims that no foreigner had been killed on Niue and that his people had done nothing to deserve such afflictions. They did not know from what country the ships had come, they did not know the names of the captains or of the ships. He names three young teachers from Samoa, Mose, Sualo, and Noa, who had been kidnapped. Their wives and children did nothing but cry for them. Mose had two children, Sualo had two and Noa one.

Ella points out that these revelations made known only a small part of the diabolical doings of the twenty-five slave ships which were said to have been sent out to kidnap 10,000 natives. Who could

say what they had done in the islands where there were none to reveal their deeds to the outside world? He rejoiced that the French at Tahiti had captured five of the slavers.

Reassuring news about the future, as far as the Peruvian blackbirders went, is given in a letter to a mercantile house in Sydney, written at Papeete on 29 April and sent by the schooner *Flying Fish* via Auckland. This says:

The Peruvian slave trade is played out. By our last accounts from Callao some 1500 or 2000 natives had reached there, but they are not found to answer, never having been accustomed to steady, heavy work; many actually refuse to do anything, and flogging only makes them sulk, lie down and die. Dysentery and other disease, from change of living, is carrying them off rapidly. On one plantation seventy-five had died. The Peruvian Government begins to see that the game cannot go on and is taking measures to stop it.

The trial of the affair of the *Mercedes Ulholy* finished about a month ago. This vessel was caught at one of the French islands, with over 150 natives on board. She has been condemned and sold, and the captain sentenced to five, and the supercargo to ten, years' forced labour. They are now undergoing it, but little doubt exists that they will be allowed to escape or get the sentence mitigated should the Peruvian Government give the French the satisfaction they demand, and will have. They demand every native who has been taken from any of the protected islands and heavy damages for the missing.

One of the slavers left a few days ago, being allowed to return to Callao, having sold all her rice and other provisions, so as to break up her voyage. There are yet four here, one of which has been abandoned by her captain who ran away. She is to be sold soon; the rest are merely detained.

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PART SEVEN

Some of the Ships

AND THEIR LAST PORTS

THE "GRECIAN," BRIG

A Story of Barratry and Buccaneering

THE "Grecian" has been mentioned in foregoing pages as a unit of the picturesque fleet of Tasmanian whalers, and in that employment the vessel gave satisfactory service for many years. In another phase of her sea-faring, the brig provided albatross parliaments with a never-ending theme for discussion when she once went missing from her home port for over two years. Her cruising, during that period, covered many miles of ocean on mysterious quests to tropic isles, and an association with other questionable happenings—the full extent of which will never be fully known. The master left no log-book records of his devious and unauthorised sea roaming.

The "Grecian," originally a 6-gun brig-of-war, 210 tons register, was owned by Mrs. Seal's Estate. In December 1861, the "old timer" sailed from the Derwent, ostensibly on a whaling voyage. The ship was brought back to Hobart Town by another master in February, 1864, with no oil on board, and "considerably out of order"—minus davits, boats and whaling gear, but with a tale of two years of free-and-easy voyaging and filibustering on the wide waters of the Pacific. It is a story discreditable in every way to the man who was entrusted with the command of the brig, and, fortunately, has no parallel in the long reckoning of Hobart ships and the men who manned them.

The name of the master concerned is not—for obvious reasons—given here, though it is prominent enough in the news sheets of the period. Captain "Blank" will serve as the "purser's name" to cover his misdeeds. It is not recorded that Captain Blank, in his whaling wanderings ever

the notorious sea-rover, "Bully" Hayes, who was then starting his spectacular South Sea career; but there is a similarity in some of their individual exploits and ample evidence to show that the "Grecian's" skipper had the leaven of that buccaneer in his blood.

Some details of his illicit and remarkable enterprises were given in the "Southland News," a New Zealand paper, and reprinted in Tasmanian journals in December, 1863, under the caption "A Slaver in the South Seas."

About a week after leaving Hobart Town, the "Grecian" put into Botany Bay, N.S.W. The stated object of this call was to make repairs to the ship's jib-boom. It was evidently a pre-meditated deviation, as the master there received on board a lady friend (one Mrs. P——) as a "passenger," but henceforth known as "Mrs. Blank." The vessel then sailed on a cruise—whaling being the least important mission of the master, though some 6½ tuns were taken. Some months later the brig put into Wellington, New Zealand, where this oil was sold. Here, too, the crew was changed—a number of Maoris, Portuguese and Scandinavians being shipped to replace most of the original complement. The "Grecian" was refitted "in a suspicious manner, but no notice was taken by the authorities, as the master was well-known to them as an experienced whaler."

The Chatham Islands was the next place of call. There a man named John Turner joined the brig, with the stipulation that, at the end of four months, he was to be landed at a New Zealand or Australian port.

The "Grecian" took her departure, and when out of sight of land the master mustered the crew and "proposed to them to take the ship for themselves and go on a slaving expedition to the South Seas," stating that "it would pay them much better than whaling," and the islanders could easily be sold on the South American coast.

Turner and eight others refused to join in this project, and demanded to be landed at some port where there was a British Consul. The master then headed for Savage Island (Niue), 1,000 miles N.N.E. of New Zealand, and 300 miles S.S.E. of Samoa, "the loneliest spot in that part of the Pacific." Here Blank proposed to land Turner, with seven of his shipmates; but when the ship's boat reached the shore a white missionary warned them that the natives would forcibly oppose their landing, and bade them begone! Travis, the second mate of the "Grecian," who was in charge of the landing boat, brought the men back to the ship and was abused by the master, who said he should have left them on the beach

despite the missionary's warning. The eight men again demanded that they be landed at any place where there was a Consul. The brig sailed to Samoa, and landed them at a native village on the north-eastern side of the island of Tutuila. The men remained here for seventeen days, and had to give most of their clothing and what money they had—only four dollars—to the natives for conveyance to the other side of the island, where a British Consular Agent resided. He treated them with all consideration, and they then went in an open boat to Upolu—seventy miles away—where Mr. Macfarland, the Consul, took them under his protection.

A few days after their arrival, another member of the "Grecian's" crew, named Bryan, came from Fiji, where he had been put ashore. Bryan stated that when Turner's party was landed the "Grecian" sailed to Tongatabu. After giving trade as presents to the natives, the free-booting captain induced 130 of them — men, women and children — to come aboard for a feast. Enticing the unsuspicious islanders below, the hatches were clapped on and the "Grecian" got under weigh. Bryan refused to stay aboard any longer, and was landed at Ovalau, 300 miles from Tonga. The brig, according to him, then sailed for Peru, where her living cargo was to be sold. Here the "Grecian" drifts out of the story for a time.

Five of the men who were landed with Turner shipped on an American whaler, the "Desdemona." The others were sent to Sydney, thence to Hobart Town. Here they told their story to the owner of the errant brig. No action was taken owing to the expense entailed in sending another ship in search of the "Grecian"—even though that vessel was being unlawfully held by the master, the original articles having long expired.

The next recording of the "Grecian" affair was taken at The Bluff (N.Z.) Courthouse early in 1864, when the sea-wandering master proceeded against the agents for Mrs. Seal to recover the sum of £37/17/10 "balance of wages due to him."

The cross-examination of the plaintiff was a gruelling one, and brought to light many of his free-and-easy practices. He stated that he was a master mariner of thirty years' experience — two-thirds of this in the capacity of whaling shipmaster. His present voyage had extended to twenty-two months. At the beginning of the voyage Roberts was chief mate. Did not keep a ship's log, and no record was kept of the ship's position. Had never heard of two logs being kept in the same ship—that is, one by the master and one by the mate. Had commanded a ship of 600 tons. There the chief officer

generally kept the log. Discharged Roberts and shipped in his place a man named Bartlett. He kept a log. Believed it was optional with the master to enter ship's position. When sailing he guessed the position by dead reckoning, as the ship carried no log. Would not say where the lady came on board. She did not leave Hobart Town with him. Took a woman and child aboard at Botany Bay. The woman was a passenger, but did not pay passage money. Went to New Zealand for repairs and provisions, then went on a cruise to Chatham Islands. Was several weeks there. Employed natives to collect old metal and copper bolts from a wreck, also got an anchor and chain for ship's use. Took the copper to Wellington. Considered it belonged to him. Ship did not earn any freight. Sold copper for £175. Did not always pay the natives in money, but entered payments in his book. There were a few slops on board which he supplied to the crew. Had no permission from the owner to trade on his own account. At New Zealand the mate and some of the men went on shore. Forgave the mate, but put the men in irons for refusing to bring an anchor off. Purchased part of the "Empire" for use in the "Grecian," £16. Shipped 13 tons of potatoes in one month. The usual monthly consumption on the ship was 1½ tons a month. Some were fed to the pigs. Bought pigs and potatoes (from the natives) with money and anything he had on board to part with. Had only entered in the log the discharge of one man. Had discharged twenty-nine men at different times..

One day the men said he had worked them up by causing them to reef topsails when it was not necessary. Put fifteen men in irons that day. Did not think it necessary to log this. Found second mate asleep in his watch, four days later, without a proper look-out being kept, and landed him on an island with his consent.

He was twelve months out for six or seven tuns of oil. This he sold at Wellington (January, 1863). Bought provisions and eight quarter-casks of rum, two casks ale, ten cases Geneva, one quarter-cask brandy, and two ladies' side saddles. Did not retail the rum out to the crew. Gave it to them and charged £52 for it. Considered nine casks of rum a necessary disbursement. Drew on his owners for £119/15/2 for disbursements of the ship at Chatham Islands. Draft was not paid. At Keppel Island, made a bargain with the king to take fifty natives as passengers, and to help work the ship. *Did not sell them.* He got pigs, yams and coconuts for their passages. He made no entry where they were discharged. They were landed at Vanua Levu, Fiji, the day after he took them on board. The total amount disbursed for

the ship since leaving Hobart Town was £767/16/4. He actually paid that away. The balance against the owners was £229/1/1, and some £48 for crew's wages, his own wages, and some £40 more. Was compelled to purchase a large amount of provisions on account of the provisions put on board being bad.

Counsel for defence said the master was guilty of fraud and embezzlement under the Trustees' Act. He had neglected the interests of the owners, and embezzled their property. If he had been an honest man, why did he not at the end of twelve months take the vessel back to Hobart Town? Why? Because he did not dare face the owners he had robbed.

A verdict for defendants was recorded with costs against the master.

In the case Customs versus Blank, he was fined £100. In default of immediate payment, the defendant to be detained until payment was made.

It will be noticed that the two years' long traverse of the "Grecian" has not been told fully. So little detail is available beyond the scrappy story reported in the press, and the sections pieced together by the Court officials. The "Southland News" devoted some space in its editorial columns—not at all sparing of words, or in outspoken denunciation of the free-booting master mariner. Thus: "He appears to have been blessed with a multitude of kind friends singularly ubiquitous in some of those remote habitations of humanity by whose liberality his stores were timely replenished." This is a reference to the live-stock and other goods that he claimed were given him as presents.

"The two years terminated in a little principality at Stewart Island. Unfortunately, he strayed from his principality and left behind him Mrs. P——, his cows, pigs, and other accessories of an arcadian happiness, and stood within the stern magisterial presence at The Bluff."

It is evident that he never purposed returning to Hobart Town. He stated in court that the desertion of his crew prevented him from doing so. He had built a house at Stewart Island, and provided many of its essentials from the main hatch of the "Grecian." Under cross-examination he admitted the landing of the goods set down hereunder:—

1 stove
2 casks beef
1 cask suet
2 casks sugar
½ cask vinegar
2 whaling lines in their casks
Some tools and other fittings
3 cwt. soap
10,000 coconuts
1 keg butter
2 kegs pickles
and a quantity of old gear

The coconuts were, of course, the result of island trafficking. These goods he contended were only put ashore as a protective measure—and as security for his own claims.

On his "selection" he had cows and a number of pigs—collected from the various islands he had visited.

The "Grecian" was brought back to Hobart Town on 28th February, 1864 — a well-stripped ship —"considerably out of order." She sailed no more a-whaling. After being slipped and overhauled, she was sold in March, 1864, for £775, to Mr. James Young, and placed in the trade between Hobart Town and Sydney. A few months later the brig was wrecked near Red Head, New South Wales.

The free-and-easy captain did not return. He ended his days on a South Sea island.

It is but fair to say that the story of taking natives to South America has not been confirmed, but there were other places where coloured labour was welcome. The civil war in North America had stimulated the production of cotton in Fiji, and other South Sea islands; consequently, plantation labourers were in demand. The "Grecian" may have been a "blackbirder"— possibly was — but there are no log-books to prove it.

"WATERWITCH"

The "Waterwitch," last but one of the Hobart whalers, was a stout old-timer with an interesting history. Launched from Pembroke Dockyard in 1820, when George the Fourth was King, she took the water as H.M.S. "Falcon" —a 10-gun brig, and commissioned for service on the West Coast of Africa, was engaged in the suppression of the slave trade. Her subsequent career is obscure, but evidently "Falcon" was soon superseded in the service and, re-named "Waterwitch," was assigned to other seaways, which soon led to whaling in Australia. In 1842, Sydney news files record that "her articles were at Ralphael's Shipping Office waiting to sign a crew to go whaling and to carry the oil to London, where the crew were to be paid at English rates." She sailed out of Sydney under the flag of Messrs. McDonald, Smith and Co., with Captain Charles Smith as master.

Early in 1860, Captain John Scott McArthur bought the barque at Sydney, paying £1,300 for the privilege of adding the ex-warship to the fleet of Hobart Town whalers. Her period of service to two Tasmanian owners covered thirty-five years, and she served them well.

In March, 1860, "Waterwitch" sailed from Hobart Town on her first cruise, and returned in February, 1861, with 30 tuns of oil, which was then worth £95 per tun in England. On his second voyage Captain McArthur took 58 tuns of oil in five months. Captain William Harrison was given the command, and he continued in that capacity for sixteen years. The old ship was badly in need of repairs by 1868, when she was extensively overhauled, renewed and re-metalled by the McGregor Bros. firm at a cost of £2,300—money well spent, and the ship had earned it.

On 7th April, 1875, Captain McArthur died, and in June following the barque was sold at public auction to Mr. Alex. McGregor for £1,900. Under his flag she was a lucky ship, and was kept in commission for another twenty years. Captain William Harrison served the new owner for a few years, and was followed by Captains John McGrath, William Folder and George Attwell. The last named had her on her last cruise in 1895, when she brought in 59 tuns of oil, obtained in eight months.

Captain Attwell, by the way, died at Melbourne in August, 1932—one of the last of the old whaling masters.

Her sea-going ended with this voyage. Mr. McGregor decided not to fit her out again, and on 13th March, 1896, the ship came under the hammer, but could only raise a genuine bid of £90, which was not accepted. She was stripped of her gear, dismantled, and finally broken up after 76 years of hard sea service.

The "Waterwitch," despite her long term of adventurous sailing, has not left any moving tales of strange happenings outside the usual routine and risks of the sea. She missed a great prize once. In 1891 her crew killed a sperm whale, which was taken into the smooth waters of Port Davey to boil down. The carcase, having been stripped of its blubbery envelope, was given to two fishermen, who laid bare a lump of ambergris weighing 180 lbs., which realised in London about £6,000—a fine reward for the lucky pair, and a grievous disappointment to the owner, skipper, and ship's company. After this incident all whales taken were thoroughly examined for this peculiar and highly prized secretion.

Off the South-West Cape in the same year there was a murder committed aboard, one of the crew being fatally stabbed by a shipmate. The slayer was declared insane, and so escaped the extreme penalty.

In 1895, the mate, when fast to a whale, had his leg badly injured through fouling the whale-line.

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to the society of James Knowles, Esq., of Eagley Bank; and that of the Lytham lifeboat, of Thomas Clayton, Esq., of Wakefield.

Rewards amounting to £21 were also granted to the crews of the Walmer and Holyhead lifeboats of the institution for putting off in reply to signals of distress from vessels, but where their services were not ultimately required.

A reward of £2 was also granted to two fishermen, for putting off and saving the lives of four men, who, whilst recently making for the shore off Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, were capsized from their boat during blowing weather.

A reward was also voted to a boat's crew of four men for putting off and rescuing three out of six persons, who had been capsized from their boat off Killoven, in Carlington Lough. Two ladies and one gentleman had unfortunately perished on the occasion before assistance could reach them from the shore.

A reward was likewise voted to a boat's crew for going off and saving the lives of two sailors belonging to a Norwegian vessel lying in the Downs. The men, who had been on shore, were returning to their ship in a small boat, when they were overtaken by a sudden squall, which capsized her. Some Deal boatmen observing the accident, immediately launched their boat and succeeded in saving the drowning men.

Various other rewards were also voted to the crews of shore boats for saving life from various wrecks.

A resolution was passed expressive of the institution's deep sympathy with the widow of the late Admiral Washington, F.R.S., Hydrographer of the Admiralty. The gallant admiral had, during a long series of years, rendered important services to the lifeboat cause, and materially assisted, in conjunction with the Duke of Northumberland, in resuscitating the National Life-Boat Institution in 1851.

It was stated that the institution had lifeboats ready to be sent to Eastbourne, Swansea, Arklow, and Teignmouth (Devon). It was also reported that the late Milborne Williams, Esq., of Whitchurch, Somerset, had left the institution a legacy of £50. The Rev. R. S. Sutton, rector of Rype, near Hurst Green, had sent the society £3 8s. 6d. as a thank-offering from his congregation for the abundant harvest of the present year. Michael Steel, Esq., of Begbroke House, had forwarded to the institution a liberal donation of £100.

Payments amounting to £700 having been made to various lifeboat establishments, the proceedings terminated.

It would appear, observed Albert, that that hydra-headed monster, slavery, which the Southern Seceders of the American States call their "corner stone" of liberty!—one would suppose out of sheer irony,—has sprung up in the Pacific Ocean, under the instigation of some Peruvian merchants, whose slave-hunters are committing disgusting cruelties on the defenceless inhabitants of the Polynesian islands. By the report of Dr. Livingstone, this trade is still devastating Eastern Africa; but in the Pacific it appears to have been ap-

proved by the Peruvian government under the cloak of *voluntary paid servants;* but which by these papers is really nothing more than a system of kidnapping into slavery,—where cruelties terminating in death are practised. He would first call the attention of the Club to an extract from a Sydney paper on the most recent event of this nature at which our countrymen at that place are exclaiming most indignantly. And the other accounts are from Tahiti, where he was happy to say the French are doing all they can to put it down.

Surely no man in whose soul a human emotion survives will read without tears the subjoined article narrating atrocities recently committed among the islands of the South Pacific. Indignation and horror are not the words to express the depth of that passion which such scenes must stir up in every heart. The vocabulary of crime contains no epithet fit to designate these ruthless murderers, who desolate and destroy with a calm satanic deliberation. What a lesson on the character of slavery. Behind these men, the opprobrium of civilization, there are others equally guilty,—capitalists, shipowners, merchants. These poor people, who perish by every form of perfidy and violence, are said to pray for their enemies. Our invocation is that justice may overtake them with swift destruction; for if we would not deprive them of the last hope of the wicked in Divine mercy, we certainly should rejoice to find it their only resource. Can nothing be done? Are there no means to check these atrocities? Can this community, so rich in every blessing, find no channel by which they can afford relief or protection,—by which they can send to condign punishment these enemies of the human race?

While lying at anchor at Apia, Navigator Islands, Captain Lyons, of the *Ocean*, brig, obtained the following particulars from parties just arrived in a small schooner:—On the 23rd of May, the schooner *Emily* arrived at Apia from Sunday Island, situated lat. 29° 12′ S., long. 178° 13′ W., and furnished the following particulars of the doings of one of the several slavers that are striking terror into the natives of the several groups visited by them. The schooner *Emily* sailed from Bay of Islands 3rd of February for Sunday Island, and on arriving there found a large barque at anchor.

On the captain of the schooner landing, he saw a number of natives that he knew to come from Duke of York and Duke of Clarence Islands, and, as he could speak their language, they told him how that the barque had visited their islands, and that the captain and crew, well armed, landed in their boats, drove all the people down to the beach at the point of the bayonet, took every man, old and young, that had any strength, and took them on board the ship, leaving none on the two islands but a few old white headed men, and some women and children. The islands are almost depopulated. There were a number of natives from Savage Island on board, as well as from Manikie, Danger, Easter, and other islands. There were about twenty-five women and forty children taken off Easter Island.

When the slaver made Danger Island, the missionary ashore sent a

canoe off to know what vessel it was, and to obtain information. On the canoe coming alongside, both it and the man were hoisted on board; the latter was put below the hatches, and the former broken up for firewood. The object of the slaver visiting Sunday Island was to try and restore the health of his cargo, which must have been very numerous, as 300 or more of men, women, and children that were in a dying state, owing to their crowded condition, were landed in a most deplorable plight. They were so emaciated and feeble that they could not stand, some not able to crawl.

The first launch load that was landed consisted of fifty-three men; only three could stand of the number, three were found dead on the launch reaching the beach, and the residue were hauled out of the boat in the roughest manner to be conceived, and thrown on the beach, some beyond the surf and others in it. Several were drowned where they were thrown, and eighty died immediately after being landed. Some, not having strength to crawl beyond the reach of the tide, were drowned. As soon as some of the others gained a little strength, and were able to move about, they eat almost anything that came in their reach, and the consequence was that diarrhœa, flux, and cramp seized them and carried them off in numbers. The dead bodies were buried on the beach, in the sand, and when the tide rose and the surf set in, all the bodies were disinterred and strewed all over the beach, and allowed to remain as the tide left them.

On the 19th of April, a considerable number of the people had partially recovered, and were able to walk about. Many of them intended to start for the high land, just before the sailing of the barque, and hide themselves, which they can do, as the island is favourable for that purpose.

The slaver is a beautiful looking vessel of about 400 tons measurement, and is remarkably fast in her sailing qualities. She has various names, flies a variety of flags, and is well armed. The captain and the greater part of the officers are Spaniards. Her crew is well appointed; besides petty officers, there are twenty men of various nations before the mast.

When lying at anchor at Sunday Island, and when a portion of the ship's crew were on shore on duty, there was a well organised system of signalling carried on all the time by those on shore and the ship. They were continually on the alert. If a sail hove in sight, which was occasionally, as whale ships have been accustomed for years to get supplies there, they immediately got under way. Every time the captain landed he was armed with a gun, revolvers, and bowie-knife. Everything that was on the island, such as cattle, pigs, fowls, potatoes, and all kinds of vegetables, and anything that was useful to him, were appropriated to his own use. He was to sail direct for Callao on the 1st of May. This vessel is one of seven of a similar nature that are known to have been among the islands.

The same barque visited the East end of Upolo, one of the Navigator Islands, and took a native out of a trading boat that was returning to Apia, as well as what money there was, and some oil, and

afterwards sent the boat adrift with one European in it, when the land was just visible from the ship, without food or water. The boat reached the land after being at sea two days. The population of Sunday Island before the arrival of the slaver consisted of four families, numbering twenty-two in all. Their occupation was cultivating a variety of vegetables, and rearing stock to supply the whaling ships that periodically visited the island. In fourteen days after the natives were landed out of the slaver, the residents, who were Europeans, were attacked by the same disease as the natives were, and in a few days eight out of the twenty-two died.

On the arrival of the schooner, all of them but one man were ill, and he had to attend to all, as well as bury the dead. As soon as the residue could bear removal, they were taken on board the schooner, and on its arrival at Apia they had all recovered. Some families had lost a father, some a mother, and one both father and mother. There was a poor little girl of fourteen months old, and her brother of eleven years old, who were left destitute and orphans. The little girl found a kind protector at Apia, and the little boy is on board the *Ocean* brig. Sunday Island is uninhabited now.

The following is from the Tahiti papers:—

The arrival of the *Adelante*, from the Penhryn Islands, at Peru, is notified. She reached America with 202 slaves,—77 men, 73 women, 15 boys, and 33 little children. Another vessel, the *Carolina*, from the island of Proa, came about the same time as the *Adelante*. She reached Peru with 122 Polynesians. The *Hermosa Dolores* came in with 160 Polynesians from Easter Island,—138 men and 22 women. The slaves—colonists as they are rather audaciously termed—that were brought to Peru by the *Hermosa Dolores* had been collected for transmission to Peru in the *Guillermo*, the *Micaela Miranda*, the *Rosa Patricia*, the *Jose Castro*, the *Rosa y Carmen*, and the *Cora*, all of which appear to have been lying at Easter Island before the departure of the *Hermosa Dolores*. We have here most probably the majority of the names of the infamous slave fleet of Peru.

In a letter, dated the 9th of February, from an English gentlemen to a resident at Tahiti, he states that "at least fifteen hundred Polynesians have been sold at Lima."

The *Cora*, one of the slave fleet, appears to have been abandoned and sold by auction at Tahiti.

The following passage is found in the *Comercio*, of Lima, published on the 28th of March last. It shows that those who have embarked in the violent deportation of the Polynesians are losers by their traffic in flesh and blood:—The Polynesians who have been brought to this country have proved completely useless for the purposes of agriculture, and find few purchasers among the planters They are not accustomed to labour, and obstinately resist everything like work; thus, through pure slothfulness, they become victims to the climate, and a dead loss to their importers. Since government did not take timely measures to prevent this disgraceful commerce, it is consoling to see so abominable a speculation turn out more loss than profit.

Mr. Arthur M. Wholey addressed an elaborate document to the Peruvian government, justifying himself in the matter of the condemned ship *Mercedes de Wholey*. The document is dated from Callao on the 10th of March, and published in the *Messager de Tahiti* on the 23rd of May, 1863. The *Messager* remarks that it contains gross mistatements.

The Peruvian government has arrested Don Jose Rodriguez and Don Juan Campbell for their acts in relation to the slave traffic in Polynesia.

Papers are published in the *Messager de Tahiti* of the 27th of June relative to the Peruvian slave ships, the *Guayas* and the *Misti*. Eight men belonging to the crew of the *Empress* (a ship of the same class) have been also arrested. It is stated that thirty-six men, brought to Peru in the *Empress*, were sold at Huacho, a small port ninety miles North of Callao.

The following is from the *Sydney Morning Herald*:—

It will be remembered that two or three months back we gave an account of the piratical proceedings of certain Chilian and Peruvian vessels amongst the islands of the Pacific. As they happened to trench upon some of the French possessions in these seas, information was very soon given to the French authorities at Papieti, and the French government steamer *La Touche Treville* was sent round the islands of the Tahitian group to make a reconnaissance. By her endeavours, and through the information obtained by her, two or three vessels were taken, together with several of the leaders of this unparalleled expedition. The circumstances were very fully narrated by us at the time, having been translated nearly in full from the *Messager de Tahiti*, the government journal at Papieti. Some of these men have been tried, and we now make a brief *resumé* of the more important features of that trial.

The trial respecting the affair of the Peruvian brig *Mercedes A. de Wholey* commenced in the court-house of Papieti on the 9th of March last. The President of the Court was M. Trastour, Sub-Commissary of the Navy Department; Captain Naudoit, and M. Armaud, judges; and Messieurs Brander, Adams, Manson, and Drellet, residents in Papieti, judge assessors. M. Lavigerie, a surgeon in the navy, acted as public prosecutor; and Messrs. Orsmond and Buchin as interpreters to the different languages used in the trial—English, Tahitian, and Spanish. Amongst the officials accommodated with reserved seats was Mr. Miller, her Britannic Majesty's Consul.

The accused were introduced and placed opposite to the judicial bench—Juan Bautista Unibaso and Lee Knapp. The third person who had been arrested as concerned in the same affair—Charles Grandet—died in the hospital at Papieti on the 1st March last.

The following was the formula of the indictment:—"The administration the law prosecutes the men Unibaso, captain of the Peruvian brig *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, and Lee Knapp, the pilot and interpreter of the said ship, accused of having, in concert, committed

the crime of having unlawfully taken away 152 inhabitants of the Paumotus Archipelago, of having broken the local decrees bearing date the 6th of September, 1850, and the 11th of August, 1862."

After some preliminary discussion and objections to the jurisdiction of the court, the usual addresses of counsel, reading of documents, and examination of witnesses continued from day to day until the 27th March, when the evidence for the defence was commenced.

The defence rested mainly on the following licence for the importation of labourers, produced by the prisoners, and read in court:—

Lima, September 16th, 1862.

Your Excellency,—The undersigned, Andrez Alvarez Calderon, has the honour of notifying to you that the want of hands being more sensibly felt in this country (Peru) every day, I have to beg your Excellency to be pleased to authorise me to bring 800 or 1,000 colonists for the following ends and purposes. It is only necessary to set before your Excellency the palpable fact that from the dearth of auxiliary labour as much for agriculture as for all other work where a considerable number of hands are required, every one knows and feels the want it is desirable to obviate. For that reason I shall restrict myself to the simple object of the formal permission which I now solicit. As contractor for the shipment of guano from the Chincha Islands, I have had reason to feel the want of labourers adverted to—the number of hands employed in procuring national manure is every day decreasing. I have tried to engage workmen in different parts of the republic, but it is only after great efforts and costly sacrifices that I have been enabled to get a sufficient number for the exigencies of the enterprise. Nevertheless, your Excellency, what I have done can only last for a time; from one day to another a necessity for fresh labourers may arise, the arrival of a greater number of ships demands what I require, especially as the present labourers will no longer continue this work; however it may be, the loss that this dearth of labour may entail on my interests and on those of the nation is incalculable. To avoid the realisation of such a deplorable calamity it is on every ground indispensable that I should be supplied with the authority that I solicit, it being understood that the supreme government will take all necessary measures, and that I should also bind myself to take all requisite steps for the respect of international rights, of justice, and of the laws of nature—to take from no country any other than voluntary bound servants *(engagés)*, to pay conscientiously *(religieusement)* the price of their contract, and in general terms to fulfil all the obligations which the law imposes on the introduction of colonists, in accordance with the terms of the law for the introduction of Asiatics. For all these motives I entreat your Excellency to grant me what I have the honour to solicit. It is only as a matter of justice that I hope to receive it from the magnanimity of your Excellency.

ANDRES A. CALDERON.

Lima, September 16th, 1862.

Permission is granted to the memorialist to introduce colonists from the Oceanic Islands, on condition that he shall submit to the provisions of the law of the 14th of May last, No. 281-62.

MORALES.

Lima, 26th September, 1862.

Handed over to Monsieur Arturo Wholey, in order that by means of it he may introduce colonists.

ANDRES A. CALDERON.

The further reading of this paper was postponed until the next meeting of the Club.

Nautical Notices.

PARTICULARS OF LIGHTS RECENTLY ESTABLISHED.

(Continued from page 557.)

Name.	Place.	Position.	F. or R.	Ht. in Feet	Dist seen Mls.	[Remarks, &c. Bearings Magnetic.]
42. Favignana	Ferro Point	S.W. point	..	..	..	(*a.*)
43. Kobbervig	Karmo Isld., Norway	59° 17·2′ N., 5° 19·8′ E.	F.	31	8	Est. 1st October, 1863. Red light.
44. Table Bay	Breakwater	Outer arm	..	25	..	Est. 1st November, 1863. Green light. For avoiding the breakwater.
45. Sunk Light	Swin, Thames	51° 49·5′ N., 1° 31·1′ E.	..	..	..	Change of position. (*b.*)

F. Fixed. Ffl. Fixed and Flashing. R. Revolving. I. Intermitting. Est. Established.

(a.) 42.—Doubts having arisen with reference to the situation of the light-house on the island of Favignana, off the West coast of Sicily, as given by the Sicilian Government in October, 1860, Staff-Commander Stokes, of H.M. surveying-vessel *Growler*, has recently determined its correct position. The lighthouse stands not on Point Sottile, as stated in the Sicilian notice, but on Point Ferro, the low rocky western extreme of the island, and navigators are hereby informed accordingly.

(b.) 45.—The Corporation of the Trinity House, London, has given notice, that the Sunk Light-vessel at the entrance to the East Swin, has been removed 3¾ miles N.E.¼ E. from her former position. The vessel now lies in 9¼ fathoms water at low springs, with the West Rocks buoy open a little eastward of Harwich Church, bearing N.N.W.¼ W.; the Gunfleet lighthouse W.¼ S., distant 7·3 miles; Naze tower N.W.¾ W., 8·8 miles; the Shipwash light-vessel N.E.¼ N., 12·7 miles; S.W. Shipwash buoy N.E., 4·7 miles; and the Long Sand Head buoy S.S.E.¾ E., 4·8 miles.

North Sea, Coast of Holland.—With reference to the Notice to Mariners, No. 37, dated the 19th day of August, 1863, the Ter Schelling revolving light, therein said as being about to be altered in 1864-5 to a fixed red light, it should have been to a *fixed white* light.

nection with his church on behalf of the institution, in order that they might raise the cost of a lifeboat.

Lady Maxwell, of Monreith, N.B., had sent the society a kind contribution of £2 2s., which had been put in a contribution box, on behalf of the society, in the entrance hall of her mansion.

Payments amounting to upwards of £1,100 were ordered to be made on various lifeboat establishments. The committee gave instructions for some of the funded capital of the institution to be sold to meet the heavy demands upon it. The proceedings then terminated.

[We now give the conclusion of the Kidnapping in South Pacific which press of matter compelled us to postpone.]

The President inquired of the accused, Unibaso, whether he was aware that the natives were destined for the Chincha Islands?—The accused denied all knowledge of it.

This document having been surrendered by the American and read in court,

The President of the Court (addressing himself to the prisoner Unibaso) said,—Unibaso, stand up. It is needless to ask you whether you know this licence?—I do know it. I did not know that the colonists (!) were destined for the Chincha Islands. As the licence is endorsed I did not know whether they were to be sent to the Chinchas or to country estates *(haciendas)*.

Why did you not tell the Paumotuans that they were to be employed in the guano work?—I did not know that they would be so employed. It was for the owner of the ship to give to the colonists that destination which appeared to him best.

A most charming picture of the future was presented to these Indians; they were given glimpses, as it were, of a paradise before them, when it was degrading labour for which they were destined?—I never had orders about them from the owners.

In whose hands was this licence on board?—It was in my possession.

The President to Lee Knapp,—You know this licence; the captain has shown it to you?—I do not know it. The captain one day, at the door of his cabin, partially unfolded it before me, but I did not make myself acquainted with its contents.

The President to Umbaso,—Have you shown that licence to Lee Knapp?—No: I thought he was acquainted with the contents of it, since he had received orders from the owner.

The witness Reilly is recalled.

The President to Reilly,—Remember that you have sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Did you know that the Indians were destined for the Chincha Islands?—I had some suspicion of it, which became afterwards certainty. The former contractor for the Chincha Islands, Domingo Elias, having finished his contract, had taken away all his plant; the present contractor, not finding a sufficient supply of Chinese, was obliged to employ free labourers, which put him to a considerable expence, and hindered him from

meeting the demand for cargoes of guano. Mons. Wholey had already employed agents to collect free labourers; when he decided on sending out the *Mercedes*, I thought that the labourers from here were for the Chinchas. Moreover, whilst I was in the Paumotus, at the end of the conversations between the captain and Lee Knapp, that party said to me, "These Indians are sufficiently unfortunate in being destined to be sent to the Chinchas, so that they ought to be well used on board."

How many years have you been a resident in Peru?—For the last twelve years.

I observe that you speak at times of free labourers; are there then labourers that are slaves?—I was alluding to the Chinese voluntarily bound servants working at the rate of five piasters a month. They are given a little rice to live upon.

Give us some details of the treatment of these labourers.—I kept a restaurant at the Chinchas for a year. That guano business is a horrible sort of work. They bury the Chinese, and sometimes disinter the bodies eight or ten days afterwards, when they have occasion to dig where the bodies have been placed. They are always given rice of the worst quality for their food. I can speak positively to all this, having been myself an eye witness. They are very much ill-used,—absolutely like slaves.

Is there no representative of the Peruvian government at the Chinchas?—There is a governor on the island, but I do not know whether he concerns himself to prevent the ill treatment of which I speak. I do not know even that he has the right of doing so. What I am very certain of is, that matters there are just as I have stated them to be.

What are the punishments that are inflicted on these labourers?—They are flogged and heavily ironed.

The President to Mr. Orsmond, the interpreter,—Translate the deposition of the witness Reilly to the natives of the Paumotus now present in court.—Mr. Orsmond repeated in Tahitian what had just been said.

There was a profound sensation of astonishment amongst the natives when they heard what had been said.

At this stage of the proceedings Mr. Longomazino, as the authorized agent for those natives who were carried away from their homes by the brig *Mercedes*, addressed the court on the *partie civile*, showing cause why damages should be awarded to those whose interests he was there to represent. In a legal document, dated the 9th of March, 1863, the court was moved to grant damages to the complaining parties on four special grounds. 1st. Because the natives carried away had been assured that they were only to be employed in the cultivation of coffee, sugar, and rice, whereas the contract presented to them for signature was so drawn as to leave it open to the parties who hired them to employ them on any kind of work whatever. 2nd. There was a false statement in the agreements as to where they were to be sent. 3rd. There was a false promise that they should have the option of being sent back to their country. 4th. There was a false

O'MAY, Harry, Whalers out of Van Diemen's Land. Hobart, Government Printer, n.d.

Water Witch, Captain Harrison, eleven months out, brought in 118 tuns worth £10,000.

Flying Childers arrived with 40 tuns of sperm, 14 lbs. of bone.

Pacific brought 45 tuns.

The brig *Briton's Queen*, Captain Cracknell, fell in with the American whaler *Marion*. Cracknell visited the American for a yarn. While he was absent the mate, Ball, John Read the steward, and a Solomon Islander, tried to get possession of the brig, which lost sight of the Marion. The mutineers, however, failed and left the brig in one of her boats. They arrived at Moreton Bay in an exhausted condition and reported themselves to be part of the crew of the wrecked American whaler *Marion* which had foundered at sea. Very little credence was given to the story, which was proved to be incorrect as the sailing master took the brig into Moreton Bay and reported the matter. He said that the mutineers had proposed to take the *Briton's Queen* to some distant port and dispose of her.

The *Marion* was later lost at New Caledonia.

— 1863 —

IN June a boat from *Maid of Erin* struck a whale which made for the boat. Three of the crew jumped overboard. Two got back, but the third man jumped right into the whale's mouth and was not seen again.

In October the *Offley*, Captain Robinson, lowered for a whale towards evening in squally weather, struck and made fast. The creature proved to be a fighting bull for he smashed up three boats. The fourth boat picked up the crews and took them to the ship. It then returned and fired two bombs into the whale and left him with iron and lines attached. He was in sight at daylight and was killed after a severe tussle during which he stove in another boat. Fortunately, she was a five-boat ship.

On October 17th, the American whaler *Eliza*, beating up the Derwent, misstayed and grounded on Secheron Point. She was towed off by the P.S. *Monarch*.

GRECIAN

This 212-ton brig was another of England's famous six-gun slave-chasers that joined the whaling fleet out of Hobart Town. On one of her voyages under the command

of Captain Waty Watson in the 40's, she tryed out three whales which yielded 39 tuns of oil valued at £3,900. On her 1853 voyage she was cruising off the West Coast when the lookout's cry rang out, " Blows, there she blows ". The mate, Bob Marney, lowered and made fast. The whale started off while the brig bore down towards the boat. Night closed down with the whale towing the boat in his wake. The brig burnt flares and signal lights expecting the mate to cut and return. She also fired guns to give her position. Lookouts were aloft at daylight but caught no sign of the missing boat. The brig searched the seas for days with no success. When the news reached Hobart Town the mother of one of the lost men chartered a vessel to search the wild west Tasmanian coast for the missing boat and crew. The lookout aloft was the last to see them as they disappeared in the fading light in the wake of the whale.

In December, 1861, the *Grecian* cleared from Hobart Town under the command of Captain McGrew, still under the house flag of Charles Seal. This was a red field with a white S. *Grecian* sailed for the South Seas a well-found vessel with a crew of twenty-four. A few days later she anchored in Botany Bay and picked up a lady passenger and sailed on her legitimate voyage. She procured six and a half tuns of oil but Captain McGrew was evidently on a pleasure cruise as fifteen months later he put into Wellington, New Zealand, sold the oil, got rid of his crew, and replaced them with Maoris, Portuguese and Swedes. This caused some suspicion but as the captain was well known, no investigation was made by the authorities. Some talk was caused as some of the material taken on board was not required for a whaling voyage. It was also thought that as she was originally a six-gun brig of war, very little was required to make her a dangerous craft. However, she got a clearance from Wellington and sailed. Her next anchorage was the Chatham Islands and there she picked up a man named John Turner with the understanding that after four months he would be landed at a New Zealand or Australian port. After she cleared the land, Captain McGrew called all hands and informed them that he intended to seize the brig and convert her into a south sea slaver. Slaving, he told them, would pay much better than whaling, as the slaves could readily be sold on the Brazilian coast. John Turner with eight others refused to join

this project and demanded that they should be landed at some port where a British consul officiated. Of course this proposal did not suit Captain McGrew, so he landed them on one of the Savage Islands and gave them five minutes to get away. If they delayed they would be killed. Travers, the mate, who had charge of the boat, returned them to the brig and was heartily abused by McGrew for his trouble.

John Turner again requested McGrew to land them at any place where there was a British resident, but the captain sailed for Samoa and landed them at a native village where they were stripped of clothes, money and other possessions in payment for being taken from there to Upolu, about 70 miles away. There the British consul gave them protection. A few days later they were joined by another of the crew named Bryan from Fiji, who stated that after Turner and his party had been landed the brig reached the island of Tongatabu. There McGrew enticed 130 native men, women and children on board to a feast below, then closed the hatches. The brig then sailed, but Bryan refused to stay with the slaver. He was landed at Ovalu. He believed that the *Grecian* sailed for Peru.

Five of Turner's party shipped on board the American whaler *Desdemona*, the others later returned to Sydney. Turner then came to Hobart and told the story to Mrs. Seal, the owner of the brig. Charles Seal had died in 1852, but his wife had carried on his extensive business interests. His ships had the reputation of being the best-found vessels out of this port.

Whaling Song from Murray's Review of 1859

KING OF THE SOUTHERN SEAS

Oh, the whale is full of the boundless sea,
He lives for a thousand years,
He sinks to rest in the billowy breast
Nor the roughest tempest fears.
The howling blast as he hurries past
Is music to lull him to sleep,
And he scatters the spray in his boisterous play
As he dashes, the king of the deep.
Oh, the rare old whale 'mid storm and gale
In his ocean home will be.
He is great in might where might is right,
And king of the boundless sea.
A wondrous tale could this rare old whale
Of the mighty deep disclose,
Of skeletons formed by bygone storms,
And treasures that no one knows.

He has seen the crew when the tempest blew
Drop down on the slippery deck.
Shaking the tide from his glossy hide,
He is spoiling with oceans wreck.

— 1864—

MRS. SEAL'S fleet, consisting of the barque *Aladdin* and brig *Prince Leopold*, was offered for sale this year. The former, with all whaling gear and stores, was purchased by Captain John S. McArthur for £500, which was the sum he had paid for her when he purchased her in London in 1846 for the late Charles Seal. She was hove down at the New Wharf to repair her copper.

Grecian was slipped and given a thorough overhaul and sold under the hammer to Mr. James Young for £775 and converted to a trader. She was wrecked a few months later between Point Redhead and Lake Macquarie off the coast of New South Wales, when on her way from Sydney to Hobart Town.

The *Pacific* parted from her anchors and was lost at Patterson's Inlet, Stewart Island.

Marie Laurie retired from blubber hunting and joined the merchant trading fleet out of Hobart. This staunch oldtimer was built in the Seychelles in 1840.

On February 28th, the *Prince Regent* went under Alex McGregor's house-flag for £775. On March 28th she was purchased by Captain Boon of Adelaide for £1,000.

This year Mr. D. Chapman sold the *Sussex*, minus her whaling gear, to Captain W. Young for £1,150.

On June 9th, *Emily Downing*, Captain James Lucas, returned to port in distress, having lost her five boats, galley, cooking utensils, mizzen-mast and jib-boom. The same sea had also taken Captain Lucas and five men overboard. The captain and one man had managed to get back on board. The barque was waterlogged and it took twelve hours pumping to clear her. At the time she was off the New Zealand coast. She was later sold to Alex McGregor for the sum of £350.

This year *Lady Emma* also changed hands to E. M. Fisher for the sum of £2,200.

On December 20th the brig *Maid of Erin* came in to replace three boats and gear lost in a gale.

The United States whaler *Sophia Thornton*, Captain Riggs, arrived with 1,400 barrels of sperm oil and 100 black oil.

Some account of the doings of the Peruvian blackbirders at Penrhyn, Humphrey and Danger islands and in the Union group is given by Ella in a later letter. It was reported that they had carried off all the male adults from Penrhyn and Danger islands. At the small island of Atafu (or Duke of York Island) the slavers had kidnapped the chief Oli and thirty-four men. All that remained were the women and children and six men. The women and children wept day and night. They did not eat; there were none left to provide food for them or to climb the coco-nut trees. Two men who were allowed by the captain to return on shore, probably because they were too old or infirm to be of much use as labourers, described how the kidnapping was done.

When the men went on board with their goods for sale the captain had some of the ship's trade articles placed on deck, but the best of the stuff, the red cloth, the shirts and trousers and the white and blue calicoes, were in the hold. The captain said to the islanders: "Look at the cloth on deck and that in the hold and see which to choose." The natives trooped down into the hold, where one of the crew handed to them shirts and trousers, wrappers and hats, which they tried on. The simple souls rejoiced that they had such fine clothes in which to attend worship. But some of the crew were hidden in the hold armed with cutlasses. The chief was the only native left on deck. He called to the natives to come up lest they should injure anything in the vessel. Some of the crew seized him and threw him down into the hold. Then the hatchway was shut down.

These two witnesses said that they had seen one native struck down with a cutlass. They saw the blood flow like water.

Only two days later another slaver came to Atafu. The captain offered four gold coins and a quantity of cloth to Maka, the Samoan teacher, if he would secure some men. Maka pointed out that all the able-bodied men had been carried off but the captain refused to believe this. He landed a number of his crew armed with guns and cutlasses. He threatened to burn the village if the men did not come from their hiding-places. This threat brought from their refuge the two men who had been spared by the other slaver. These men were at once dragged off to the ship.

SUWARROW GOLD

J2748

and Other Stories of the Great South Sea

by

JAMES COWAN

SCHOOL OF ARTS
18 NOV 1936
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NEWCASTLE SCHOOL OF ARTS

THE SLAVE SHIPS OF CALLAO

PEACEFUL lay the broad lagoon, peaceful the little thatched hut villages beneath the palms that swished their fronds in the trade wind. On the outer reef beyond the sheltered glimmerglass the surf beat with a slow percussive rhythm, softened to a kind of lullaby by distance. Most of the brown folk of the atoll were at their siesta; when the blazing sun westered more they would be making ready for their evening's flying-fish catching by torchlight. Now it was blistering on the beaches; the sunshine was thrown back as from a glittering plate of steel from the surface of the water, a dazzle painful to the eye. The expanse of the lagoon stretched away for some five miles in front of the largest village. To right and left it extended in a crescent; the white heads of the rollers breaking on the coral wall appeared and subsided at regular intervals. Palm-grove isles darkened the long reef line; and in the lagoon there were islets, each bearing its tall leaning coco-nuts, their heads waving gently in the breeze.

A boy wandering out of one of the quiet dwellings, gazed out seaward, shading his eyes from the dazzle. He raised a shrill cry, '*He kaipuké, he kaipuké!*' ('A ship, a ship!'). Out poured the suddenly aroused folk, men, women and children, just as they jumped up from their mats. They came running to the beach.

There she was, her sails shining pearly white against

the blue, a brig, painted black, making for the reef entrance opposite the principal village. Sailing swiftly, and taking in her royals as she opened up the channel she came in with yards trimmed to the good leading wind. Once well into the lagoon she rounded to and anchored.

The strange craft had an unusually large crew for her size, for while a dozen men were aloft stowing sails, she lowered two whale-boats, each with an officer and five men. By this time the lagoon was alive with outrigger canoes all making for the brig. While some of the clamorous crews were climbing on deck the two boats had reached the beach. What could she be, this strongly manned black ship? Vociferous questions went unanswered. But one thing was quickly made clear, she was not a British trader. The officers and sailors who had landed spoke a language strange to the Polynesians. They were dark-avised, their quick black eyes darted here and there; some of them wore cutlasses by their sides; others had holstered revolvers at their belts. But they professed friendship; they had a native of some half-caste breed with them who spoke a dialect understandable by the Islanders; and they carried some small presents, tobacco, knives and beads, which they gave to the headman in the big house for distribution among the people.

When night came down, the strangers returned to the brig. They had arranged that parties of the Islanders should visit the ship next morning.

There was little sleep for the people of the palm-grove villages that night. Some of them sat on the beach till

late gazing out at the black shadowy form of the strange ship; the few lights she showed cast long wavering lines of brightness on the face of the lagoon. In the great thatched meeting-house most of the excited natives gathered for talk and song and dance. There were improvised chants about the new-come ship. The wooden drums were going with a clatter and a throb that carried far across the waters. The men in the brig could have heard that regular quick rattle of the *pahu*, the sounds that carry their onomatapoeic words to the Polynesian — 'Tingiri, ringiri, ranga-ra, ranga-ra, tiki-rangi-ti'.

Daylight had scarcely appeared before the canoes were in the water again. Nearly every man and boy was there, paddling for the brig. A side ladder was down, and men stood in the gangway admitting the natives, one canoe crew at a time. The visitors, tremendously happy and excited, were escorted down below by a ladder in the main hatchway. They were told that there was a feast of biscuit and meat awaiting them.

There were nearly a hundred brown men there, most of the adult male population of the atoll. Crew after crew went below unsuspecting evil of these strangers almost as dark as themselves.

Suddenly the hatchway was closed, shutting up the islanders in darkness. Their amazed and terrified shouts were faintly heard by the few still left in the canoes. The boats were in the water and the armed crews quickly rounded up the astonished canoe paddlers and forced them up the brig's ladder. Then they made for the shore

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and compelled the women to load the boats with coco-nuts, fruit and yams. Some of the prettiest girls were seized by the officers and thrust into the boats, and off the raiders rowed to the brig. Sails were loosed, the capstan was manned; up came the anchor to the sound of a Spanish chant; the canvas was sheeted home, and under topsails and topgallant-sails the black brig stood out through the channel, and into the heaving blue of the Pacific, leaving behind her a ravished land. The coral isle of peace and beauty was a land of mourning, bereft of most of its able-bodied men and its most handsome women, stolen away by whom they knew not, bound they knew not where, victims to the wicked greed of men in high places in a far-off land.

That drama of deceit and tragedy was witnessed in many a South Sea island seventy years ago. At a later date there were somewhat similar episodes in the Black Islands of the Western Pacific, but these raids of which I write were all carried out in the Polynesian islands in the eastern sector of the great South Sea, among a harmless unsuspecting people, the most pleasing and friendly of all the inhabitants of the Pacific. The piratical marauders were Spanish-American slavers; the vessels were under the Peruvian flag; their raids were carried out systematically over a great area of Polynesia for the purpose of getting free labour for the mines and plantations and guano workings of Peru.

At least a dozen of the coral lands which now fly New

Zealand's flag were among the objectives of these forced-labour-getting cruises, and many hundreds of hapless Island folk were stolen away for slavery. The tragic recollection of these 'thief-ships' as the natives called them, lingers to this day all over the South Pacific.

The records of the raiders and their brutal deeds are scattered and fragmentary. I searched the files of the 'sixties in an attempt to piece together a connected story of the ruffianly business, the lineal successor of the old African negro slave traffic to the United States and Spanish America. Notes on the subject, too, I gathered many years ago from old Island traders and sailors.

This cheap labour enterprise began, as nearly as it can be fixed, in the year 1860. The Peruvian Government and large private interests found it difficult and expensive to obtain labour for their works in a legitimate way. The mines, the guano islands, the plantations, and other scenes of industry, must have men who would work for next to nothing, and if for nothing at all so much the better. Africa was out of the question, since British warships patrolled the slave coast so vigilantly. So Peru turned to the so far untouched South Sea Islands as a likely source of labour which would cost little but the expense of fitting up ships to go and steal it.

The raids by a fleet of Peruvian barques, brigs and schooners were carried out in the period 1861-63. During that time many vessels were chartered for Callao, to 'recruit' labour for the mines. It was said that an engagement was entered into by a Callao house to supply some

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ten thousand natives. In the year 1863 at least two thousand were actually secured and haled off to lifelong slavery — probably endured only a few years. The trickery and violence, and the murders, the crime and sorrow, make as sorry a tale of sin and suffering as anything in the shocking history of the African slave trade.

At least a score of vessels fitted out at Callao appear to have been for slaving cruises. From lonely Easter Island and that southernmost of the tropic lands, lofty Rapa, up to the Line Islands, and thence as far as the Carolines in the north-west, the pirates roved the Pacific, inveigling the trusting Polynesian people on board by promises, and when trickery failed, capturing them by force of arms. The ships were similar to those employed in the slave trade between West Africa and Brazil, and other American countries. Their holds were fitted with long rows and tiers of bunks, or rather shelves, for the accommodation of the 'live stock'. They carried rice to feed the slaves, and were equipped with large boilers — one brig captured by the French in 1863 had three boilers — for cooking the rice and for condensing sea-water for the tanks and casks.

The atolls of the Tokelau group (now under New Zealand's jurisdiction) and the Ellice Islands, both groups lying northward of Samoa, were among the first visited, and hundreds of natives were stolen there. Penrhyn Island, Manahiki, Rakahanga, Pukapuka (Danger Island), the Cook Islands, the Paumotu or Tuamotu Archipelago, the Society Islands — at all of these some of the fleet of

thief-ships called. Some places proved unfruitful in recruits — the Society Islands, under the French flag, for instance, and most of the Cook Islands, which are now British. Very few of the vigilant Raratongans fell victims, and none of the Samoans, so far as can be learned. There were many white residents there who would put the natives on their guard against the Spanish-American scoundrels. But the Tokelau people and their like, the atoll-dwellers, among whom there were few white people, fell very easily to the Peruvians' wiles.

When islanders could not be enticed on board by promises of goods, armed parties were landed, the able-bodied men were captured, and those who resisted were shot down. Guns were turned on the canoes, and the terrified people swimming away were rounded up by boats crews. A trick often used when the natives came aboard unsuspectingly to visit and trade immediately a ship anchored in their lagoons, or lay off the reef, was to ask them down below to have a glass of grog and some biscuits and other white man's food. They were taken into the hold or 'tween-decks, and the hatches were shut down on them.

At Easter Island, that isle of mystery, seven vessels made rendezvous early in the slaving cruise. Their captains landed armed crews, gathered in some hundreds of natives, including the high chiefs and learned men, forced them into the boats, and took them on board. They then made a clean sweep of the island, carrying away all the taro, yams, sweet potatoes, pigs and fowls,

and capped their villainy by setting the houses on fire. Many of the poor people who were captured refused to eat or drink, and died of grief before the ships reached Callao.

At Niué, or Savage Island, two ships from Callao stole ninety men. Only one of these slaves, a young chief named Taolé, lived to see his home island again. His narrative I shall give presently.

At the island of Mauké, in the Cook Group, the Auckland schooner *Flying Fish* in 1863 found the natives in great consternation over the deeds of these Peruvian craft. They feared they would be attacked and desired that a man-of-war should be sent to cruise in search of the slavers. The schooner *Osprey*, which arrived at Auckland in April, 1863, from the Cook Islands, brought news that a brig, supposed to be Spanish, had visited Mangaia Island, the southernmost of the group, and had stolen away the principal chief's son and several other men. Later, two other vessels, whose people said they were Americans, called and tried to engage 200 men each, but failed.

Perhaps the most atrocious deed of all was the action of the captain of a barque which put many scores of sick natives, on shore at Sunday Island, in the Kermadec Group, to recover or die as they might. This was reported in 1863 by a vessel which called at Sunday Island on her way to Samoa. The slaving-vessel was a fast-sailing barque; she had a large crew of Spanish-speaking men from Peru and Chili. This was one of the vessels which

had kidnapped natives from Niué. They would probably have had a better chance of recovering from the sickness, whatever it was, on shore, than in the crowded, unsavoury ship, but they were callously left there marooned on an all-but-desert island, where nearly all of them died. The epidemic spread too to the family of the one white settler on the island, and his Samoan wife and several children died.

For one particularly vile crime there is no parallel even in the African slave trade. This was the sweeping-off of the Nukulaelae people, in the Ellice Islands. Nukulaelae (or the Mitchell Islands) is a coral reef and lagoon with ten beautiful islands. Before the visit of the Peruvian slavers the population of the atoll was 450, all living in peace and plenty, a happy primitive folk; they had been christianized by native missionaries from Samoa. When H.M.S. *Basilisk* visited the group in 1872 the population was seventy. The story of the great piracy was told to Captain Moresby by the only trader there, a German. He went from Nukulaelae on a cruise to Samoa and when he was away, in 1864, the man-stealers came. He returned to find only fifty worn-out people and children; all the rest had been kidnapped by the ruthless Spanish-Americans. The story told to Moresby was that three large barques, flying the Spanish flag, had appeared off the atoll, and an old man landed and told the natives that the vessels were missionary-ships. He invited them on board to receive the Holy Sacrament. In simple faith the islanders went off in their canoes, all the able-bodied men.

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They were made prisoners and put into the hold. Again the old scoundrel landed and told the women and children that the men had sent him for them. They too went off to the black ships and were thrust into the hold of captivity. Then the wicked ships sailed away. None of those left on shore knew where their friends had gone; they vanished over the horizon. Long afterwards it was found that they had been carried off to Peru; but not a word ever reached Nukulaelae from the stolen people. They disappeared from all ken. 'It was sickening,' Captain Moresby wrote in his account of his voyage, 'to hear the tale told on the spot which had seen all this sorrow.' Only two men, one of whom the captain saw, escaped from the thief-ships; they jumped overboard and swam six or seven miles back to the island.

Two or three of the raiders received something of their deserts. In 1863 the French naval authorities at Tahiti had three captured slaving-vessels in Papeete harbour. One of these, the *Cora*, was seized by the natives at Rapa Island. One of the captains was sentenced to ten years imprisonment and another to five years. It would have been a fitting and dramatic retribution had they been hoisted to the yardarms of their own black craft, 'rigged with curses dark', and sent to the bottom with the scuttled pirate-ship. Unfortunately it does not appear that any of these sea ruffians of the 'sixties were hanged for their crimes.

THE STORY OF TAOLÉ THE SAILOR

TAOLÉ was a man of Niué, or Savage Island, that lonely, surf-beaten mass of palm-clothed upheaved coral which rises from the immensely deep waters of the South Pacific two hundred miles east of the Friendlies. When he told the story of his great adventure he was a sailor in a smart little Auckland brigantine, the *Ryno*. The man and his narrative were something out of the ordinary. Taolé's years then, were, say, five and forty. He was a tall, big-shouldered stern-looking fellow, very dark of complexion for a Polynesian sailor; his skin was burned almost black by a fiercer sun than that of his native island. He had a trick of wearing a red sash, Spanish fashion, instead of the customary leather belt, and on this sash hung the short sheath that held his sailor's knife. In his ears were gold earrings, beaten out of American coins; about his neck a brightly-coloured handkerchief was loosely knotted, and his broad-brimmed hat, beautifully plaited by a Niué woman, had a sombrero-like rakish tilt. For all his little affectations of Spanish ways, however, Taolé had no cause to love the Dons. His eyes glittered with the still-fresh recollections of a cruel wrong when he told the tale of his kidnapping by one of the Peruvian thief-ships, and his life of slavery in the baked-up prison land of the

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Spanish-Americans, the land of 'Kalio' — Callao — the Islanders' only name for Peru and Chili.

Of the stolen from Niué, only one, and that Taolé, the son of Hengatulé, the old blind chief of Avatele, returned to tell his fellows of the fate that befell the hapless islanders enslaved by the wicked Paniola, whose name to this day is accursed on the palm-shaded shores of a score of tropic islands.

'There were two thief-ships,' said Taolé, as he threw away the remains of his banana-leaf *sului*, the native cigarette, and began the tale of the slaves of Callao. 'It was long ago that they came, five and twenty years or more, when I was a young man of perhaps twenty, and before ever I had set foot on a white man's ship. Early one morning the people on the cliffs of our island of Niué raised the cry, "A ship! A ship!" Then they shouted "Two ships, there are two of them!" for another sail appeared over the horizon, and sailing swiftly before the trade wind bore down upon the island. The strange vessels, both square-rigged, hove to some distance from each other when they were a little way from the reefs, and our people of Avatele and Alofi villages, mad with excitement, launched their outrigger canoes and paddled off to the ships, eager to trade and obtain the white man's goods. They had filled their canoes with fruit and yams and coco-nuts and these goods they designed to barter for cloth and axes and knives and fish-hooks and whatever other treasures the *papalangi* carried in their big *vakas*.

'I jumped into one of the Avatele canoes and three of us . . . one was my brother . . . paddled off to one of the waiting ships, the smaller of the two, lying heaving there on the ocean. The sea by this time was alive with canoes, each crew hastening to be the first to board and trade. We reached the *papalangi* ship and climbed on board. No sooner had we leaped down on to the deck than we became suspicious and afraid, for the strangers were fierce-looking, black-bearded men, all armed. They had pistols stuck in their belts, and they grasped naked cutlasses and some carried tomahawks. The hatches were off the hold and the men beckoned us to approach and see what they had for us below. We went to gaze down into the hold, gripping our axes, for we were now wary. But suddenly there was a rush of men upon us, and we were overpowered and thrust down the ladder which led into the bottom of the ship.

'We had been the first to reach the ship. The other canoe crews climbed on board after us, unknowing of our fate. The crafty *papalangi* waited until they were all on the decks, and then they made them prisoners as they had us, for there were many white sailors and they used their cutlasses to drive all the Avatele men down into the hold after us, where we lay helpless, for the three of us had been bound. The Niué men who followed us, like ourselves, were wild with fear. They yelled and danced with rage and terror, and with their little axes they chopped away at the fastenings of the hatches which had been shut down upon them. One of them released my brother and the

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other bound man and myself, and we joined in the endeavour to fight our way out of the dark and fearful belly of the ship.

'We managed to thrust up one part of the hatch coverings and ten or fifteen of us dashed up on deck, mad with fear and anger at our treatment by the *papalangi*. But the sailors rushed at us with their cutlasses and axes and strove desperately to thrust us back into the hold. They cut down some of our men, and I was stunned by a blow with some weapon on the side of the head and was thrown back into the hold, where I lay bruised and like to die. Three of our men were killed in the struggle, and two others were terribly wounded, and overboard they went, dead and dying; the thieves and murderers had no use for wounded men. But not all of the living were thrown back into the hold. Several of the men of Avatele eluded their captors and reached the ship's rail. Instantly they leaped overboard, and disregarding the sharks they swam to the shore and spread the news that the strange vessel was a pirate craft which stole men.

'The brig trimmed her yards and sailed along the coast to Mutulau, where also she captured a number of people who had paddled off to trade with her. Now she had forty captives in her black hold. Her hatches were fastened down, all except a small opening to admit air; at this hatchway stood guards with loaded rifles, and with pistols in their belts, ready to fire upon us. As for the other vessel, the barque, long afterwards, when we were all in

Callao, we found that she had stolen fifty men from Niué.

'The wicked ships sailed away in company, steering northward, and Niué was a land of mourning. Fathers and husbands were torn from their families, sons were parted from their parents, whom they were never to see again. Down in the dark prison of the hold we wept bitter tears and made lamentations with loud cries of grief and anger. Our hearts were filled with rage against the treacherous *papalangi*, but we were helpless. The guards pointed their guns at us and made us understand that they would fire upon us if we continued to make such a noise. We taunted them and bade them fire. They would not do that while we were safe in the hold. They did not desire to deplenish their cargo of slaves. And that day and night and for many days afterwards our faces streamed with tears and we raised the *tangi* for our loved ones and for the homes that perhaps none of us would ever see again. And we meditated vengeance too, and took counsel as to how we could escape on deck and attack our captors. But every hope was in vain.

'The ship sailed northward, and the air grew hotter, and in our stifling hold we were very near death. Twice a day our gaolers lowered food and water to us, ship-biscuit and vessels containing cooked rice, and buckets of water. After the first day we were allowed to come on deck for a while, not more than five at a time; but for this we would have died. We had no chance of escape, for there was no land to be seen; everywhere around us the ocean, with nothing in sight but the other slave ship.

'After some days of sailing northward, blown by the steady south-east trade wind, the ships reached the Tokelau Islands, to the northward of Samoa. There we were kept shut up below while our captors went about their business of stealing more men. The people of Tokelau were captured in great numbers, more than those that were taken from Niué, and there were some women amongst them. Many of the unsuspecting islanders were made captives on board, when they came expecting to trade. Some of them broke loose in the struggle and leaped overboard, but most of these were recaptured by the ship's boats. The armed boat crews pursued them, and they were seized and hauled inboard; those that resisted were shot or were killed with cutlasses. The boats also chased the canoe crews and caught many, and armed men went on shore and brought off those they could secure. As the men and women were brought on board they were thrust down the ladder into the hold to join the Niué people, and then the ships sailed away eastward with their hundreds of captives.

'The great heat and the stifling air of the hold, the close confinement and the scant and unaccustomed food killed many of the slaves. We had not been sailing many days eastward before a great sickness arose. What the *papalangi* call it I cannot say, but it was a terrible sickness. Day after day dead men were hoisted up from the hold and cast overboard.

'At last the dreadful voyage came to an end. The ships reached a far-stretching land, with great mountains rising

inland, a vast bare land, in no way like our islands of the ocean. We dropped anchor in the harbour of Callao, and we were told we were in South America, the land of the Paniola, and that we were to be taken ashore to work for our white owners. The captain of the brig sold us to the people on shore, and I and my brother were set to work in the port, digging and carrying stones, and carrying and wheeling loads of cargo for the ships. As for our fellow-slaves, most of them were sent away in another ship that took them to the guano islands down the coast, whence none of them ever returned.

'We worked every day, every day. We received no pay. We were worked until we nearly died. Guards watched us continually. For a long time my brother and I worked in the same place. Then we were parted from each other and never again did I see him.

'Many, many months, months that became years, I worked in Callao. I toiled weary and heart-broken, with scarcely any desire to live, for I had given up all hope of ever again beholding my home island and my relatives.

'But one day a ship which had Island sailors in her crew dropped anchor in Callao, and the sight of these sailors and the sound of their voices put new hope into me. The vessel was an American whaling-ship — "*vaka-hoka-ika*" — and many of her men were from Oahu, in the Hawaiian Islands. Their speech is somewhat like our own, at any rate I was able to tell them my story, hurriedly, when the guards were not watching. Some of

them were allowed ashore on liberty, and when I spoke to them and told them that I had been stolen from Niué and begged them to help me they besought their captain to rescue me from my life of slavery.

'The captain spoke quietly and kindly to me as he passed, saying that he wanted another man and would try and get me away if I would work as a sailor and go chasing whales. To this I eagerly agreed. I was wild with excitement at the thought of escape, and had the ship sailed away without me I would have killed myself. But I would have slain some of my gaolers first as payment for my enslavement.

'The Kanaka sailors cunningly arranged a plan of escape. They brought ashore some seaman's clothes, and a hat such as they wore, and these were left behind a shed in which I worked together with a number of other South Sea Island slaves. I told my fellow-labourers what I was going to do, and they helped me, and eagerly watched me, but at the same time so acted that the guards would not suspect anything.

'The moment came for which I had waited with great throbbings of my heart. When the armed guards were busy directing the labours of the other men, I slipped behind the shed and swiftly changed my clothes. The shed was close to the beach, and two of the whaler-boats lay there, with one man in each, and the rest sauntering about the waterfront. I boldly assumed the character of a sailor, and the Oahu men skilfully arranged it that just as I had slipped on the seaman's clothes and hat some of

them passed by the shed, taking me by the arm, as if I were one of their party, and marched down to where the boat was waiting.

'The guards now were watching from a little distance and I was plain in their view, but they thought I was one of the whaleship's crew. We reached the water's edge, and stepped into the boat. We pushed off, and pulled to the whaleship, which lay there all ready for sea, her sails all hanging loose, ready to sheet home, her anchor chain up and down.

'Just then, as we were pulling off swiftly and joyfully to the ship, a shout came from the beach. The guards had discovered that I was missing, and they ran to the beach, but their prisoner was free! In a few moments we were alongside the whaler and aboard, and our boat hoisted to the davits. Meanwhile the crew weighed anchor in great haste, and I flew to help them as they ran round with the capstan bars. In a few moments more the ship was covered with sail, and she was moving through the water to the open sea.

'Now there was much excitement and bawling and running about of the Paniola on shore, for the American whaleship had run off with one of their slaves. A boat full of armed and uniformed men put off in great haste to intercept us, but we were now clear of the harbour with a freshening breeze right behind us. The shore boat boarded a small government ship, and she got up her anchor and set sail after us. All that afternoon I watched the sail far astern chasing us, but by next morning nothing

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was in sight. The government had given up the chase, and I, Taolé, the slave, was now a sailorman and free!

'That was the beginning,' Taolé went on, after a long pause, 'of my life as a whaling man and a sailor before the mast. Always my home island was in my thoughts, but it was some years before I saw again the cliffs of Niué. When I escaped from Callao, the American whaler went up north, far north to a very cold place of frost and ice, a place where great islands of ice float upon the waters, and there I was frozen almost to death. I all but perished in the terrible cold, which numbed the hands and froze the very breath of man, and made the sails as hard and stiff as iron. Then the ship sailed slowly south, chasing whales, and by this time I was a harpoon man, and could strike and lance a whale.

'We reached Honolulu at last, and there I left the whale-ship, for although I was grateful to the captain for my rescue, and he wished me to continue the cruise, I was sick for home. At Honolulu I joined after a while a barque which took me southward to the Line Islands. I went to one and then another of the guano islands, and there on Starbuck Island I met to my joy some men from Niué who were working for Mr. Arundel [Mr. J. T. Arundel, of London], digging and shipping guano. With them I worked for nearly a year, and then a schooner called to return the workers to their homes. I sailed with them, and so, at last, after many years, I saw the coco-nut palms of Niué rise out of the great waters, and I threw

myself down and wept when I stepped ashore once more on the island of my birth. And then I entered the village and went to my old home. I was received as a ghost . . . an *aitu* . . . as one risen from the dead! Long, long ago had they given up hope for me.

'Long they wept over me, my old blind father and my mother and all my house. Day by day people came from the villages all around the island to cry over me and embrace me in joy at my return, but they wept also for those whom they never would see again . . . for I was the only one of all the stolen men who ever returned to Niué from the prison-land of Callao.'

THE BRITISH SETTLEMENT OF NATAL

A Study in Imperial Migration

BY

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at Umzinto, whilst serving as lieutenant in the Royal Durban Rangers.

The *Gwalior* was followed to Natal by the tiny schooner *Elizabeth Jane* and the 156-ton brig *Lalla Rookh*. The schooner conveyed twenty-two passengers paying their own fares and not under the regulations of the emigration board. The *Lalla Rookh* was one of the new Aberdeen clippers, built at Peterhead. She brought to Natal, in the fastest passage so far achieved (sixty-five days), Natal's first settler medico, Dr W. H. Addison, the solicitor J. R. Goodricke, and Hugh Maclean's two eldest sons, who were to take into consideration the suitability of Natal for the emigration of several of their father's tenants.[1]

Private enterprise had thus forged a link between the United Kingdom and Natal before the intervention of the speculator. But migration on a considerable scale only came about when J. C. Byrne opened his Pall Mall offices.

In middle age, Joseph Charles Byrne was a tall, sturdily built man with a fresh complexion and an impressive manner. Essentially an adventurer, bringing misery to many who committed their fortunes to his care, he was a plausible speaker, quick-witted and able to discern more clearly than most the economic and social possibilities of emigration. The son of a Dublin cattle-dealer, he had married well and had travelled widely in many parts of the British Empire. Visiting Australia in 1839, he had with two companions made large speculative purchases of cattle and had followed the Murrumbidgee River as far as its junction with the Murray, surviving more than one violent encounter with the aborigines. From Australia he had gone to New Zealand. There, as well as in Adelaide and Sydney, he had seen much distress among unemployed emigrants. In 1843 he was at the Cape, having exhausted his capital. According to his own account, he

[1] Hugh Maclean to the Secretary of State, 30 Jan. 1849. C.O. 179/9. The Maxwell correspondence is printed in *Brit. Parl. Pap.* 1849, xxxvi (1059).

visited Natal from Colesberg, travelling overland with a hunting party.[1] A timely loan from an Irish friend enabled him to transport his family to London, which he reached altogether without means. But in the good years before the potato famine in Ireland and the commercial crisis of 1847 he established himself in Liverpool as a prosperous stock and share broker. The two guide-books which he induced Effingham Wilson of the Stock Exchange to publish sold very well, and he was presently to be seen driving to his office in a handsome equipage. Then came the railway mania and the commercial depression, bringing severe losses. Finding that a growing public was interested in emigration, Byrne made a careful study of available Blue Books. He learned from a clerk in the Colonial Office that promoters of colonisation could earn a title to thousands of good colonial acres, and he decided to forestall competition by offering attractive terms for settlement at Port Natal. An ex-stationer lent him money to furnish, at 12 Pall Mall East, his 'Natal Emigration and Colonisation Office'.

Before approaching the Secretary of State, it was necessary to make sure of professional and financial assistance. Byrne had no intention of himself accompanying his emigrants, and the services of an agent and surveyor was the first consideration. Here Byrne was distinctly fortunate. John Moreland, a surveyor and engineer of considerable ability, was on the point of concluding an agreement with Dr John Dunmore Lang, Presbyterian minister and newspaper editor in New South Wales, to return with him to Australia when, crossing Pall

[1] In a speech at Manchester on 15 May 1850, the *Manchester Examiner*, 18 May 1850. At Byrne's examination in bankruptcy, the commissioner was apparently satisfied with his statement that he had visited Natal in 1843 or 1844, but it is certain that he was quite unknown in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. For the facts of Byrne's career, see J. C. Byrne: *Twelve Years' Wanderings in British Colonies*, 1835–47 (London, 2 vols., 1848), and the Letters of W. J. Irons to his brother, in the *Papers* of the Christian Colonisation Society, deposited with the C. Bird Collection in the Natal Archives,

sustained the responsibilities of his considerable enterprise, had it not been for the intervention of William Schaw Lindsay. An Ayrshire man by birth, Lindsay had shipped as cabin boy on a brig bound for the West Indies, and had risen to the command of his ship before retiring from the sea in the year 1840. Moving to London, he founded, with W. O. Young, the firm of W. S. Lindsay and Company, shipbrokers, of 11 Abchurch Lane. In later life he became Member of Parliament for Tynemouth and North Shields, and author of a voluminous work entitled *A History of Merchant Shipping*. Though Byrne's name continued to be used, it was Lindsay's firm that chartered the *Sovereign*, *Ina*, *Edward*, *Lady Bruce* and *Henrietta*, paying the necessary deposits to the credit of the emigration commissioners.[1] At Byrne's bankruptcy the principal creditors were Lindsay and Young, Francis Collison, Marshall and Edridge, Manning and Anderdon and smaller shipowning firms to whom Byrne had had recourse when his credit became impaired.[2]

In the late autumn of 1848 Byrne was ready to approach the Secretary of State. He had visited Hull, Leeds and other towns and found much public interest in emigration. He had also discussed with Marshall and Edridge the cost of conveying emigrants to Port Natal. The latest contract price to the Cape had been £6. 17*s*. 6*d*. per adult. It was decided that a steerage passage with twenty acres of land could be offered for a payment of £10. Since native labour was available in Natal, the Colonial Office rule limiting free passages to persons of the labouring class, which was strictly applied in the case of Australia, was relaxed. Byrne was informed that small farmers and mechanics could be approved. His application was for permission to select and send out his own settlers. This was a new principle; but, provided that lists were sub-

[1] E. P. Lamport's statement on arrival in Natal as agent for Lindsay and Young. C.O. 179/33.

[2] The chairman of the creditors was David Halket, owner with William Wilson of the *Emily*. When Byrne filed his petition on 6 Sept. 1850, Wilson was in command of the *Emily* outward bound for Natal with emigrants.

mitted beforehand and that all came within the category of those who intended to work for their subsistence, there seemed to be no very valid objection to this course. By 20 February 1849 it had been finally agreed that Byrne was to make deposits in sums of not less than £1000, select, subject to the approval of his lists by the emigration commissioners, his own emigrants, and make what terms he could with them for a passage, provided that the charge for accommodation in the steerage did not exceed £10. Byrne on his part undertook to give each approved settler on landing twenty acres, with a right of choice from at least double that quantity. A certificate would be issued by the colonial authorities stating that the emigrant had been well treated during the voyage, landed in Natal and put in possession of his acres; and, on receipt of this certificate in London, £10 of his original deposit would be repaid to Byrne.

The scheme had been carefully scrutinised by the emigration board. Byrne had laid emphasis on the objection which settlers of the 'better class' had evinced to going out as 'government emigrants'. The commissioners believed that their interests would be adequately safeguarded by the provisions of the Passenger Acts and by the power which they possessed of withholding repayment of deposits, if the emigration had not been conducted to the satisfaction of government. At the same time, the agreement stimulated private enterprise. With the price of Crown land standing at 4*s*. an acre, Byrne and his associates stood to acquire a property of 3000 acres for every £1000 deposited. It was not understood at the time that Byrne's means depended upon his making a profitable sale of this land without delay.[1]

Byrne, jointly with George Marshall, deposited the first sum of £1000 on 12 April 1849. He had begun to advertise in the provincial press during the first week of the New

[1] For the correspondence leading to the agreement, see *Brit. Parl. Pap.* 1849, xxxvi (1059), pp. 91–7, and more fully in C.O. 384/84 (P.R.O.). Children under fourteen were to receive five acres.

Year, offering passages with twenty acres attached at the following rates: steerage £10, intermediate £19 and cabin £35. His prospectus of 1 January announced that arrangements had been made with Her Majesty's Government for the encouragement of emigration to Natal; and when a cautious applicant made enquiries at the Colonial Office, he was informed that the prospectus 'correctly describes the arrangements concluded between Her Majesty's Government and himself' (i.e. Byrne).[1] The commissioners in Park Street did their best to watch over the interests of emigrants. Strict scrutiny of Byrne's lists revealed several not of the class considered eligible. In January 1850 the government, through Stephen Walcott, secretary to the commissioners, issued supplementary regulations applicable to Natal, excluding from the category of approved persons those in habitual receipt of poor relief, families with more than four children below the age of fourteen years (since the presence of young children on board emigrant ships tended to increase the mortality rate), and young persons of the age of fourteen to eighteen unless they were accompanied by parents or married relations. The ships engaged and the name of the agent acting in Natal had to be promptly notified to the board. Finally, in July 1850, the minimum deposit was raised to £5000, and the land allotted to emigrants was required to be cultivable.

Passages were found for Byrne's first batch of fifteen approved emigrants[2] on the 174-ton brig *Wanderer*, which hauled out of St Katharine's dock on 22 January, landing its passengers on 16 May before proceeding to Mauritius. All were offered allotments at New England, east of Pietermaritzburg, but two years later the land remained unclaimed and

[1] C.O. 179/11. This letter was the basis of complaints that emigrants had been misled by government. Byrne in a speech at the Hall of Commerce, Threadneedle Street, had said: 'Now this emigration was not on his own responsibility, but on that of the Government itself.' The *British Banner*, 10 April 1850.

[2] The London list shows twenty-six names nominated by Byrne but some were not approved. C.O. 384/85 (P.R.O.).

unoccupied. Of the passengers the most prominent was R. B. Willey, who was elected to represent the ship's emigrants at subsequent meetings of Byrne's settlers. The *Washington* followed on 17 April, also bound for Mauritius, with over seventy settlers for Natal, mostly from Lancashire and Yorkshire, and including John Moreland, the Macfarlane brothers, Richard Broughton the attorney, Hughbert Baker, railway engineer and surveyor, and E. Few. Their arrival at the Port on 18 July foreshadowed a period of great activity in land survey and settlement. Moreland hurried to the capital to prepare land on the Little Bushman River, west of the small town, which Byrne had purchased at a figure exceeding the upset price of Crown land.

Ships followed at intervals, the peak of emigration occurring as circumstances worsened in the United Kingdom during the ominous winter of 1849–50. On 28 November emigrants left simultaneously from Glasgow (127 on the *Ina*) and from London (198 on the *Sovereign*). Thus encouraged, Byrne announced on 2 January 'monthly packets for Natal', and ships sailing regularly from Liverpool for the convenience of passengers in the north. With Lindsay and Young supplying capital, he was able to make up his total of deposits to £14,000, and to send out in all some 2500 approved emigrants. When deposits were exhausted, he continued to charter ships. The *Unicorn*, which left Liverpool on 13 June, carried over 200, after inspection but without certificates of approval since no further deposits had been forthcoming. All his ships contained passengers whom the emigration commissioners had been unable to accept, the total of unapproved persons amounting to at least 800.[1] The last vessel which appears to have carried persons under arrangement with his firm was the *Bernard*, which anchored off Port Natal on 18 February 1851 with fifty-four settlers on board. Such a venture could no longer be described as 'under the auspices of government', and Byrne

[1] Byrne stated himself that he had located 800 unapproved persons. Pine to Sir H. Smith, 4 Dec. 1851 (C.O. 179/18).

had been declared bankrupt before the ship left St Katharine's dock.

The causes of Byrne's failure are not hard to discern. He had assumed that land capable of sub-division into small farms was readily available in Natal, that emigrants would take up and improve their allotments, and that their settlement would enhance the value of adjoining lands belonging to his company. Though he doubtless contemplated the profitable sale to them of agricultural implements and consumer goods, the only direct source of profit was the quantity of land to which he became entitled through his deposits. Since a large proportion of the emigrants refused their allotments as not worth the cost of survey and conveyance, he could not, until the local government came to his support with an ordinance, even obtain receipt of certificates of location. Eventually, Byrne or the assignees received the full amount of the £14,000 deposited, less legal expenses incurred. The accounts showed that passage money from emigrants (£30,262 odd) almost exactly balanced payments to shipowners, subsistence money to emigrants, in consequence of detention of ships, and surgeons' fees, which together absorbed £30,310. The proceedings in bankruptcy underlined the fact that a profit of nearly £3000 would be realised when the whole of the original deposits became due for repayment. Much indeed was secured to creditors who had lent money or, as in the case of Sir J. Walmsley, had supplied hardware and tools for sale in Natal. But Byrne succeeded in the end in realising to his own advantage some of the drawback certificates.

Much to the amazement of the Colonial Office, Byrne was not only granted a first-class certificate but appointed by the assignees as joint agent, with E. P. Lamport, for administering the estate. In Natal, Benjamin Pine seems to have permitted him to secure land of the nominal value of £2500. He had lost none of his amazing effrontery; and at a public dinner in his honour at Hugh McDonald's hotel in Durban he informed his audience, which included the lieutenant-governor, that he had

been approached by the Brazilian ambassador to promote emigration from Ireland to Brazil.[1] Leaving Natal for Mauritius, he later proceeded to Melbourne and was next heard of 'employed driving a wagon at the gold diggings in Australia'.[2] In 1857 he submitted a project for the colonisation of New Caledonia to the government of Napoleon III. His last scheme was the transportation of South Sea islanders as 'apprentices' to serve in Chile and Peru. His death was reported in the year 1863.[3]

Byrne had not really been first in the field. Apart from Francis Collison, there was Jonas Bergtheil, whose settlement at New Germany has already been mentioned. When the *Beta* anchored off Port Natal, Bergtheil had been a young man of twenty-nine. He did not abandon hope of introducing British emigrants, and, with his personal knowledge of Natal, he was able to appreciate the conditions imposed on all contemplating cultivation by the physical formation of the country. It was a great improvement on Byrne's undertaking when he offered 150-acre allotments, with grazing rights over a much larger area. The settlement which he visualised was one of persons of moderate capital. He owned two 6000-acre farms at New England, and a similar quantity on the Umgeni ten miles north of Pietermaritzburg, which he named 'New Scotland'. Nevertheless, as Sir B. Pine pointed out,[4] there were several defects in this plan. No settler was likely to find more than a small portion of his 150 acres suitable for cultivation, and the grazing rights were only guaranteed for a period of ten years. There was some response to his advertisements and, in December 1850, Bergtheil was able to despatch a small party, destined for his New England location, on the frigate-built Indiaman *John Line*. The settlement did not

[1] The *Natal Times* (Durban), 2 April 1852.

[2] C.O. *Minute* on J. C. Byrne. C.O. 179/31.

[3] For the reply of the emigration board to the enquiry 20 Nov. 1857 of the French ambassador, see C.O. 179/48.

[4] Pine to Sir H. Smith, 11 Oct. 1851, *Brit. Parl. Pap.*, Natal, 1853, lxii (1697), p. 19.

prosper; for, by this time, well-stocked farms of 6000 acres could be rented within fifteen miles of Pietermaritzburg for a very modest sum.

It is possible that Byrne had met in London Joseph Steer Christopher, who had opened a Cape of Good Hope Emigration Office in Leadenhall Street in 1845. A West-country man of good yeoman stock, Christopher had travelled widely in the East. Prior to 1845 he had not visited the Cape, but he was impressed with its strategic importance on the route to India. When the bounty system was made applicable to the colony, he invested a sum of approximately £1000 in the purchase of Crown land, the upset price of which had been fixed at only 2*s*. an acre. A few hundred emigrants went out to the Cape under his auspices, and presently Christopher and his brother, William, followed them. William had been a pupil of Dr George Hilliard at the Middlesex Hospital. At Grahamstown he began his medical practice, whilst Joseph became cashier in the recently established (1847) Frontier Commercial and Agricultural Bank. Hearing from W. R. Thompson and Dr Blaine of the potentialities of Natal as a cotton-producing district, Christopher decided to revive a proposal which he had submitted to the Secretary of State as early as 1845. Natal had been his original choice for the settlement of small tenant farmers 'of the respectable sort'; and on his arrival there from Grahamstown in 1848 he at once made application for a grant of 300,000 acres.[1] The land, which he had selected with a view to the cultivation of cotton, was situated along the coast between the Umkomanzi and the Ifafa Rivers, and he asked to be put in possession without making any previous deposit whatever. His means had been exhausted in the purchase of two farms and in fees to surveyors. The authorities at Pietermaritzburg could do no more than promise that the purchase money would be applied to the expenses of locating emigrants. Whilst his

[1] The correspondence in Natal is to be found in *Brit. Parl. Pap.* 1850, xxxviii (1292), pp. 7–11. Compare C.O. 386/57 (P.R.O.).

British ships the carrying trade between British ports and the colonies. The threatened removal of this monopoly intensified the dullness of the market in the year 1848. Despite agitation from the society of shipowners, supported by shipwrights and sailors, who expected to suffer from the competition of the soft-wood clippers of America, repeal of the Acts of navigation came into operation on 1 January 1850. Foreign shipping crowded into Port Louis and Trinidad, and British ships cleared in British ports fell off during the year. Recovery indeed came soon, and Britain more than held her own in the East. The transition in shipbuilding from wood to iron gave her a great advantage, whilst the American civil war in the 'sixties temporarily destroyed the American mercantile marine.

Nevertheless, in 1849–50 anxiety regarding the employment of British ships and British crews sustained the interest in emigration, and induced shipowners to continue their promotion of the colonisation of Natal after J. C. Byrne had filed his petition. That Londoners continued, despite this shock, to have faith in the colony is to be attributed in part to the energy and enthusiasm of William Josiah Irons.

The son of a small yeoman farmer of Potter's Bar, William was a man of unquestionable sincerity and infectious optimism. The Irons family were Methodists and in close touch with the humanitarian and missionary wing of the Church. Born at St Albans in May 1825, William Josiah Irons grew up in an atmosphere of generous enthusiasm for projects of social betterment. From the Rev. William Shaw at the Cape he learned that Natal was capable of growing cotton; and when distressed Methodists wrote to him of their anxiety to leave 'poverty-stricken England for a land of food and plenty', he threw himself with characteristic energy into promoting emigration to Natal. Full of the spirit of William Penn and the Pilgrim Fathers, he wrote to his brother, Theophilus, whom he had despatched to the colony on the *John Gibson* in May 1849: 'Colonisation is one of the noblest occupations in which a man can engage.' He believed that he had interested

England, convinced that large-scale production could not be made remunerative. Apart from the uncertainty of labour, greater profits were to be made from transport-riding and the cultivation of crops for the Mauritius market. All growers found that they were involved in heavy expenditure for eradicating weeds, and in transporting their cotton to the Port. Galloway's criticism of ill-considered emigration projects was a sore trial to J. C. Byrne, who found himself obliged to reassure public opinion on the points which the Manchester man had raised. By the spring of the year 1850 it was generally known that the Natal cotton company had failed and that numerous plantations had been deserted by their proprietors. Emigrants, in their letters home, had exposed the nakedness of the land. Very little production for export had yet been achieved in respect of any commodity. It was difficult to procure sufficient cattle and agricultural produce to freight a single ship for Mauritius, and no ships could be freighted direct to the United Kingdom. The usefulness of the harbour was sadly limited by the sand bar at its entrance. Even good virgin soil required both manure and labour before crops of any sort could be obtained. Manure was difficult, owing to the cattle sickness, whilst natives engaged for the month and went home to their kraals when the fancy took them.

These weighty considerations, expressed by men and women who had ventured their all to make new homes in Natal, did much to slow down the outward flow of emigration. Byrne had spoken well at the mechanics institution in Manchester on 15 May 1850, agreeing with Galloway, who was present, that it was not yet sufficiently proved that cotton-growing would yield profits, but insisting that the plant was indigenous (which was not true), and that the position would improve when machinery for cleaning arrived from America. He urged Lancashire manufacturers to send an agent to Natal to purchase the crops when baled.[1] There were many prepared to support him. Dr Blaine and Jonas Bergtheil had spoken of

[1] The *Manchester Examiner*, 18 May 1850.

emigrants were Matthew Middlebrook from Birstall and John Taylor of Pontefract.

Hull in 1849 was a more promising centre for the promotion of emigration than either Manchester or Leeds. George Hudson's spectacular fall brought the railway panic in its full intensity. Then came the Danish blockade of the River Elbe, intended to coerce the recalcitrant duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, followed by the outbreak of war in earnest next year. The blockade caused an almost complete, if temporary, paralysis of the trade of the port. Some 6000 men were thrown out of employment and retail trade had never been worse since the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars. Cholera seems to have broken out first in September 1848, when three fatal cases were reported on a ship at Hull. The outbreak only reached formidable proportions a year later, 116 deaths occurring in the last week of August 1849.

Shipping interests suffered most from the depression. Thirteen ships left the stocks in Hull shipbuilding yards in the year 1839, after which there was a gradual decline. By the close of 1850 the yards were empty and shipwrights were refusing to accept apprentices.

Byrne spoke at Hull, in the county court room of the Town Hall, on 5 January 1849. He addressed his remarks to those with a little capital. 'A man would be justified in going out with forty pounds.'[1] His audience was left to infer that it was the government that was offering a passage and twenty acres for £10, and that his company were no more than agents. His description of the land as covered with luxuriant vegetation and capable of producing the best sea-island cotton in the world was intended to emphasise the contrast with the 'arid sandy plains' of Australia and the dense undergrowth of parts of North America. His scheme was favourably received both in the press and in the counting-houses of Hull. George Sheppard, editor of the *Eastern Counties Herald*, was himself contemplating emigration. Both Hull newspapers

[1] The *Eastern Counties Herald*, 11 Jan. 1849.

Buckler's Hard to Portsmouth, where the barque was to call on its way from London to Port Natal and Calcutta. An initial mishap, when the *John Samuel* grounded in Gilbury reach, did not discourage the party, which left Portsmouth on 25 February, arriving in Natal on 9 May, 1850. Pocock had furnished tents and camping outfits for use on arrival and had arranged that wagons should be provided to convey the emigrants to their allotments on the Illovo. Survey fees had been paid, and outfits, even seed, provided. The Duke's tenants were accordingly among the first to be satisfactorily located.[1] Both John Moreland in 1852 and Bishop Colenso a few years later reported that they were happy and doing well. A few took employment in the two towns, but the majority either cultivated their small plots at Byrne, or got good wages as wagoners. Among 'they old Port Natalers', as they were affectionately spoken of in Beaulieu for many years, were Ambrose Foss, William and John Crouch, John and Isaac Godden, Charles Gregory, William Burgess, James Stote, John Warn, Charles Bound, William Willis, Charles House, Thomas Coombs and the Westbrook brothers.

In the extreme south-west, employment was affected by the depression in Cornish lead-mining. Nor were the copper and manganese mines any longer flourishing. In tanning, chemicals had begun to replace oak bark. Village industries were suffering from the growth of the towns. In the eighteenth century Devon and Somerset had been prosperous centres of the woollen textile industry, but by 1840 this had largely migrated to Yorkshire. Exeter's warehouses were standing empty and few ships now came up the ship canal. The two counties were not yet covered with a network of railway lines and the mails still used the country roads. But the threat to those who lived by road traffic was unmistakable. There were food riots in Exeter in May 1847.

[1] John Crouch, a man of forty-six with a large family, however, wrote that five of the Duke's settlers had not received their land. C.O. 179/31 (P.R.O.).

What the authorities at London and in all the colonies were chiefly concerned to avert was the considerable emigration of persons who had no intention of settling on the land, but proposed to establish themselves as merchants or clerks. Here they were unlikely to secure co-operation from men like Byrne, who were interested purely in the profit to be derived from promoting emigration. Byrne, it is clear, made it easy for shopkeepers to participate in his scheme, as in the case of the greengrocer of Little Buttery Lane, Deptford.[1] On arrival in Natal, his settlers hastened to set up straw-hat and bonnet manufactories, open lodging-houses or livery stables, or, at a higher social level, acquire offices as general merchants or agents. Many were indeed quite prepared to change their occupation, and naïvely confident of their ability to do so. Edward Ross Dixon, a Felsted man by birth, was employed in 1849 as a draper in Wood Street in the City of London. When attention was drawn to Natal as a likely producer of cotton, Dixon wrote to a Manchester firm manufacturing machines for cotton-cleaning for information regarding roller gins and hydraulic presses.

There were certainly some emigrants among the Natal settlers of the type 'specially in request' in the colonies, prepared, that is, to work on the land for wages. Cabin passengers on Byrne's ships, and men going out on their own initiative without prior deposit of money in the purchase of Crown land, commonly brought out with them a few labourers and servants. Thomas Phipson paid the passages of three young men on the *Mary Ann* who were ready to accept employment as farm servants. When additional land, over and above the quantity allowed in respect of the passage money, had been purchased in England, it was common practice to take family servants, as well as supplies of agricultural implements and seed. From the public point of view, the Yorkshiremen on the *Haidee* represented the type of settler most required. Other ships,

[1] 'A Week's Canter Northwards', in *Cape Monthly Magazine*, 1859, pp. 158–9.

land was not worth the survey fees. After that experience, Moreland was naturally reluctant to undertake survey until he knew that the land would be taken up.

There was much criticism of the British government on the ground that the emigration commissioners had endorsed Byrne's prospectus. Byrne had therein stated that arrangements had been made with Her Majesty's Government for the encouragement of emigration to Natal.[1] But the commissioners had been at some pains to insist that emigration was carried on exclusively by private enterprise, and that government was not responsible for the fulfilment of any promises.[2]

Much was done to assist those who were prepared to take up their land. To save transfer duties and registration fees, the colonial authorities permitted the issue, immediately on completion of survey, of title-deeds direct to individual emigrants.[3] A settler who did not propose to cultivate his plot could, before it had been surveyed and legally vested in him, sell it to a fellow immigrant. Had he been compelled to wait until the land had been marked off, the fees charged would have amounted to more than the value of the land itself. Only those who had retained their allotment certificates received the additional gratuity of twenty-five acres. If they really intended to cultivate their holdings, they were now in a position to obtain additional land at a low price by simple transfer of certificates in the presence of a magistrate.

By such means what might have been a complete failure was converted into a partial success. On 30 August 1850, Pine calculated that some 500 of Byrne's settlers 'have been satisfactorily settled on their allotments'.[4] To this number must be

[1] Walcott's letter of 9 Feb. 1849 intimating that the prospectus 'correctly describes the arrangements concluded between Her Majesty's Government and himself' was read at a Durban meeting, presided over by E. Few. C.O. 179/11.

[2] Government Notice, 20 Feb. 1850. C.O. 179/12.

[3] Moodie to Moreland, 18 Aug. 1849. *Brit. Parl. Pap.* 1850, xxxviii (1292). p. 81.

[4] *Brit. Parl. Pap.* 1851, xxxvii (1417), p. 24.

Henry Dixon, brother of Edward Ross Dixon, one of the first to get away on the *Hannah*, after a few disappointing weeks at the diggings, drifted to Melbourne, where he was unable to find employment. Others, alarmed at scenes of violence, returned to the ship in the hope of working their passages back to Natal. There was already in the winter of 1853 talk of a return emigration from Australia. Direct sailings from Melbourne to Durban were inaugurated by the barque *Golden Age* early in 1854.[1] In the long run, several of those who had left Natal for the Victorian goldfields or the Swan River settlement found their way back. Two Yorkshiremen in Boast's party, Tom Cass and Richard Brough, returned within a few years. George Franklin, a Carmarthenshire man who had come to Natal with Dr Gower on the *Nile*, took passage on the *Hannah* for Melbourne, coming back to Natal in 1859. William Frank Ellis, a Norfolk farmer, who reached Natal on the *Henrietta*, spent several years on the Ballarat diggings. But he was back, farming at Mooi River, before the close of the decade.

The bankruptcy of Byrne and publication in the home journals of letters from disappointed emigrants checked the flow of new settlers to Natal, even before news of the discovery of the Australian fields. Shipowners still advertised in 1851 passages to Natal, but without land gratuities, since no further sums were deposited for the purchase of Crown land. Marshall and Edridge thought it worth while to send an occasional ship to Natal on its way to Ceylon and the East. The barque *Iris*, which brought forty-three cabin or intermediate passengers to Natal, left London on 19 September and anchored in the outer roadstead on 30 December. There was no steerage accommodation, and some of her passengers were not making their first journey, but returning from a visit to the United Kingdom. The *Borneo*, also a Marshall and Edridge ship, had her accommodation fully booked up. Earlier in the month *Devonian*

[1] The *Golden Age* left Natal on her return voyage to Australia on 15 July 1854 with forty-seven passengers. Europ. Immigration Dept., vol. 87 (N.A.). The permanent loss of population to Australia did not exceed 200.

had brought some new settlers from Liverpool. There were still enquiries, especially in the northern counties, but they came mainly from the mercantile and professional classes, and from persons who had been advised by their medical attendants to avoid a damp and cold climate. H. J. Barrett and his friends chartered the *Pallas* in 1851, the ship sailing for Natal with nineteen cabin passengers and a cargo of agricultural implements.

W. J. Irons had done what he could, after Byrne's insolvency, to keep public interest alive. He had gone to Leeds and lectured at the Stock Exchange rooms, but the attendance was small. Recovery from the commercial panic was more rapid than had been expected, and there were signs that emigration had passed its peak. The 'fifties were to be prosperous years both for the farmer and for the urban artisan. After failing to bring together Bergtheil, Morewood, Methley and the shipping firms interested in Natal, to form a new company on a sounder basis, Irons took ship for Natal on the *John Line*, with the last batch of his Wesleyan settlers.

As early as December 1850 the Colonial Office had reached the conclusion that the organisation of emigration by private companies must be brought to an end. Henceforth, 'assisted' emigration to Natal could only be by deposit of sums of £100 or more to secure passages for the depositor and any servants or labourers whom he might desire to accompany him.[1] From time to time, however, independent parties were made up and vacancies advertised. But numbers were small, since passage rates were high and no land bounty was available. An advertisement in the *Leeds Mercury* called attention to the fact that 'a party of gentlemen have chartered the 350-ton *Bernard* (Captain G. Morton) to sail for Natal from London 30 June, intending to cross the bar'.[2]

Emigration to Natal virtually came to an end in 1852, until it was resumed after 1857 on a new basis. Funds were voted by

[1] *Minute* on Pine's despatch, 5 Dec. 1850. C.O. 179/11.
[2] The *Leeds Mercury*, 22 June 1850.

homes in Natal made some attempt at tillage. J. and W. H. Boshoff grew wheat (*klein koring*) at Riet vlei in the late 'forties. But the farming of the majority was almost entirely pastoral. Fruit and vegetables would be grown for consumption, but few 6000-acre farms would have more than a couple of acres under the plough. When the British settlers began to arrive in 1849, any number of farms were available on hire. But homesteads had fallen into dilapidation. In regard to agricultural undertakings, suitable crop rotations, manuring of the soil and irrigation, no estimates could be made, for no data were available.

Settlers who had farmed land in a progressive county thoroughly understood the advantages of mixed husbandry. They would be prepared to restore the fertility of soil exhausted by corn by a combination of cattle and fallow. Where the grass was poor, the manure might not be sufficient for both corn and grass, and the land would be allowed to lie fallow for a period. The agricultural improvements of the eighteenth century had largely consisted in adding to the traditional rotation root crops, artificial grasses and clover.

In Natal fundamental preconceptions might have to be revised. If land were allowed to lie fallow, a large crop of weeds would result, and much labour and expense would be involved in clearing the ground for another crop. Under the influence of the sub-tropical sun and of torrential rain the soil tended to cake. Settlers, when breaking up the ground, had to discover from experience to what depth it was desirable to plough under these circumstances.

Byrne's rivals had wisely permitted their agents considerable discretion in the purchase of land likely to suit the emigrants. Moreland, on the other hand, with no funds from his principal, was obliged to use his land orders to acquire Crown land; and, since many had been promised suburban allotments, to lay out on paper villages, such as Thornville and New Glasgow, which have never become populated centres.

Richmond and Byrne, on the other hand, were well selected.

Here emigrants from the *Edward*, *Lady Bruce*, *Conquering Hero*, *Minerva* and *Henrietta* were located. Both were on the Illovo River, Byrne some eight miles upstream from Richmond. Robert Ralfe, William Jefferies, Henry Tarboton and others spent a few years at Byrne before abandoning their allotments. Its land adjoined S. Rudolph's farm 'Enon' in a fertile but isolated valley without road communications.

Richmond, or Beaulieu, as it had been named by John Moreland out of compliment to the Duke of Buccleuch, had been surveyed in half-acre lots. Owing to the forethought of the Duke's agent, the Beaulieu tenants were placed on their land, in comfortable circumstances, in what Moreland described as a 'sheltered position with abundant supply of water and great depth and superiority of the soil'. Survey proceeded at a slow rate, delaying the commencement of cultivation. But a start was made, under the supervision of John Baseley, with a furrow to lead water to the village.

Baseley, railway engineer and surveyor, emigrated with his family on the *Edward*. A native of the small Northamptonshire village of Badby, with its cottages, characteristic of the stone belt, straggling up the steep green towards the church, he early became associated with George Stephenson and his son, Robert. In the 'forties he was engaged on construction of lines in Yorkshire and the Midland counties. The railway slump brought disastrous losses. His patron, George Stephenson, who had tried to check the mania of over-speculation, died in 1848, and Baseley resolved to emigrate. Bringing with him a cart, wheelwright's tools and British cattle, he was the first man to pitch his tent on the site close to the Illovo which Moreland had selected. In less than two years he had built a substantial stone house, added a smith's forge and joinery shop, complete with lathe, and planted vegetables and fruit trees. In 1852 he was busy constructing a mill. His wagons and span of oxen were available to transport settlers' produce to either of the two towns. Almost a lord of the manor, since he alone possessed the skill and capital to take the initiative,

nothing to pay for the privilege of outspanning his oxen on private farms, though after 1870 he could be compelled to select a spot indicated by the owner. Much damage might be caused by the spread of fires to neighbouring land. Nevertheless, until legislation was introduced in 1865, it might be impossible to bring home responsibility to the driver whose carelessness had been the origin of the mishap. In the early days almost all had been landowners, and a man using his wagon to come to market or church only took what he was giving to others. Transport-riders might give nothing in return, and their overloaded wagons created havoc when the veld was in poor condition. Scarcity of transport, especially during the Langalibalele and Zulu campaigns, attracted many into a potentially very profitable occupation.

The more enterprising men, of whom William Gillitts may be taken as representative, soon replaced oxen with mules. Though subject to horse sickness, mules did not contract it so readily. Farmers bound by outspan servitudes benefited because fodder had to be carried on the trip. But compensation for this outlay was provided by the extra speed of mule carriage. In the 'sixties, using ox-wagons, Gillitts was conveying goods between the two towns, taking an average of sixty hours for the journey, at a rate of 1*s*. 6*d*. a hundredweight. In 1874 the rate had risen to 7*s*. though a load in the downward direction would not cost more than 3*s*. In this year rates for transport to the diamond fields worked out at 38*s*. The northerly route to the gold-fields was developed a little later, but Henderson and Leathern's 'goldfields mail carts' were running in 1875, an enterprise which was stimulated two years later by Shepstone's annexation of the Transvaal. In the middle 'seventies transport-riders could count on obtaining from £80 to £100 for a load either to Pretoria or Winburg, and one-half that amount for the journey down.[1]

Agricultural decline must be interpreted in terms of the opportunities for individual advancement. But climate and

[1] *The Times of Natal*, 23 May 1874.

suitability of the soil naturally exercised a dominating influence. The most experienced and indomitable of Natal's early farmers were the East Riding men, many of whom had taken up land at York and in the neighbourhood north of the capital. In the long run, these men found that deficiency of the soil in phosphates made it impossible to raise crops on a remunerative basis. On the light clay soils even maize did not flourish. On the other hand, the country was ideally suited to wattle. Rainfall is abundant, and, away from the low-lying land, frost is not present. Even on unimproved soil wattles grew well.

John Vanderplank brought from Australia the first seed, planting the black wattle on his Camperdown farm in 1864. His example was quickly followed by Joseph Henderson at Hilton. But not until the Colonial and Indian Exhibition of 1886 was the value of wattle properly appreciated. The first colonist to demonstrate that the bark could be profitably used in tanning was G. M. (later Sir George) Sutton, prime minister of Natal 1903–5. Bark was first shipped to London in 1887. The value of exported bark rose in the next twenty years with encouraging steadiness. 1907 was a particularly good year, the amount shipped during the first eleven months exceeding in value £130,000. Credit for this rapid expansion is due largely to William Angus, manager of the Clan Syndicate, which operated around Cramond and Ravensworth.[1]

It is now possible to estimate the economic consequences of the 1849–51 emigration. The underlying principle of all the schemes was the settlement of emigrants on twenty-acre allotments, the projectors making their profits from the sale of adjoining land to which they would become entitled. Applied to some of the richer soils of New Zealand where there is much alluvial plain, it might have been possible to discover sufficient land capable of subdivision in this way. Almost

[1] For Angus's achievement, see the *Natal Witness*, 12 Dec. 1904. Much information on wattle is to be found in S. Y. Ford: *Talks with Natal Farmers*, 1909.

ashore but rescued the second day. James Hamilton observed that the Easter Islanders had boats of the European type. "I do not think," he remarks, "they came honestly by them, if so I think the master who gave them knowing their character for treachery, is highly culpable for I think a ship would not be safe off here, and I think there are strong reasons for that opinion from the value they appeared to set upon mine, and they know a ship's value; it would be of immense value to them." Frequent visits of the whalers to Easter Island are mentioned by Father Ollivier (165, vol. 38, p. 46).

About 1859, exploitation of the guano on the islands off the Peruvian coast was a prosperous business, but the number of workers was insufficient. The recruiting of labor by force became a flourishing industry. As early as 1859 or 1860 some Easter Islanders were kidnapped from their island and sold as slaves, but in 1862 a real war expedition was planned against the island. The only official version of this raid, which was to have such dire consequences for the island, is the following report of the French Prosecutor in Papeete (129, pp. 543-544):

> The *Cora* left the Callao the 4th of December 1862 with the mission of recruiting workers throughout Oceania. Arrived on Easter Island, the 19th of December, she found 7 ships of the same country which were already there for the same purpose. The captains of these different vessels who had hoped to obtain workers by persuasion resolved to kidnap them. The 23 of December a gang composed of 80 of these scoundrels, among whom were 7 or 8 men of the *Cora*, went ashore with their weapons, under the command of the captain of the *Rosa-Carmen*.
>
> They spread themselves out while several members of the crew attracted the natives by showing them articles which excited their greed. When about 500 natives were gathered, the chief of the pirates gave the signal, which was a revolver shot. To this signal the men answered with a volley, and about ten natives fell never to rise again. The others, terrified, tried to escape, running in all directions, some diving into the sea, others climbing the rocks; but 200 were captured and firmly tied up. A witness says that the captain of the *Cora*, Aiguirre, discovered two Indians in a cave trying to escape. As he could not convince them to come with him, he cruelly killed them. The 200 kidnapped natives were divided among the ships, which sailed some days later.

The commander of the *Topaze* (1868) says in his report (180, p. 141) that the natives who went in their canoes to barter with the Peruvian ships were captured first and then the seamen landed and kidnapped others. Several hundred were taken in that way. In 1915 there were still some old men who remembered this event. For Mrs. Routledge (194, p. 205) they illustrated by action how the raiders threw to the ground gifts which they thought most likely to attract the inhabitants and how, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for the gifts, they tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. Among those kidnapped were the king, Kaimakoi, and his son, Maurata as well as most of the learned men (*maori*). They all died on the guano islands. The raid completely disheartened the natives. To escape from future slave raids the islanders took refuge in the

caves, where they lived in great discomfort and constant anxiety, neglecting the cultivation of their fields.

At the request of Mgr. Jaussen, representation was made to the Peruvian government by the French minister in Lima. The British government backed France in demanding justice for the enslaved islanders. Orders were given to assemble the blackbirds at Callao so that they might be sent back to their homes. Tuberculosis, smallpox, and the change of living conditions and climate, together with unsuitable food and the hardships of guano digging on the barren islands off the Peruvian coast had killed about 900 natives in less than one year. Before the surviving 100 could be put on board ship, many of them contracted smallpox and 85 died before the end of the journey. Only 15 were landed on the island, and they carried with them the infection of smallpox, which in a very short time decimated the rest of the population. The casualties caused by the epidemic are said to have been in the thousands (64, pp. 256-257). Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) adds: "The inexperience of the natives, the lack of remedies, their imprudent practices, all increased the number of victims to such an extent that they were unable to bury them."

During these few years the native culture crumbled; the old racial order was destroyed, the population reduced to one third or one quarter of its size, and the transmission of the religious and moral traditions was suddenly interrupted. Internecine wars completed the island's ruin. Zumbohm (230, vol. 5, p. 662) writes:

> The former inhabitants of the island had left rather good plantations. Those who remained had an easy living and indulged in their natural laziness, not caring to insure their future by working. But when they came to the time to share the products of the fields, quarrels arose which rapidly degenerated into dangerous wars. These fights brought waste and plundering and consequently starvation. That is why the population decreased so rapidly.

Ollivier (165, vol. 39, p. 257) alludes to this period of anarchy and misery in the following terms:

> The mortality caused by misery and famine is increasing rapidly. The plantations have been plundered and they give scarcely any sweet potatoes, which these unhappy people eat half raw. It must be added that laziness and carelessness make their situation even worse. It is necessary for some brother with the energy of Brother Eyraud to start new plantations in the lands near the sea in order that help may be given to this starving people. It would be possible then to take care of all the children, made orphans by the death of their parents or by abandonment, who lead vagrant lives.

At this time, not before, there developed the gap between present and past which makes so difficult the understanding of many aspects of the Easter Island culture. The missionaries were struck by the native's lack of interest in their traditions and lack of knowledge of their history. They were surprised also to notice how little was left of the old religion and of the ancient social organization.

The first white man who settled on the island was Eugène Eyraud, a layman of the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Picpus. He landed in Hanga-roa at the beginning of 1863, with some Easter Islanders who had been rescued from a Peruvian ship. The natives were not hostile to him, but they stole most of his goods. During the first year spent among the islanders, Eyraud was constantly exposed to larcenies, especially by one native, Toro-meti, who had made himself a benevolent but tyrannic protector of the missionary. The natives tried to put to practical use the knowledge of Eyraud by obliging him to build a boat. At the time when his life was becoming unbearable, a schooner with two priests arrived and took him back to Chile. Two years later, Eyraud returned to Easter Island, accompanied by Father Hyppolyte Roussel and three Mangarevans who had joined the missionaries to help in the conversion of the natives. At first the natives were openly opposed to the missionaries and hampered their work, but little by little they showed more willingness to learn prayers and hymns and in less than ten months the missionary and his assistants had gained strong influence over them. In the same year (1866) new missionaries went to the island—Father Gaspard Zumbohm and Brother Theodule Escolan.

Christianity made rapid progress among the Easter Islanders. The first to be converted were the children, a few adults, and then the women. The most refractory were the old chiefs. The missionaries had their headquarters at Hanga-roa but tried to spread their teachings throughout the island. Their success was almost complete when the chief of Hotu-iti received them with great ceremony. When, a few hours before his death in 1868, Brother Eyraud asked whether all the natives had been baptized, Roussel could answer that all were Christians. The last pagan had been taken into the church a few days before at the Feast of Assumption (113, pp. 90-154). Henceforth the natives were concentrated at Hanga-roa and Vaihu where they could receive a Christian education and be under the control of the missionaries.

Profound changes took place in the material situation of the natives in the course of four or five years. The missionaries spread new arts and crafts and taught the islanders to build plank houses and to make furniture. The beautiful fig trees of the village of Hanga-roa were planted by Father Roussel, and at that time were introduced the first oranges, peaches, corn, pumpkins, and beans. In 1864 Eyraud had taken with him some sheep, which the natives stole and ate. Five years later, Father Roussel returned from a visit to Chile with a shipload of cattle, sheep, horses, pigs, donkeys, and even cats, for rats were abundant on that island.

Interesting for their native psychology and for the history of the first

contact between European and native cultures are the anecdotes told by Zum-
[illegible] 280, vol. 5, p. 666):

> When the first horse was taken ashore the natives were greatly excited. "Some ran away as fast as they could, others lay on the ground. Those who were sufficiently brave to approach the strange thing a bit closer were not a little amazed when they saw the animal divide into two pieces when the rider dismounted." The islanders seem to have realized what a marvelous invention the wheel was. "When the wheelbarrow was loaded and set in motion, our islanders shouted with sheer admiration; the turning wheel was to them a living thing."
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> In 1825 officers of the *Mercator* rode bicycles on the island. Though the natives were acquainted with cars and other vehicles, the bicycles created genuine bewilderment. Many made the sign of the cross and muttered "Tatane", expressing thus the fear that the device was the work of the devil.

In 1868 the English battleship *Topaze* visited the island and took away the statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia, which stood in a house of Orongo. Palmer (171), the surgeon on the ship, made a rapid survey of the island and went as far as Rano-raraku, which he described for the first time. His scanty information about native life shows how greatly the old culture had been impaired. The most valuable data were given him by Roussel.

Captain Ignacio L. Gana, who has written a much-quoted treatise (86) about the island, visited it on the Chilean corvette *O'Higgins*, which stopped there in 1870. All of Gana's information derives from Roussel; unfortunately the Chilean officer either misunderstood or altered the original statements of the missionary so that his information is misleading.

The successful work of the missionaries was brutally interrupted in 1870 by the activities of a French adventurer, Dutroux-Bornier, who settled on the island. Dutroux-Bornier bought from the natives, for some pieces of cloth, the place called Mataveri, one of the most fertile lands of the island. Later he associated—for the exploitation of the island—with a wealthy trader of Tahiti, Mr. Brander. Very soon Dutroux-Bornier quarreled with the missionaries and started an open war against them. He was supported by the natives who had left the village of Hanga-roa to live with him in Mataveri and by the people of Anakena who were envious of those of Hanga-roa. Toro-[illegible], who seems to have been a chief or a man with considerable influence, joined Dutroux-Bornier. The people of Mataveri made several raids, which were reciprocated by the people of Hanga-roa. A war broke out in which the huts of both sides were burned and some men killed. Dutroux-Bornier went so far as to shell the village with gunfire. Every day Dutroux-Bornier's men plundered Hanga-roa and Vaihu which were at last entirely destroyed. Finally Bishop Tepano Jaussen ordered the missionaries to depart from a place where no more work could be done. The same year Brander sent a boat to Easter Island to recruit part of the population for his plantations in Tahiti. He had promised that this boat would carry all the natives willing to settle with the

COMPLETION AND OPENING OF THE MISSIONARY HOSPITAL.

From Dr. DAVIDSON we have received the following communication announcing the completion of the HOSPITAL, a building which has been erected by the Society for the benefit of the afflicted natives, and which, we trust, will prove a blessing to many under the judicious and devoted care of our friend Dr. D.:—

EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM DR. DAVIDSON, DATED ANTANANARIVO, AUGUST 1ST, 1865.

"Since Mr. Ellis left us one gratifying event has taken place: the Hospital was opened on the 25th of July for the reception of the sick. All the missionaries met at the Hospital in the afternoon and dined in the building, which was tastefully decorated by Mr. Sibree and Mrs. Hartley. It was felt by all to be one of the happiest gatherings we have had, and our pleasure was increased by being enabled unitedly to welcome Mr. and Mrs. Pool, Miss Milne and Mrs. Irvine, who had just arrived."

ARRIVAL OF MR. AND MRS. POOL, MRS. IRVINE, AND MISS MILNE AT ANTANANARIVO.

The following gratifying letter has been received from Miss MARGARET MILNE, describing the events of their voyage and their journey to Antananarivo:—

"Antananarivo, July 31st, 1865.

"MY DEAR SIR,—It is with feelings of deep thankfulness to God for His preserving care, both by sea and land, that I now write to you from the capital of Madagascar. We have been mercifully preserved amid many dangers and difficulties, and here we would seek to raise another Ebenezer, and consecrate ourselves anew to the service of God.

"At Mauritius Mr. McIrvine kindly offered to help us in any way, and so we asked him to write to you, as we thought that he would be able to do so better than we could, as there were some business matters to be explained.

"On our arrival here we found that a house had been provided for us by Mr. Ellis; but we, acting up to the tenour of your instructions, and not being able to show them to Mr. Ellis before he left, have come to reside, for some time at least, with Dr. Davidson, as he is the only member of the Mission who could accommodate us both.

"I hope that the arrangement will meet with your approbation; and if we find that, in order to extend and facilitate our usefulness, we have to move into a separate house near to some member of the Mission, we hope that our so doing, if we shall find it necessary, may also be approved of by you.

"In the meanwhile we are giving our time to acquiring a knowledge of the language, and before long we expect to be able to do a little in some of the schools. We are also visiting the schools and attending the Malagasy services, in order that we may get the language as quickly as possible.

"We have been received and treated very kindly by all the members of the Mission, and are looking forward with no small degree of pleasure to a life of

usefulness here; though, when we look to ourselves, we tremble, for with us there is no strength.

"The women are all very glad to see us, and almost every day some of them visit us, bringing presents with them.

"We have also been introduced to the Queen, who wished us good health as long as we remained in her country.

"We shall be very happy if at any time you can find it convenient to send us a few lines. Meanwhile,

"I remain,

"Yours very sincerely,

"Rev. Dr. TIDMAN." "MARGT. MILNE.

STATISTICS OF THE MISSION CHURCHES AND SCHOOLS.

From our valued friend the Rev. WILLIAM ELLIS we have received the subjoined statistical table, which, although it extends to the close of last year only, is truly encouraging, and will, we trust, be followed throughout the present year with results equally cheering:—

	Communicants.	Children in the School.
AMBOHIPOTSY	220	76
ANKADIBEVAVA	147	50
AMPAMARINANA	103	55
ANDOHALO	138	45
AMBATONAKANGA	268	74
ANALAKELY	250	96
AMPARIBE	440	180
Total, 1864	1566	576
Last year	1100	365
Increase	466	211

POLYNESIA.

MISSIONARY VOYAGE TO THE LAGOON ISLANDS.

Our enterprising missionary brethren in the Navigators' Group were induced, in the month of May last, in consequence of interesting reports which had reached them, to delegate one of their number, the Rev. A. W. MURRAY, to visit several clusters of small islands, distant about 600 miles, and designated generally by the missionary as the LAGOON Islands. The enterprise was crowned with entire success, and the report given by Mr. Murray of the state of the people, which will be found in the following narrative, will be read with feelings of equal astonishment and delight. Truly may it be said of these

islands, they "wait for the law of the Lord;" and, thank God, they have not waited in vain. Already Christian evangelists are among them, and we trust that in a few months their number will be increased in proportion to the thousands that are thirsting for instruction; and we may confidently expect that, on a people so signally prepared by the Lord, He will pour out His Spirit, and raise them to the full knowledge and enjoyment of salvation.

"I can think of no designation," writes Mr. Murray, "so appropriate to the islands to which this report refers as that of Lagoon Islands. It is true they are coral islands, and so to designate them would distinguish them from the islands of volcanic origin; but then there are coral islands in other parts of the Pacific, such as the Loyalty Islands, Savage Island, &c.; so that simply to call the islands in question coral islands would not distinguish them from the others. But to designate them Lagoon Islands answers all the end of a name, inasmuch as the possession of a lagoon is their distinguishing feature.

"The voyage, a report of which I have now to forward to the Directors, was undertaken at the request of my brethren of this Mission, and, by the good hand of God upon us, has been safely and successfully accomplished.

THE VOYAGE AND ARRIVAL AT NUKULAELAE.

"We embarked on board the 'Augustita,' a small trading-vessel about fifty tons burden, and sailed from Apia on Wednesday, the 3rd of May, 1865. We were bound for the Islands known on the charts as Ellice's Group, and other islands beyond these, known by various names. Our missionary party consisted of two married teachers, accompanied by their wives, one unmarried, myself and servant, and a child belonging to one of the teachers. Connected with one of our party, Elekana, there is a tale of deep interest, which deserves particular notice from its connection with our voyage, and the striking illustration which it affords of the wonder-working providence of God in carrying out His plans and purposes of mercy towards the race of man."

Here follows an interesting narrative of the adventures of Elekana, showing how, in the year 1861, he had, with others, been wrecked on the island of Nukulaelae; and, in return for the humanity and kindness of the natives, had given them some elementary instruction in the Christian religion, and promised to revisit them on a future occasion. Elekana's narrative is omitted here, having been already published in detail in the August and September numbers of the "Juvenile Missionary Magazine."

"Nukulaelae lies to the north-west of Samoa, distant about 600 miles. We made the island on Wednesday, the 16th of May, having been just a week on the passage. There is no harbour, but there is a tolerable anchorage outside the reef during certain seasons of the year. Having got to anchor, we hastened on shore. The poor people were delighted to see us; but events that have transpired since Elekana was amongst them, in 1861, cast a sad gloom over our meeting.

OUTRAGES BY PERUVIAN SLAVERS.

"At that time the population was about 300—a harmless, peaceful community, waiting and longing for the Gospel to make them truly happy. Now they are reduced to a remnant under 100; and the bulk of these are women and children. The iniquitous Peruvian slavers came upon them like beasts of prey, and carried off about 200 to bondage and death. Nowhere perhaps did these infamous men act more basely than at this and the neighbouring island. They had recourse first to what seems to be their usual mode of procedure; they held out temporal inducements, proposing to the people to go for a given time to some island to make cocoa-nut oil, for which they were to be liberally paid, and at the expiry of the specified time brought back to their homes. The people told them they had plenty of cocoa-nuts on their own land, and could make oil here. Finding that they could not gain their point by such proposals, they had recourse to an expedient worthy of the devil himself. There were two vessels, both barques, the one about 300 tons burden, the other 400 or 500; their names were the 'Gouhnourver' and the 'General Layfell;' commanded, the one by a Captain Lopaz, the other by Captain Garsee. These gentlemen, accompanied by the mate of one of the vessels, came on shore, and gave out that the mate was a missionary, and that they wished the people to go on board, to be taken where they would be taught about God and religion, and afterwards brought back to their own land. An infamous fellow named Tom Rose, a negro who had been living among the people for a length of time, lent himself to be their tool. He acted as interpreter, and doubtless suggested the plan by which the people were ensnared. And, as Tom himself shipped in one of the vessels, and had been acting as a sort of religious teacher among the people, their suspicions would be the less likely to be aroused. The bait took. The people flocked on board the ships. Those who could not obtain passages in the boats from the vessels went in canoes, and others swam; so great was their eagerness to go where they were to be taught about God. One of the boats got stove in the passage and was rendered useless. Some who were in it were picked up by other boats or canoes, and some swam back to the shore. The vessels did not anchor, but stood off and on at sea; thus it was difficult to reach them, and when the people were on board they were entirely in the power of their captors.

"Thus were these poor people deceived away from their quiet, peaceful homes. Alas for them! Surely He who heareth the groaning of the prisoner and delivereth them who are appointed to die, will plead their cause.

RAYS OF LIGHT IN THE MIDST OF DARKNESS.

"Truly He did not forsake them in the hour of their sore affliction. It is deeply interesting to think that they carried with them into their bondage portions of the New Testament, which they had obtained from Elekana, and which they prized as their most precious treasures. Elekana had a Rarotongan New Testament and hymn-book when he and his shipwrecked companions were cast on their shores. So eager were the people to learn to read the Word of God that nothing would serve them but the New Testament must be apportioned out amongst them. Elekana yielded to their importunity, and gave two or three leaves to each; the portion that fell to the

share of the chief I have now in my possession: he had carefully preserved it, and gave it to me at my request.

"May we not hope that many of those who have carried these leaves of the tree of life into the land of bondage have learned from them the way to that land where all are eternally free?

ABANDONMENT OF IDOLATRY AT NUKULAELAE.

"But to return from this long digression. The sight of the widows and children of those who were gone, whom we met on shore, was very saddening. As the question was put to one and another by Elekana, 'Where is this one and the other?' 'Gone, gone,' was the unvarying reply. 'Carried off by the thievish ships.' After consulting with the chief and others, and finding them earnestly desirous to have a teacher, I concluded to leave with them one of the three I had to dispose of, notwithstanding the smallness of their number. Taking everything into account, it seemed as if it would have been cruel to do otherwise. A deep interest will continue to attach to Nukulaelae in connection with the evangelization of the islands in its neighbourhood, and, indeed, far beyond, as from it the movement took its rise, which will no doubt progress till all are covered with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. Nearly ten years have passed away since the people of Nukulaelae, moved by influences which we can very imperfectly trace, began to be weary of paganism and to feel after the true God. About that time, at the instigation of the master of a small trading-vessel which visited the islands, they burnt their gods and ceased to be idolaters. I have been able to learn little respecting the person who so far directed them right, except his name and the place whence he came. His name was Stewart, and he came from Sydney, *viâ* Fiji. All honour to him for the efforts he made at this and other islands to turn the people from the service of idols to that of the living God, and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent.

"From this time the people were in the case of a man who has ceased to walk in the wrong way, but who knows not the right, and is waiting for a guide. Hence the eagerness with which they welcomed Elekana when he was cast upon their shores. Others had professed to be able to guide them—such as Tom Rose the negro; but they had only added to their bewilderment. In Elekana they had a man who knew the way of life himself, and so was able to impart to them a measure of true light. And now at length they have a teacher settled among them, who will be able to teach them the way of God more perfectly. It is a vast advantage, in our efforts to evangelize this and other islands in its neighbourhood, that the language is so much akin to the Samoan that our translations and books will be available. The name of the teacher left on Nukulaelae is Joane (John), and his wife's name is Saili. They have had a regular course of training in our Institution at Malua. May their labours be largely blessed!

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLANDS.

"Nukulaelae is the largest of nine small islands which form the group to which it belongs. Each island has a separate name, but they are all enclosed by one reef, and are virtually one island. The centre forms a lagoon, and the islands are protected from the incursions of the sea by the formidable coral

barrier that surrounds them. The shape is oblong, being about four and a half miles in length and two and a half in breadth; the people live at present on a small island named Matutala. The islands are very low. They are generally covered with cocoa-nut trees, and look like cocoa-nut groves from the sea. In addition to these, the pandanus abounds, and the coast is covered with mangroves. They produce a little taro and bananas; but a species of coarse taro, called pulaka, together with cocoa-nuts and fish, form the staple of the food of the natives. Of the origin of the people, and other interesting matters, we shall have to speak when we come to other islands of the range to which Nukulaelae belongs. These islands are a range, not a group; so we must get reconciled to that unfamiliar designation. They lie in a line running north-west, and extending over a space of 300 to 400 miles. The people of Nukulaelae say their ancestors came from Funafuti, the island to which our course was next directed. Nukulaelae lies in long. 179° 50′, and lat. 9° 18′ south.

"We sailed from Nukulaelae on Friday, the 12th of May, and on the following day anchored at

FUNAFUTI.

"Funafuti is the Ellice's Group of the charts. It is about sixty miles distant from Nukulaelae. Like its neighbour, it is not a single island, but a group, numbering no fewer than thirty-one islands and islets. Each of these has a separate name, and Funafuti is the general name. An immense coral reef surrounds the whole, and the interior forms a magnificent lagoon and one of the finest harbours I have seen. There are three good openings, at which vessels of any tonnage may enter, and hundreds of vessels might anchor together in safety. We found the state of things here in many respects similar to that of Nukulaelae, both as regards what is pleasing and painful. The slavers, on leaving Nukulaelae, came on here, and, sad to say, succeeded in carrying off one hundred and eighty of the people. Aided by Tom Rose, they adopted the same plans here as at the other island. Oil-making was first mentioned, then gold-digging; but these not taking, the other pretext was tried, and succeeded. 'There,' said their betrayers—'there are the people of Nukulaelae on board, going to learn about God; why should not you also go?' They did go; and, but for the exertions of a foreigner residing on shore, there would not have been so many left as there are. Those that remain number about 100, in addition to whom there are at present between twenty and thirty persons belonging to Vaitupu, another island of this range. The population of this and several other islands adjacent has been kept small by a shocking practice to which they were addicted in the days of heathenism. We anchored late in the evening of Saturday. On the following morning we went on shore and saw the chief and people, and had service with them, Elekana giving an address from Luke xix. 10. I got him to give the address as he retained a considerable knowledge of their dialect. The first words of the chief when we called upon him were striking and affecting. 'We are all in darkness,' he said, 'and are just waiting for some one to teach us.' I told him that that was just our errand, to give him some one to teach him and his people; that we had heard of their desire for the Word of God, and had come from Samoa in consequence. They destroyed their idols about the

same time as the people of Nukulaelae. They heard of the doings of Elekana, there, and he spent a short time among them, after he left that island to go to Samoa. Thus they were in very much the same state as their neighbours. On the following day (Monday), the needful preliminary arrangements having been made, Matatia, one of our teachers, and his wife, Nazareta, took up their abode on Funafuti. At once the people set to work to learn to read, and during the two days we remained after the teacher was landed some seventeen had mastered the alphabet; and a fortnight after, when we called again on our return from other islands, between twenty and thirty were able to read a little. I never saw a people in similar circumstances apply themselves with such eagerness. God grant that with the light they may receive the life.

PREVAILING CUSTOMS.

"I need not remark particularly on the appearance, manners, customs, &c., of the natives, seeing that they are Samoans, and that in all essential respects they are one with the people from whom they are descended. Long separation from their fatherland has led to some slight diversity in language, manners, dress, and some other things. Circumstances have led to a different mode of dress—the material employed in Samoa not being found on these islands. The men wear the maro; the women wear a large bushy girdle of the pandanus and cocoa-nut leaf, which looks very decent. The houses are good—built after the Samoan model, as far as the different circumstances will allow. They are thatched with the pandanus leaf, which is much superior to the leaf of the sugar-cane, which is used in Samoa. The settlements look very clean and neat. I was especially struck with the appearance of the graves, which are evidently tended with great care. They were accustomed to worship their deceased ancestors, along with superior deities, which probably was one reason why so much attention was paid to the graves. Throughout the whole islands we have visited, Tangaloo was regarded as the principal god—the god of heaven; and all had an idea of a future state, a 'good place' and a 'bad place,' to which the good and bad respectively went at death. There has been no war in Funafuti from the time of its being occupied, so far as the present generation knows—that is, among the people themselves; for they have had to defend themselves more than once from Tongan aggression; and that they seem to have done bravely. The Tongans appear to have swarmed over these seas in former times almost like Danish pirates. But, from the accounts of the people of Funafuti, they met with their match in them. Funafuti lies in long. 179° W., and lat. 8° 30′ S. We sailed on Thursday, May the 18th, and stood for

NUKUFETAU.

"We reached this island on the following day after leaving Funafuti, May 19th. The distance between the islands is about sixty miles. It will be remembered that all these islands lie in the same direction, north-west and south-east. Vaitupu indeed is to some extent an exception: it lies north-east from Nukufetau forty-two miles. Nukufetau, like Funafuti, is not the name of a single island, but of a group of small islands. These are fifteen in number, and, with the reef and lagoon, cover a space of ten miles in circumference. It, like all the islands of the range to which it belongs, is low, and

cannot be seen more than ten miles off in clear weather. The lagoon forms a good and spacious harbour, easily accessible to vessels of any size. We found the state of things at this island similar in many respects to that of Funafuti and Nukulaelae: there is one important and happy difference,—the slavers were in a great measure baffled in their attempts to carry off the people.

"Several canoes came off to us as we were making our way up the lagoon towards the anchorage. In one of these was the son of the chief of the island, a very interesting young man, named Taukie. Taukie has had a great deal of intercourse with foreigners, and understands and talks English amazingly well. When he learned that a missionary and teachers were on board, his eyes sparkled with joy. He told us he had determined to go to the Fijis when an opportunity should offer, with a view to get a teacher if we had not come. Thus we found here, as elsewhere, an open door, and had nothing to do but enter in. The movement which has led to the present state of things on this island is connected with the occurrences at Nukulaelae and Funafuti already mentioned. They heard what had been done on these islands, and, following their example, destroyed their gods and renounced idolatry; and for years they have been observing the Sabbath and keeping up some sort of public worship on that day. They have a chapel, a very decent place, about forty-five feet long by forty broad, which is kept neat and clean. Poor people! thus have they gone on year after year, worshipping God according to their little light, and waiting and longing for some reliable guide.

THE RIGHT MAN IN THE RIGHT PLACE.

"Apprehending that there would be greater difficulties to contend with here than at the other islands, I had reserved Elekana, who is a man of more experience than the other teachers of our party, and whose name is widely known and respected, for this island. The chief and people gave him an encouraging welcome; and he has entered upon his work with pleasing prospects. The population is about 300. Infanticide has been discontinued for a number of years, and peace has long prevailed. And now we may hope that polygamy, heathen dances, and other kindred evils, will speedily be numbered with the things that have passed away, and that in Nukufetau we shall have a happy Christian community, bringing forth the fruits of righteousness, and glorifying God their Saviour in all things. We sailed from Nukufetau on Wednesday, the 24th of May, and stood for the neighbouring island

VAITUPU.

"We had quite an exciting scene as we were leaving Nukufetau. We found there twenty-six natives of Vaitupu. These made an arrangement with the captain to be taken to their own land. They had been living for a length of time, two or three years, on Nukufetau, and had, no doubt, relations on the island, between whom and themselves strong attachments seemed to exist; and when the parting came there was such an excitement, rubbing of noses, and weeping and wailing in regular Oriental fashion. Here I had to part with my good, faithful friend Elekana. This I felt quite a trial. He is a man to whom one soon feels a strong attachment. It was especially painful to leave him alone among the comparatively rough people of Nukufetau. He, however,

was not fainthearted; and the Master whom he serves will not forsake him. May his life be long spared and his labours largely blessed.

"We reached Vaitupu on Thursday, the 25th, the day after we left Nukufetau. It is a charming little spot, a single island with a lagoon in the centre, about four miles in length and three in breadth. It has a population of about 350. It is comparatively well watered and very fertile. And now we had got to the central point where the Samoans landed, from whom all the islands of the range, with a single exception, have been peopled. Here I obtained distinctly and definitely the information I had been unable to get elsewhere. I got the names of seventeen chiefs who have successively ruled the island since their ancestors arrived. The arrival I should think must have been at least 300 years ago. There were two large double canoes. I got the names of twenty-one men and five women who were in these canoes. There were many more women, but their names are forgotten. There were also two children. The people don't know whether any died at sea, where the party was bound when they started from Samoa, what part of Samoa they came from, and other matters of interest which one would like to know. They continued for a length of time on Vaitupu, and as they increased in numbers they hived off to the other islands, till they spread over them all, eight in number. I found the language somewhat purer here than on the other islands we had visited; and here we found an Ifi tree, the horse-chestnut, most probably sprung from a nut brought from Samoa by the original party. The productions of the islands are the same as those of the islands already described. I felt deeply grieved that I had not a teacher to leave amongst them. I could only give them a promise that they should have one with the least possible delay. The population is larger than that of any of the other islands to the east. It is over 350, and we found about twenty of their people on the adjacent island of Nui, to which our course was next directed. Vaitupu is a delightful little station for a Samoan or Rarotongan pastor. Very soon I trust the eyes of the people will see their teacher, and effectually learn about Him the knowledge of whom they have so long desired. Leaving Vaitupu, we stood for the island of

NUI,

distant about ninety miles. We got sufficiently near on the evening of the 25th of May to have intercourse with the people. The first word uttered by an interesting young man, who speaks good English, as he jumped on deck, was, 'Is this the ship with the missionaries?' Some parties had led them to expect that missionaries would come to them shortly. It was near sundown, and, as there is no anchorage, we had to stand off for the night, and our visitors returned to the shore with the glad tidings. Early next morning canoes were again off to us, in one of which was the young man alluded to above. He brought a present from the chief of three ducks, a basket of taro, and a dozen cocoa-nuts, and a request that I would go on shore, as the chief wished to see me. To go on shore at Nui is rather a formidable affair, as, like Vaitupu, it is surrounded by an extensive reef, through which there is no opening. It is very difficult to land with a boat, but the natives manage it in their canoes. In one of these I got safely to the land, and had a deeply interesting interview with the chief and people. The state of things is fully

as interesting and remarkable as at any of the other islands. About five years ago they burnt their gods, and since then they have been worshippers of the true God, and have been waiting most earnestly to be fully instructed in the knowledge of Him. Their present home is a pretty little spot—a gem on the ocean's breast. It consists of two larger and six smaller islands, and is about five miles in length, and from a mile to half a mile in breadth. It is very fertile, and tolerably well watered. The population is from 300 to 400; they are a fine noble-looking race; and they must be very industrious, if what we were told by a person trading among them is correct. According to him, they make about sixty tons of cocoa-nut oil a year for sale. In appearance, manners, customs, &c., they very much resemble their neighbours. It was very painful to have no teacher to leave among them. The men who now conduct services are well reported of, and seem decent characters. As the best thing that could be done under the circumstances, I told them to continue carrying on worship and schools in the meanwhile as they are now doing, and promised that they should have a teacher as soon as practicable. They have a very good place of worship, and a school-house in addition. The chief Kauio is a very interesting man. After I returned on board he sent, or rather brought, for he came off himself, another present of taro, &c. As some are reading the Word of God in their own tongue, we may hope that a good work, in some cases a saving work, is really in progress among them. God grant that it may be so, and carry it on with greater and greater power, and more and more decisive results, till the little leaven now working leaven the whole lump.

"Nui was the limit of our cruise; so, having finished our business, we commenced our return voyage, calling at Funafuti and Nukulaelae, and thence directing our course towards Samoa.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

"A few general observations will appropriately close this report, most of which will probably have occurred with more or less distinctness to the reader. The first thing calling for special notice is the *remarkable state of preparedness in which we found all the islands we have visited for the reception of the Gospel.* And I have been assured that the three islands Niutao, Nanomea, and Nanomaga, which we have not visited, are in a very similar state to that of the others, having, like them, renounced heathenism, and being earnestly desirous to have teachers. These, with the islands visited, eight in all, stretching over a space of from 300 to 400 miles, and containing a population of about 3500 or upwards, have all renounced paganism. Every vestige of idolatry is swept away; the idols are utterly abolished, and they are thirsting for something better than idolatry can supply. What an affecting illustration do the cases of Nukulaelae and Funafuti supply of the eagerness of their desire to be supplied with the word of life, and how painful is it to think that that very desire became the occasion of their being ensnared and betrayed by the slavers. What a mercy it is that they still retain their desire! It would not have been surprising if the remnant had reasoned thus: If *that* is what comes from desiring the knowledge of God, we had better be without such desire. But no such perverse mode of reasoning has been adopted. Now

we have only to call to mind the extreme tenacity with which idolaters generally cling to their objects of worship, and to think of the history of Missions, to see that the state of things just described is very remarkable. So far as I know, it has few recorded parallels. The case of the Sandwich Islands comes nearest to it of anything with which I am acquainted. And, further, the *manner* in which the change in question has been effected is equally remarkable with the change itself—indeed that mainly constitutes its remarkableness; for when an adequate, or what seems to us an adequate, instrumentality is brought to bear upon a heathen people, we expect such results to follow. But here we have what usually requires years of self-denying toil, and not seldom the sacrifice of valuable lives to accomplish, done to our hand. No weary night of toil has preceded, and yet, lo! the day has dawned, the night of heathenism is past, and the rays of the Sun of Righteousness appear —precursors of a glorious day. We have already adverted to the only instrumentality we can trace, that of Captain Stewart. A change in the views and feelings of the people, however, must surely have preceded his visit, though we are unable to trace it. The work of destroying objects of idolatrous worship, once commenced, spread like a conflagration, and their old religion being abandoned, and a religion of some sort being a necessity of human nature, they cast about to find a new one. Hence their readiness to take up with any adventurer who professed to be able to supply the article needed. The demand brought the supply: in every island some one appeared and set up as a religious teacher. Men of all characters, colours, lands, have practised upon the poor people in that line. Some—though I can hear of none whose characters have been anything near the mark—have been of use. Others, again, such as Tom Rose, have acted a most infamous part, and can only be numbered among the unscrupulous agents of the Evil One.

"Another thing worthy of special remark is *the way in which information respecting the state of the people was conveyed to us in Samoa*, and the striking call thereby addressed to us to undertake the cultivation of the field. In this the finger of God seems especially marked. The traders visiting the islands have been acquainted with the state of things for years past, but they have not, so far as I am aware, made that known to any body of Christians. They have acted as if it were their wish that the people should continue in darkness. But God's purposes are not to be defeated. In His own time he found a witness and a messenger. Elekana's arrival in Samoa, with his remarkable tale, was like a Macedonian cry. It was effectual, as our present voyage evinces.

"Again, the *quarter whence God is causing the light of life to shine forth upon these islands* is worthy of notice. Samoa, as we have seen, is the fatherland. Hence there is a common language, not to mention minor advantages. The Gospel can be intelligibly preached at once, while our books and translations are ready to put into their hands. An immense advantage this, which it would not be easy to over-estimate.

"And the *time* at which the call comes is also remarkable. Our westward Missions are now, to a great extent, off our hands, and our brethren in the Hervey Islands, as also Mr. Lawes of Niue, and ourselves are feeling the need of an outlet for the missionary zeal of our churches; and here our Master says to us in His providence, 'Behold, I set before you an open door;' and

this just as we have heard that a new mission ship is being procured to put it in our power to yield obedience to this call.

"Let it be borne in mind, further, that the field to which these remarks refer has an importance much greater than at first sight appears. Especially does this remark apply to the island of Nui. That island, from its connection with the Kingsmill Group, has great relative importance. The Kingsmill group consists of from fifteen to twenty islands, some of them large, and containing a population, according to Captain Wilkes, of 60,000 souls. Part of the islands—about half—lie to the south of the equator, the other to the north. Our American brethren, who have their head-quarters at the Sandwich Islands, have undertaken the evangelization of the northern division. The other is left for us; and the occupation of this little island of Nui will be a direct step towards the cultivation of these larger fields. Drummond's Island, from which the principal part of their ancestors came, is large, and, according to Wilkes, has a population of 10,000. It lies to the south of the line. On the whole, may we not assuredly gather that God is calling us to give the Gospel with the least possible delay to these tribes? and, being so obviously called by Him, ought we not to go forth strong in faith and high in hope that He will crown our efforts with large success, and that these poor benighted islanders, so long the slaves of sin and Satan, and the dupes of designing and vicious men, shall, in due time, become the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus, washed in His blood, cleansed by His Spirit, and fitted for His holy habitation on high? May we exceed all our hopes, and to Him shall be glory.

"A. W. MURRAY.

"On board the 'Augustita,'

"Nukulaelae, June 8th, 1865.

"P.S.—We sailed from Nukulaelae on the 9th of June, and reached Apia in safety on the 20th of the same month, having been absent seven weeks all but a day.

"A. W. M."

ORDINATION OF MISSIONARIES.

BIRMINGHAM.

ON Tuesday, November 7th, Mr. ALFRED T. SAVILLE was ordained as a missionary to the South Seas. The Rev. Charles Vince conducted the devotional exercises; the Rev. W. Gill, of Woolwich, late missionary at Rarotonga, described the field of labour; the Rev. J. S. Wardlaw, M.A., President of the Mission College, Highgate, asked the usual questions and offered the ordination prayer; the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A., delivered the charge; and the Rev. B. Waugh, of Newbury, concluded the service.

GORNAL, NEAR DUDLEY.

On Monday evening, November 20th, Mr. S. H. DAVIES was ordained as missionary to the South Sea Islands, in the Independent Chapel, Gornal. The Rev. J. G. Jukes commenced the service; the Rev. R. Ann proposed the questions; the Rev. S. M. Coombs, Mr. Davies's pastor, offered the ordination prayer; the Rev. C. Hardie described the field of labour; the Rev. W. Alliott delivered the charge; and the Rev. J. Hammond closed the service.

On May 23rd the schooner *Emily* arrived at Apia from Sunday or Raoul Island, in the Kermadec Group, and brought particulars of one of the several slavers that were striking terror into the hearts of the South Sea natives. The *Emily* sailed from the Bay of Islands on February 3rd for Sunday Island, and on arrival there found a large Spanish barque at anchor. On landing, the captain of the *Emily* saw a number of natives from the Duke of York and Duke of Clarence Groups, and as he spoke their language he learned that the strange barque had visited those islands. The natives said that the captain and crew of the barque landed, well-armed, and drove all the people down to the beach at the point of the bayonet. They then took every man, old or young, so long as they had any strength, on board the barque, leaving none on the islands but a few old, white-haired men and some women and children. On board the barque were also a number of natives from Savage Island, as well as from Manihike, Danger, Easter and other islands.

When the slaver made Danger Island the missionary on shore sent off a canoe to obtain information. On the canoe reaching the barque both it and the men were hoisted on board. The latter were put below hatches, and the former broken up for firewood. At Easter Island about 25 women and 40 children were taken.

The object of the slaver visiting Sunday Island was to try and restore the health of his "cargo," as three hundred or more of men, women, and children in a dying state—owing to their crowded condition—were landed in a deplorable plight. They were so emaciated and feeble that they could not stand, and some were unable even to crawl. The first launch-load consisted of fifty-three men, only three of whom could stand, three were found dead on the launch reaching the beach, and the residue were hauled out of the launch and thrown on the sand —some beyond the surf, and others in it. Several were drowned where they were thrown, and eighty died immediately after being landed.

As soon as some of the others gained a little strength, and were able to move about, they ate almost anything that came in their reach, and very soon diarrhoea and cramps developed and carried the hapless wretches off in numbers. The dead were buried on the beach in the sand, where the incoming tide and rising surf disinterred the bodies and strewed them all over the beach, where they remained when the tide fell. On April 19th a considerable number of the people had partially recovered and were able to walk about.

The slaver was a beautiful-looking vessel of about 400 tons and was remarkably fast. She had various names, flew a variety of flags, and was heavily armed. The captain and the greater part of the crew were Spaniards, there being twenty men of various nationalities before the mast. When lying at Sunday Island the officers were continually on the alert, and if a sail hove in sight, as was sometimes the case—whalers had for years obtained supplies at Sunday Island—all hands were recalled on board and the barque got under way. When the captain landed he carried a gun, revolvers, and bowie-knife. The island was stripped of all cattle, pigs, fowls, vegetables, and anything else in the shape of food or stores.

The captain of the *Emily* learned that the barque was to sail for Callao on May 1st.

This barque was one of seven that, it was stated, had been among the islands. She had visited the east end of Upolu, and took a native out of a trading boat that was returning to Apia. The boat was afterwards turned adrift, with one European in it, when the land was just visible from the deck. The boat reached land after being two days at sea.

The population of Sunday Island before the arrival of the slaver consisted of four families, numbering twenty-two in all. Fourteen days after the slaver landed her sick and dying, the residents were attacked by the diseases from which the visitors suffered, and in a few days eight out of the twenty-two died. On the arrival of the *Emily*, all of them but one man were ill, and he had to attend the sick as well as bury the dead. As soon as the residue would bear removal, they were taken on board the *Emily*, and on arrival at Apia they had all recovered.

The report indicates that the Spaniard was not a squeamish kidnapper, even at a time and in a region where few of the niceties of life were observed, and ruffianism took the place of law. Another purple patch is from W. B. Churchward's "The First White Man on the Beach." The title of the book is really a satire, as the book takes the form of a narrative of a coal-black negro who claimed to have been the first "white" to land on one of the Samoan islands. He shipped on a Spanish kidnapper at Callao, and gives an account of how, on arriving at an island, the natives were coaxed on board in their holiday attire. The narrative proceeds:

> "They got so friendly that presently a lot of them were persuaded to go down below . . . and then the skipper sent me to my boat with orders to rush out as soon as he fired his pistol. We hadn't long to wait before 'bang' it went, and, my word, wasn't there a row then. On the deck the hatches were clapped on, and at the same time 'crash' went the stones and shot, smashing up their canoes like paper. All round the ship the islanders were jumping off like mad; but we were there to drag them into the boat, and tie them up as fast as we could; and if they tried to escape, a crack on the head soon quieted them. . . .
>
> "We did nothing all that night but stand straight away from the shore, and in the morning, when it was not in sight, we took in all sail and set to work to make our visitors at home. When we had made all fast on deck, we went for the chaps down below, and found them all of a heap in the dark, moaning and groaning like stuck calves; and as we came near them, they put up their hands like asking us not to kill them. No fear of our doing that while they were worth from forty to fifty dollars apiece alive to sell to the Peruvian miners, but I think that if they had known the sort of life they were going to lead, they would rather be dead. . . .
>
> "Whilst coming up the ladder, we heard an awful rumpus going on amongst the women on deck, and then 'splash, splash' in the water. That was the skipper throwing the small picanninnies overboard, which he said were good for nothing, and not worth a cent.; so the sharks gobbled them up, one by one, as they came over, just like swallowing oysters. . . ."

The schooner *Prince of Denmark*, which was associated with William Stewart's efforts to colonise Stewart Island, N.Z., in 1825, was wrecked on Chesterfield Reef on March 19th. Her crew created from her timbers a cutter which they

assurance that the contract was made under the express sanction of the local government, and with the consent of the fathers of the Catholic mission in the Paumotus. In the case of Tepaiah, Tuata, Rua, and their families, there was a special claim put forward for damages, those parties having been carried off under the pretext of offering them a gratuitous passage to their homes. The legal instrument set forth in strong terms the reasons which argued the guilt of Unibaso, Lee Knapp, and Grandet, acting under the directions of the owners of the *Mercedes*, and it prayed that the owners of that ship might be made liable to such damages as the court should see fit to award. The instrument also claimed damages to the amount of 24,000 francs, from Unibaso, the captain of the *Mercedes*, and from Lee Knapp, the pilot and interpreter, and from the representatives of Charles Grandet. It was also prayed that the parties cast in damages should be made to pay the cost of the proceedings.

M. Longomazino argued the cause for the injured parties with great force and legal acumen, but the nature of the subject treated of in his address is too technical to interest an ordinary English reader.

The Deputy Public Prosecutor addressed the court for the prosecution at great length, urging the points wherein the evidence and the facts of the case bore against the prisoners Unibaso and Knapp, and against Grandet, then deceased.

M. Robin then addressed the court, and made a long and ingenious defence for the captain, Unibaso, questioning the legality of the taking of the *Mercedes*, exonerating Unibaso from responsibility in the affair, and throwing the onus of the proceedings objected to on Knapp as the shipper and representative of the owners.

M. Nollenberger then, as counsel for Lee Knapp, read a written defence on his behalf. This defence denied the responsibility sought to be thrown upon him; Unibaso alone was the responsible party.

M. Longomazino, the Deputy Public Prosecutor, and M. Robin again addressed the court, when the tribunal retired to deliberate. On their return the President gave the judgment of the court.

The accused Unibaso and Lee Knapp were found guilty. The sentence of the court on Unibazo was five years' hard labour and a fine of 18,500 francs (£770); and the sentence on Lee Knapp, ten years' hard labour. The said Unibaso and Knapp, and the representatives of Grandet were declared to be responsible for all costs and charges in the case. The owners of the *Mercedes* were also declared to be responsible for the acts of their agents, and the ship ordered to be sold,

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Curious Mirage Seen in British Guiana.

Your readers may remember the descriptions given by Latham and Vince of the unexpected appearance of the clear outline of the French coast, with the fishing boats, as seen from Hastings; and the curious phenomenon of having the whole of Dover Castle above the horizon from Ramsgate. Analogous to this was a refraction witnessed by the

GRA 6

AFFAIRE DU BRIG PÉRUVIEN

MERCEDES A. DE WHOLEY.

Papeete, 1863

DISCOURS

Public Prosecutor

PRONONCÉ, AU NOM DE LA PARTIE CIVILE,

DEVANT LE TRIBUNAL CRIMINEL DES ILES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ,

PAR

M. L. LANGOMAZINO.

Voir aussi : Messager de Tahiti,
21/2, 28/2, 7/3, 14/3, 21/3, 28/3, 25/4
23/5, 20/6, 27/6 1863

MT 21.3.63 : 59-63

MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT, MESSIEURS LES JUGES,

Jamais, depuis l'établissement des tribunaux du Protectorat, affaire plus grave n'a été portée devant votre haute juridiction; jamais cause, déférée à la justice du pays, n'a touché plus directement aux intérêts généraux de la société taïtienne, à ses sentiments, aux conditions premières de sa viabilité et de son expansion: jamais, par conséquent, l'absence du barreau ne s'est fait sentir d'une manière plus regrettable.

Les intérêts que je suis chargé de défendre voudraient donc un homme spécial, offrant, par son caractère, toutes les garanties du sa-

voir et de l'expérience. On a pourvu à la défense des accusés, il fallait pourvoir à celle des plaignants; c'était un acte de simple justice; j'ai répondu à l'appel qui m'a été fait. Honoré de la haute distinction dont j'ai été l'objet, mais troublé en présence de la tâche qui m'incombe, je ne puis, en prenant la parole, me défendre d'une émotion qui prend sa source dans le sentiment de ma faiblesse personnelle; jamais, je le dis dans toute la sincérité de mon âme, je ne me suis trouvé aussi complétement en face de mon impuissance, Puissent les inspirations d'une conviction profonde, les efforts d'uue bonne volonté, appuyée sur votre indulgence et sur votre désir ardent d'arriver à la connaissance exacte de la vérité, quelle qu'elle soit, suppléer à mon insuffisance.

CONCLUSIONS.

Pour Tepaiaha, chef de l'île Faarava; Maopo, chef de l'île Motutunga; Marue, chef de l'île Tahanea et Tuata, chef de l'île Taenga, agissant tant en leur propre et privé nom qu'au nom des habitants de leurs îles respectives qui ont été embarqués et retenus à bord du brig péruvien *Mercedes A. de Wholey*;

Contre Juan Bautista Unibaso, capitaine; Byron Lee Knapp, pilote-interprète; Arturo M. de Wholey et Cie, armateurs du brig péruvien *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, et les ayant-droit de feu Charles Grandet, en son vivant résidant aux îles Tuamotu;

Plaise au Tribunal,

Attendu que dans le courant du mois de décembre 1862, Lee Knapp et Charles Grandet ont été chargés par Unibaso, en sa qualité de capitaine du brig *Mercedes A. de Wholey* et, comme tel, représentant des armateurs du navire, de recruter huit cents habitants des îles de la Polynésie, pour les transporter au Callao, où ils devaient être *placés* et employés « à tous les travaux que leur patron jugerait convenable de leur commander; »

Que cent cinquante-deux habitants des îles Tuamotu, placées sous la protection de la France, ont été trouvés à bord dudit navire, au moment où l'aviso à vapeur le *Latouche-Tréville* a opéré son arrestation dans les eaux de l'île Makemo, dépendance du Protectorat français;

Que, pour amener ces cent cinquante-deux habitants à donner leur adhésion à un simulacre de contrat et à s'embarquer sur le *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, lesdits Knapp et Grandet, ont fait usage de fausses qualités, employé des

manœuvres frauduleuses, persuade l'existence de fausses entreprises, d'un pouvoir ou d'un crédit imaginaire, se sont fait remettre des obligations ou promesses et ont, par ces moyens, tenté d'escroquer, au profit de leurs commettants, les fruits présumés des travaux desdits habitants;

Que ces faits se compliquent encore de contraventions aux lois du Protectorat, aux formalités desquelles ils ont mensongèrement déclaré s'être conformés;

Que ces fausses qualités et attributions ainsi que ces manœuvres frauduleuses ressortent clairement :

1° De l'assurance donnée aux engagés qu'ils ne devaient être employés qu'à la culture du café, de la canne à sucre et du riz, alors que le contrat présenté à leur adhésion laissait à l'engagiste la faculté de les employer à toute espèce de travail.

2° De la fausse indication des lieux où les engagés devaient être transportés;

3° De la fausse promesse d'un rapatriement effectué à leur volonté;

4° De l'assurance à eux donnée que le contrat était fait avec l'adhésion et au nom du Gouvernement local, avec l'attache ou le contrôle des R. P. de la mission catholique des îles Tuamotu.

Spécialement en ce qui concerne Tepaiaha, Tuata, Rua et leurs familles :

Attendu qu'ils ne se sont rendus à bord du *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, que sur l'offre qui leur a été faite d'être transportés gratuitement chez eux et qu'une fois à bord du navire ils y ont été retenus, malgré leurs réclamations réitérées, pour être transportés au Pérou;

Attendu que tous les autres individus embarqués à bord dudit navire, qui pouvaient se croire réellement et légalement obligés, ont vainement aussi réclamé à plusieurs reprises leur débarquement;

Que, lorsqu'ils ont manifesté le désir de descendre à terre, aux approches de certaines îles, on ne leur en a accordé l'autorisation qu'à la condition de laisser, comme gages de leur retour à bord, leurs femmes, leurs enfants et leurs bagages; qu'ils ont, en conséquence, été retenus de force à bord du *Mercedes A. de Wholey*.

En ce qui concerne Lee Knapp et Grandet :

Attendu qu'ils ont, moyennant un salaire plus particulièrement calculé et établi par *tête d'homme*, aidé et facilité Unibaso dans l'accomplissement des faits relatés ci-dessus.

En ce qui concerne Arturo M. de Wholey et Cie, armateurs du *Mercedes A. de Wholey* :

Attendu que s'il n'est pas juridiquement prouvé qu'ils aient spécialement autorisé leur représentant Unibaso à employer la fraude et la violence pour accomplir sa mission, il y a de fortes présomptions de croire qu'il en a été ainsi, si l'on considère qu'ils ont expressément recommandé de ne pas toucher à Taïti, centre du Gouvernement local, et qu'ils ont eu soin de mettre à la disposition du capitaine tous les matériaux et objets nécessaires pour transformer

promptement, après le départ du Callao, la cale de leur navire en une véritable prison ;

Que, du reste, ils ne sauraient, hors le cas de force majeure légalement constaté, se soustraire à la responsabilité civile qui leur incombe à l'égard des faits du capitaine.

En ce qui concerne Unibaso :

Attendu que les circonstances et les documents de la cause établissent de la manière la plus évidente qu'il n'a nullement ignoré la nature des moyens employés par ses agents pour recruter sa cargaison; que les ordres de retenir à bord les engagés, contre leur gré, n'ont pu émaner que de lui, dépositaire de l'autorité supérieure à bord du navire dont le commandement lui était confié; qu'en dehors de toute autre preuve, les préparatifs faits par lui, depuis son départ du Callao, la dissimulation du nom de son navire et du signe de sa nationalité démontrent suffisamment qu'il agissait en pleine connaissance de cause et dans l'intention bien arrêtée d'employer au besoin la violence; qu'il est certain, en outre, d'après ses aveux mêmes, que les engagés transportés par lui au Pérou, y auraient été l'objet d'un trafic honteux ;

Attendu que les faits relatés ci-dessus ont causé aux demandeurs un préjudice considérable, dont le tribunal possède tous les éléments d'appréciation; qu'il est certain qu'on a odieusement abusé de leur ignorance, de leur crédulité et de leur bonne foi;

Par ces motifs et autres de droit et d'équité, que le tribunal voudra bien suppléer,

Vu les articles 1382 du Code Napoléon, 40 et 55 du Code pénal, 366 du Code d'instruction criminelle,

Condamner solidairement, Juan Bautista Unibaso, capitaine, Byron Lee Knapp, pilote-interprète du brig péruvien *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, et les ayant-droit de feu Charles Grandet, de son vivant résidant aux îles Tuamotu en vingt-quatre mille francs de dommages-intérêts en faveur des demandeurs.

Et vu les articles 1384 du code Napoléon, et 216 du code de commerce,

Déclarer Arturo M. de Wholey et Cie, armateurs du brig péruvien *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, civilement responsables des condamnations pécuniaires prononcées contre Unibaso, Knapp, et les ayant-droit de feu Ch. Grandet.

Les condamner, en outre, aux frais généralement quelconques de la procédure.

Fait à Papeete, le 9 mars 1863.

Legal representative of the plaintiffs

Le fondé de pouvoirs des demandeurs,

L. LANGOMAZINO.

Messieurs,

Une voix plus autorisée que la mienne vous fera l'historique des faits et des circonstances extraordinaires à la suite desquelles les hommes qui montaient ce mystérieux navire, capturé dans les eaux de l'île Makemo, circonstances qui ont mis en émoi les populations océaniennes placées sous la protection de la France, ont été amenés devant votre tribunal; elle vous parlera au nom des intérêts de la société, au nom de la sécurité de nos protégés, au nom des grands principes de droit international devenus, dans nos temps d'élucidation, de diffusion, d'expansion intellectuelles, la loi universellement acceptée, partout où la civilisation projette ses splendides rayonnements.

Au nom de ces grands intérêts et de cette sécurité si nécessaire à l'accomplissement de l'œuvre ardue que la France poursuit en Océanie depuis plus de vingt années, au nom de ces principes sacrés par l'adhésion de toutes les nations policées, elle vous demandera la répression et la flétrissure d'actes, de manœuvres, d'intrigues, de machinations réprouvées et flétries d'avance dans la conscience publique.

Pour moi, Messieurs, ma tâche est bornée et restreinte; je viens vous entretenir d'intérêts privés.

Mais ces intérêts d'un ordre évidemment secondaire, ces intérêts personnels qui s'amoindrissent nécessairement au contact des grandes questions d'ordre social et de principes généraux que la cause actuelle soulève, ne sont cependant pas indignes de votre attention et de votre sollicitude, puisque le préjudice qu'ils ont éprouvé n'est que le contre-coup des atteintes portées au corps social tout entier, puisqu'ils souffrent des mêmes lésions, des mêmes violations, des mêmes transgressions.

Ils sont d'autant moins indignes de vos préoccupations, que ce sont ceux d'hommes naïfs et confiants, à peine initiés à nos coutumes, à nos mœurs, et qui, catéchisés d'hier, voient dans le *blanc*, dans l'homme venu des pays où les idées rayonnent, un supérieur à respecter, un modèle à suivre.

Ce sont ces hommes, à qui nous ne cessons pas de répéter : faites, agissez, travaillez comme les européens, prenez leurs usages, leurs manières, leurs mœurs, qui, par ma voix, viennent aujourd'hui, vous dire : des européens nous ont trompés et spoliés, des européens ont voulu spéculer sur notre chair, sur nos os, sur notre sang comme sur les os, la chair et le

sang d'un vil bétail; des européens, par le mensonge, par la ruse et l'astuce nous ont arraché à notre pays, à nos travaux, à nos devoirs, à nos engagements, et, sous le prétexte fallacieux de nous procurer des gains relativement considérables, se sont rendus coupables envers nous d'un véritable attentat à la dignité humaine. A vous juges, hommes de l'intégrité et du droit, à vous Français, hommes de la protection et du devoir, nous venons demander justice, réparation et protection.

Mais quand, par qui et comment, les hommes dont la cause m'est confiée, ont-ils été lésés dans leurs intérêts, et blessés dans leur dignité personnelle? C'est à cette triple question que je me propose de répondre.

Et, d'abord, une digression est nécessaire; je m'efforcerai de la rendre substantielle et succinte. — J.-B. Unihaso et Lee Knapp comparaissent devant vous sous la grave inculpation du crime de séquestration, prévu et puni par l'article 341 du Code pénal; au ministère public incombe la tâche de démontrer l'existence de ce crime, à vos consciences celle de la constater. Pour moi, je vois en dehors, ou plutôt en dedans de cette accusation, comme une sorte de corollaire, des faits patents, indéniables *d'escroquerie;* je le démontrerai.

Je soutiens, sans m'arrêter aux faits postérieurs à l'embarquement des habitants des îles Tuamotu, que cet embarquement volontaire s'est effectué par suite de manœuvres et d'intrigues qui constituent, à n'en pas douter, le délit d'escroquerie.

— M. Langomazino définit ici le caractère de l'escroquerie et démontre que, dans l'espèce de la cause, il y a eu dol accompagné de manœuvres et d'artifices qui le font tomber sous l'application de l'article 405 du Code pénal.

Le prévenu Grandet est décédé, à l'hôpital de Papeete, le 1er du présent mois; l'action publique est éteinte en ce qui le concerne; grâce au ciel nous ne vivons plus en ces temps de barbarie où l'on faisait le procès criminel aux cadavres, mais l'action civile peut être intentée contre ses représentants ou ayant-droit, aux termes de l'article 2 du Code d'instruction criminelle. Il est vrai qu'en thèse générale les tribunaux criminels sont alors radicalement incompétents, mais je doute qu'il en soit ainsi

dans le cas de complicité et de poursuite contre des co-accusés survivants. C'est un point de droit sur lequel le tribunal voudra bien statuer. Quoiqu'il en soit, et quelque répugnance que nous éprouvions à discuter sur une tombe, nous sommes forcé, par suite de la liaison des circonstances de la cause, relatives à chacun des prévenus, de rappeler les faits relevés par l'accusation contre le sieur Grandet.

J'aborde les faits,

Et je constate, d'abord, que les déclarations des trois accusés sont un tissu de contradictions, de fausseté et de mensonges. Vous allez en juger :

Grandet a soutenu que le lendemain du jour où il a fait les propositions d'engagement, à l'île Faarava, propositions qui furent d'abord repoussées, les indiens lui ont *dicté* les termes du contrat.

Ceci est faux de tous points :

Lee Knapp a déclaré qu'il n'avait jamais vu les formules de contrat imprimées avant d'arriver à Faarava, et que là, les ayant montrées à Grandet, celui-ci n'avait pas voulu s'en servir et *avait fait un nouveau* contrat.

Tepaiaha, de son côté, affirme que trois ou quatre jours après le refus opposé par les indiens aux propositions de Grandet, *le bruit courut*, dans le district (à Faarava), que plusieurs indiens *voulaient* accepter, que Grandet fit réunir les trois chefs (Tepaiaha en est un), et que là, en leur montrant un papier, il leur dit que plusieurs indiens *avaient accepté et signé*, qu'il fit force instance pour les engager à signer eux-mêmes, ce qu'ils firent.

Le simulacre de contrat qui figure au dossier est donc l'œuvre de Grandet seul ; il n'a donc été ni inspiré ni dicté par les indigènes qui, du reste, en sont tout à fait incapables.

Le contrat était déjà rédigé lorsqu'il a été présenté à l'adhésion des chefs. Ce ne sont donc pas les chefs qui l'ont dicté ; serait-ce les indiens qui avaient signé avant eux? Mais vous savez que le contrat ne porte pas d'autres signatures que celles des trois chefs.

J'ai qualifié le papier signé à Faarava de *simulacre de contrat* : je tiens à justifier cette épithète, c'est-à-dire à démontrer que cette pièce est nulle, et de nulle valeur.

M. Langomazino s'appuie, pour prouver la nullité du contrat intervenu, non seulement sur le défaut de consentement libre, mais aussi sur l'inobservation des formalités prescrites par les arrêtés locaux des 3 mai 1849 et 15 octobre 1851, ainsi que sur les dispositions de l'article 1780 du C. N. qui ne permet d'engager ses services que pour un temps limité, ou pour une entreprise déterminée.

Il n'est pas inutile, je crois, de confronter l'espèce d'acte dont je viens de parler avec le projet d'engagement imprimé et le projet manuscrit trouvé parmi les papiers des accusés.

En quoi se ressemblent-ils, en quoi diffèrent-ils?

Ils se ressemblent en ce qu'ils renferment tous des obligations à la charge des engagés, sans en renfermer une seule à la charge de ceux qui les engageaient.

Sur ce premier point, je sais qu'on dira que cela n'est pas exact, que les engagistes s'obligeaient à leur donner vingt francs par mois, la nourriture et les vêtements; à ceci je réponds : les engagistes s'obligeaient à cela, dans le cas où il leur aurait plu de les faire travailler; mais s'engageaient-ils à leur donner du travail? Non. Il leur était facultatif de les garder ou de les rejeter, de les employer ou de ne pas les employer. L'obligation était unilatérale ou synallagmatique, au gré de l'engagiste: elle n'existait pas pour lui, dès que son bon plaisir ou son intérêt le conduisait à y renoncer.

Voilà ce qu'on a décoré du nom de contrat.

Ces trois pièces se ressemblent encore en ce qu'elles sont muettes sur la question du rapatriement; question importante certes, puisque de sa résolution dépendait la liberté ou la servitude des engagés.

Les indigènes des Tuamotu, transportés au Pérou ou ailleurs, à mille huit cents ou deux mille lieues de leur pays, n'ayant plus aucun moyen de retour, allaient inévitablement se trouver à la merci de leurs possesseurs.

La misère aurait couvert les nullités du contrat.

Tels sont, Messieurs, leurs points de ressemblance. Examinons leurs points de dissemblance:

Le formulaire imprimé, évidemment destiné à être répandu avec profusion, à être jeté, par paquets, sous les pieds des passants, à être produit au besoin comme pièce probante d'intentions toutes confites de légalité, contient, à peu près, des clauses avouables qui ne se retrouvent plus ni dans le projet manuscrit, ni dans l'acte signé à Faarava,

notamment celle de ces clauses qui fixe à huit années la durée de l'engagement.

Le projet manuscrit diffère du formulaire imprimé, en ce qu'il précise la nature du travail auquel les engagés devaient être livrés. Enfin, le contrat signé à Faarava, muet sur la question de rapatriement, généralisant la nature des travaux à accomplir et paraissant porter, dans sa clause dernière, une obligation à la charge des engagistes, diffère des deux autres pièces en ce qu'il ne détermine ni la durée de l'engagement, ni l'entreprise en vue de laquelle il est contracté.

On pourra objecter : mais la démonstration que vous faites de la nullité du contrat intervenu, détruit votre système qui consiste à dire qu'il y a eu escroquerie, car, pour qu'il y ait escroquerie, ainsi que l'entend l'art. 405 du Code pénal, il faut qu'il y ait eu remise de fonds, d'obligation ou de promesses; si, dans l'espèce de la cause, il n'y a pas eu obligation réelle, il ne peut pas y avoir eu remise d'obligation.

Entendons-nous. Ce raisonnement ne serait que spécieux. Vous, engagiste, vous saviez très-bien que le contrat était nul; vous auriez de la peine à faire croire que vous n'agissiez pas en toute connaissance de cause; mais les indigènes ne le savaient pas, eux; ils devaient se croire, ils se croyaient bien et dûment liés; ils le croyaient tellement, que c'est sur la foi de ce contrat qu'ils se sont rendus à bord; et vous les avez tellement raffermis dans cette croyance, que c'est en en invoquant ses termes que vous avez refusé de les mettre à terre quand ils vous ont demandé à débarquer.

Et puis, nous l'avons déjà dit, liés ou non par les stipulations du contrat, ils l'auraient été fatalement par la misère à laquelle vous pouviez les livrer, par le besoin de vivre en pays étranger, où ils n'auraient pas même pu demander intelligiblement les choses le plus nécessaires à la vie et par l'impossibilité du rapatriement.

Les trois pièces que nous venons d'examiner constituent donc trois mensonges. — La première, pour faire accroire à une œuvre légale, on ne s'en est pas servi ; la deuxième, pour faire accroire à un travail régulier et sans danger, on ne s'en est pas servi non plus; la troisième, pour faire accroire à l'existence d'engagements, d'obligations qu'on savait bien ne pas exister.

Tel qu'il est, l'engagement de Faarava a eu son effet, il doit donc rester au procès à titre d'obligation, et nous devons, dès lors, rechercher les moyens à l'aide desquels on est parvenu à se le faire délivrer, et à lui donner, aux yeux des indigènes, la valeur d'un titre régulier, la force d'une loi.

A-t-on dit aux indigènes des Tuamotu qu'ils seraient tenus de faire tous les travaux qu'il plairait à leurs maîtres de leur faire exécuter?

Non; on leur a dit, à tous, sans exception, qu'ils seraient employés à la culture de la canne à sucre, du café et du riz.

Leur a-t-on dit qu'ils allaient être transportés sur la côte d'Amérique, au Pérou, à 1800 lieues de leur patrie, plus loin encore, si on le voulait bien, car le contrat de Faarava ne s'explique pas à cet égard et peut avoir le monde entier pour théâtre de son exécution?

Non; on leur a dit qu'ils s'engageaient à aller travailler sur une terre située à la hauteur de l'île Pitcairn, c'est-à-dire à quelques journées de leurs îles, et que, dès qu'ils seraient fatigués, au bout de deux mois, par exemple, ils pourraient revenir chez eux.

Grandet l'a dit à l'île Katiu; il l'a répété, à bord du brig, à Maopo, au chef de l'île Taenga et au chef mutoi de Tuau, Tairi; il l'a dit, enfin, à l'île Kauehi.

Lee Knapp l'a dit, à l'île Motutunga, à l'île Tahanea et à l'île Katiu.

Tous les deux l'ont répété à l'indigène Marue.

Lee Knapp avoue avoir dit aux indigènes que, si le pays où ils allaient ne leur convenait pas, ils pourraient revenir dans quatre mois, soit à bord du brig, soit à bord d'un autre navire, aux frais de l'armateur. D'abord, il n'a pas dit quatre mois, mais bien deux mois; il y a lieu ensuite de se demander pourquoi cette condition n'a pas été consignée dans le contrat? Lee Knapp savait bien que l'absence devait être éternelle.

Quant à Grandet, il se défendait d'avoir fait espérer aux engagés qu'ils pourraient revenir dans deux mois; il l'avait cependant dit à Katiu, à Tahanea, à Faarava et à Kauehi.

A-t-on dit aux indigènes que leur embarquement à bord du *Mercedes A. de Wholey* était un fait illégal? Non, sans doute.

Voici, les dispositions qui régissent la matière :

Ordre du 6 août 1855.

« Tout indien, voulant quitter l'île de Tahiti pour aller aux îles Sous-le-Vent, devra s'adresser au bureau indigène huit jours à l'avance;

« Les indiens de ces îles, qui retournent chez eux, devront justifier qu'ils ne laissent aucune dette sur la place;

« Les indigènes de Tahiti et Moorea devront justifier qu'il n'y a aucune opposition légale à leur départ et que leurs parents n'y mettent aucun empêchement;

« Enfin, les jeunes gens de Tahiti ou Moorea devront se présenter, accompagnés de

leurs parents les plus proches, ou, au moins, apporter de leur part une autorisation, par écrit, pour prouver qu'ils ont leur assentiment à leur voyage.

« Ces formalités étant remplies, et après avoir pris les renseignements nécessaires, le bureau indigène autorisera le départ, la veille du jour qu'il devra avoir lieu.

« L'ordre ci-dessus s'appliquera, à plus forte raison, à tous les habitants des îles Tahiti, Moorea et Tuamotu, qui désireraient s'embarquer pour un pays étranger quelconque ou pour la pêche à la baleine. »

Non seulement on ne leur a pas rappelé ces dispositions légales, mais on leur a assuré que le Gouvernement local avait une connaissance parfaite de l'opération, que l'acte soumis à leur adhésion était fait en son nom, avec le concours du R. P. Nicolas, et qu'une copie en serait remise entre les mains des missionnaires catholiques d'Anaa et de Faarava.

Ceci a été dit, à Faarava, à Katiu, à Kauehi et à Motutunga, par Grandet. — A Tahanea et à Motutunga, par Lee Knapp.

Résumant ce qui vient d'être dit, sur les moyens employés pour entraîner les indiens à bord du *Mercedes*, nous trouvons :

Qu'à Faarava, on a faussement déclaré aux chefs que le contrat était déjà signé par plusieurs habitants ;

Qu'on a affirmé que les travaux à exécuter ne consistaient qu'à la culture de la canne à sucre, du café et du riz, tandis qu'on glissait dans le contrat les mots : et à faire tous les travaux que le patron jugera convenable de leur commander.

Qu'on a fait espérer le rapatriement, dans deux mois, alors que rien ne faisait supposer qu'on fût dans l'intention de l'accorder, et qu'il était, du reste, de toute impossibilité de l'effectuer dans le délai indiqué.

Qu'on a dit aux engagés : qu'il s'agissait de les transporter sur une île située à la hauteur de Pitcairn, près de leur pays, et dans laquelle on pouvait se rendre en pirogue, tandis que la destination était le Pérou ou toute autre partie du monde, au gré des engagistes.

Qu'enfin, alors qu'on transgressait ouvertement les lois taïtiennes et celles du Protectorat, on déclarait hautement que l'opération s'effectuait avec l'autorisation du Gouvernement et le concours des missionnaires catholiques des Tuamotu.

Et maintenant, Messieurs, en présence de faits si bien caractérisés, qui pourrait hésiter à les qualifier de *manœuvres frauduleuses*?

Qui pourrait ne pas y voir l'emploi de fausses qualités, la persuasion d'un pouvoir imaginaire, la délivrance d'obligations, dispositions ou promesses, c'est à dire tous les éléments constitutifs du délit d'escroquerie, défini et puni par l'art. 405 du Code pénal?

Le délit a été pleinement consommé en ce qui concerne la remise de l'obligation; il a été tenté en ce qui est relatif à l'exécution de cette obligation; mais ceci importe peu, car, en pareille matière, la tentative équivaut au délit.

Telles sont les circonstances qui ont amené la signature du contrat de Faarava et l'embarquement des naturels des îles Tuamotu.

Il nous reste, maintenant, à examiner quelques faits qui se rattachent à ces circonstances.

Vingt-cinq indiens de l'île Katiu avaient été engagés par Grandet; déjà ces hommes avaient apporté leurs bagages sur le rivage, lorsqu'au moment où ils allaient les embarquer dans la chaloupe qui devait les conduire à bord, on aperçoit un côtre hors de la passe, Grandet lui fait signe d'accoster et envoie Maopo pour le piloter. Ce côtre était monté par Taurere, de Faarava, Papu et un autre indien de l'île Taue. Papu, s'adressant à Maopo, lui dit: « Est-ce que vous allez tous partir? Oui, répond celui-ci. Ne vous pressez pas tant, reprend Papu, Taurere a une lettre du Père Nicolas qui vous engage à vous tenir sur vos gardes; car ceci est un navire voleur qui veut vous enlever de votre île pour vous porter bien loin. »

Arrivés à terre, Maopo répète ces propos aux indiens; on s'adresse à Grandet, on lui demande des explications, et celui-ci, qui tenait dans sa main la lettre du P. Nicolas, lettre qui venait de lui être remise par son commissionnaire Taurere, répond: « Cette lettre que j'ai reçue n'est pas du P. Nicolas, elle est de Lee Knapp; il m'annonce qu'il y a beaucoup d'indiens qui consentent à partir. Pour vous, vous êtes maintenant engagés, vous ne pouvez plus refuser de partir, parce que vos noms sont déjà inscrits. » Et, ceci dit, il fait immédiatement embarquer les effets des vingt-cinq habitants de Katiu, sans se préoccuper davantage de leurs hésitations et de leurs craintes; lui-même jette dans l'embarcation les effets de Maopo.

Or, le papier que Grandet venait de recevoir était bien une copie de la lettre du P. Nicolas et non pas une lettre de Lee Knapp. Grandet, lui-même, l'a avoué dans l'instruction; elle a, du reste, été trouvée dans sa malle, seulement il prétend qu'il n'a pas caché qu'elle fût du P. Nicolas et affirme qu'il a combattu la mauvaise impression qu'elle avait

produite, par ces mots : « ce ne sont pas là les conditions de votre contrat, si on vous fait travailler le guano, vous vous adresserez au consul qui vous fera rapatrier. »

La simulation d'un contrat n'est pas le seul moyen employé pour attirer les indiens à bord du *Mercedes*; une ruse plus simple et plus expéditive a été pratiquée.

Tepaiaha ne devait pas faire le voyage; il n'avait stipulé, dans le contrat de Faarava, qu'au nom de ses administrés, et ne se trouvait accidentellement dans le district de Tetamanu, dont Pohemiti est le chef, que pour se concerter avec ce dernier sur l'établissement des nouvelles cases, dites *cases métriques*. — Les navires peuvent sortir du lagon de Faarava par deux passes; l'une située dans le district de Tetamanu, où se trouvait le *Mercedes*, l'autre, dans le district de Tetou, vis à vis l'habitation de Tepaiaha. Ils choisissent l'une ou l'autre de ces passes, selon que le vent souffle de la partie de l'est ou de la partie de l'ouest. — Le *Mercedes* devant sortir par la passe de Tetou, Tepaiaha demanda à Grandet l'autorisation de traverser le lagon de l'île à bord du navire et le pria de le faire déposer chez lui, en passant; Grandet le lui promit. Arrivés à la hauteur de son village, et voyant que le navire ne s'arrêtait pas, Tepaiaha demanda à débarquer; Grandet lui répondit : « Cela est impossible, vous avez mangé les vivres du bord, vous partagerez le sort de vos compagnons, » et Tepaiaha est emmené avec toute sa famille. Arrivé hors de la passe, le navire met en panne, pour raisonner avec une embarcation qui se présente le long du bord; Tepaiaha renouvelle alors sa demande de débarquement, mais sans plus de succès. — Il est vrai qu'il aurait pu s'échapper, soit à Kauehi, soit à Katiu, mais sa femme et ses enfants étaient à bord en otages.

Voilà, Messieurs, ce qui s'est passé à Faarava.

A Katiu, double enlèvement de même nature :

Le chef de l'île Taenga, Tuata, se trouvait à Katiu au moment où le *Mercedes* y arriva; il était venu là, avec sa femme et ses enfants, visiter des parents qui habitent cette île. Grandet ayant su qu'il n'avait pas de pirogue à sa disposition pour effectuer son retour, lui a gracieusement fait l'offre de le prendre avec sa famille, à bord du *Mercedes* et de les déposer sur l'île Taenga, en passant. Ces braves gens s'embarquent sans méfiance, et, une fois en mer, on leur dit : Ce n'est pas à Taenga que vous irez, c'est à une île située à la hauteur de Pitcairn.

Cet indigne abus de confiance est d'autant plus condamnable qu'il a été pratiqué contre un vieillard d'une extrême simplicité; qui ne pouvait pas supposer une pareille trahison, puisque c'était Grandet, lui même, qui l'avait déjà amené de Taenga à Katiu, sur une goëlette qui, depuis, s'était brisée, et que, du reste, aucune proposition ne lui avait été faite relativement aux enrôlements qui se faisaient sous ses yeux.

L'indien Rua, de l'île Taenga, se trouvait aussi fortuitement à Katiu, à la même époque; Grandet, dont il était le commissionnaire, voulut l'engager, mais Rua refusa ses offres. « Venez toujours à bord, lui dit-il, je vous déposerai en passant à Taenga. » Rua s'y rendit avec les siens et y fut retenu malgré ses réclamations réitérées.

Ces trois faits se passent de commentaires et donnent la mesure de la confiance qu'on pouvait avoir aux déclarations de Grandet quand il affirmait que jamais aucun indien n'avait demandé à débarquer, et à celles de Lee Knapp, quand il assure qu'il n'a jamais eu connaissance d'une pareille demande.

Et quand on opposait ces faits si bien établis, aux dénégations de Grandet, savez-vous ce qu'il répondait?

Il répondait : c'est un mensonge, et la preuve que c'est un mensonge, c'est que nous ne sommes pas allé à Taenga. N'y étant pas allé on n'a pas pu nous demander le debarquement.

Voilà, certes, une étrange logique! Non, on n'était pas allé à Taenga, et c'est ce qu'on etait en droit de lui reprocher. Ce n'est pas à Taenga qu'on a demandé le débarquement, c'est en pleine mer, et sur la foi des promesses qui avaient été faites à Katiu, promesses qu'on savait bien ne pas devoir tenir.

Jamais aucun indigène n'a voulu débarquer, avez-vous dit?

Tous ceux de Motutunga, leur chef, Tetohu, en tête, l'ont demandé avec instances a Lee Knapp.

Ceux de Katiu l'ont aussi vainement sollicité.

On leur repondait: c'est impossible; vous avez accepté, il faut tenir vos engagements.

Plusieurs hommes sont, il est vrai, descendus à terre dans différentes îles, mais c'était toujours des pères de famille, dont l'exactitude du retour était garantie par la présence à bord du *Mercedes* de leurs femmes et de leurs enfants.

Pour justifier ces refus persistants, on allègue qu'en autorisant les femmes et les enfants à descendre à terre, les embarcations auraient été constamment pleines..... Donc on a demandé à débarquer, donc on a

refusé. Comment vient-on, ensuite, après un pareil aveu, soutenir que jamais aucun indigène n'a demandé à débarquer.

Messieurs, s'il faut en croire les prévenus, leur bonne foi a été complète dans les opérations qu'ils ont faites; non seulement ils ont agi avec une scrupuleuse loyauté, en s'assurant exactement que chaque immigrant était mû par sa seule volonté et ne subissait ni pression morale, ni violence physique, mais ils étaient encore convaincus qu'ils faisaient un acte licite et parfaitement régulier.

Eh bien! ce n'est pas vrai; ils avaient pleinement le sentiment de leur culpabilité. —Ils déclaraient aux indigènes qu'ils avaient rempli auprès du Gouvernement les formalités nécessaires; ils savaient donc qu'en pareille occurence il fallait observer certaines règles, se munir de certaines autorisations, agir, en un mot, avec le concours ou, tout au moins, avec l'adhésion du Gouvernement.

Mais ce n'est pas tout: ces hommes, qui prétendent n'avoir agi que dans les limites de ce qu'ils pensaient être leur droit, pâlissent, tremblent, sont terrifiés à l'aspect du *Latouche-Tréville*. Ils veulent donner le change aux indigènes en leur disant que le bateau à vapeur leur appartient, qu'il vient les prendre pour les emmener plus vite aux lieux où ils doivent se rendre, et, cela, pourquoi? pour qu'ils n'hésitent pas à se cacher dans le faux-pont, à se dérober aux regards des officiers du bateau à vapeur.

Il est vrai qu'Unibaso déclare, sur ce dernier point, qu'il n'a pas donné l'ordre de les faire descendre dans le faux-pont, qu'il a seulement dit de les faire passer derrière. Le contraire est surabondamment prouvé. On a dit aux indigènes : descendez dans le faux-pont, parceque vous gênez la manœuvre. Or, ce prétexte n'aurait pas été de mise, si on s'était borné à les faire passer de l'arrière à l'avant, attendu que ce déplacement n'aurait facilité la manœuvre d'une partie du navire qu'au détriment de l'autre.

Du reste, toutes les dénégations des prévenus, à cet égard, tombent devant les déclarations si précises de Maopo, de Tetohu-Tirianu, de Paoa, de Marue, de Tahiri et de Tara.

Les accusés ont donc pâli d'effroi à la vue de *Latouche-Tréville*, et ils ont voulu dissimuler leur cargaison humaine, comme ils avaient déjà dissimulé le nom du navire et le pavillon qu'ils souillent.

J'ai dit, au commencement de cette plaidoirie, que les déclarations des prévenus n'étaient qu'un tissu de mensonges et de contradict

Je crois avoir déjà démontré la justesse de cette assertion, vous en trouvez une nouvelle preuve dans les explications par eux fournies, relativement à ce pavillon.

Grandet disait, dans l'instruction : « J'ai toujours vu ce navire avec un pavillon; je pense que c'est le pavillon péruvien. »

C'est absolument faux, car Lee Knapp a déclaré qu'il n'y avait qu'un pavillon à bord et qu'on ne le mettait pas parce qu'il n'y avait pas nécessité.

Et le capitaine, lui-même, avoue qu'il n'a mis qu'un pavillon de signal à Faarava, que, quant au pavillon de nation, il ne l'a hissé qu'à l'île de la Chaîne (Anaa), pour saluer la terre.

Maopo, Tepaiaha, Tetohu-Tirianu, Paoa, Marue, Tairi, Torohia et Tahiri, affirment que le *Mercedes* n'a mis son pavillon que lorsque le bateau à vapeur est arrivé.

Ma tâche se terminerait ici, Messieurs, si je n'avais à m'occuper que de Lee Knapp et de Grandet. Les faits, en ce qui concerne ces deux hommes, parlent assez haut d'eux-mêmes, pour qu'il soit inutile de les commenter. Mais les intérêts dont la défense m'est confiée, me font un impérieux devoir de rechercher la part prise, dans les événements de décembre dernier, par le capitaine du *Mercedes A. de Wholey*, Juan-Bautista Unibaso.

Cet accusé rejette l'entière responsabilité des actes consommés sur Lee Knapp. C'est un système qui a pu lui paraître facile à soutenir au moment où celui-ci était en fuite, il n'a pas manqué de l'adopter; mais malheureusement pour lui, fort heureusement pour la justice, Lee Knapp a été arrêté, il a parlé, et la lumière s'est faite sur les coins sombres de cette affaire.

Je soutiens, et en ceci je ne fais que partager le sentiment de l'accusation, je soutiens que Juan-Bautista Unibaso est l'auteur principal des faits relevés par l'accusation; l'auteur principal, conséquemment, des préjudices causés aux plaignants. Je soutiens que Grandet et Lee Knapp n'ont été que ses complices; les instruments dont il s'est servi pour arriver à ses fins.

L'immixtion de Grandet, dans le trafic dirigé par Unibaso, s'explique par la seule lecture du contrat intervenu, entre ces deux hommes, lors de l'arrivée du *Mercedes A. de Wholey* à Faarava; contrat dans lequel, vous

le savez, on stipule, *par tête* d'hommes, comme on stipule, dans une foire, par tête de bétail. Tout est là pour Grandet et dans les manœuvres pratiquées pour remplir les obligations qu'il s'était imposées. Vous aurez à examiner, Messieurs, s'il a été de bonne foi, s'il a pu ignorer quels étaient les projets ultérieurs des chefs de l'expédition, s'il a pu ne pas se douter qu'ils jouaient, vis à vis des indigènes, une indigne comédie.

Et ce que je dis de Grandet peut, en partie, s'appliquer à Lee Knapp; avec cette différence, cependant, que le capitaine du *Mercedes* veut attribuer à celui-ci un rôle plus important que celui qu'il déclare accepter lui-même et qui me paraît être le seul qu'on puisse raisonnablement lui imputer; avec cette différence encore, qu'on ne saurait mettre un seul instant en doute, son entière connaissance des faits qui devaient suivre l'enlèvement des indigènes, l'entière connaissance du sort misérable qui leur était réservé.

Unibaso vous dit qu'il a dû considérer Lee Knapp comme subrécargue, parce que l'armateur, en lui remettant les deux permissions de navigation pour les îles de la Polynésie et une lettre cachetée qui ne faisait que reproduire ce qui se trouvait déjà dans ces permissions, lui aurait dit : Allez aux îles Paumotu; M. Lee Knapp a toutes les instructions, il vous les communiquera. Eh bien! ceci est faux, comme tout le reste. Les prétendues instructions, données par l'armateur à Lee Knapp, ne sont pas autre chose que la convention intervenue entre eux au Callao, le 3 octobre 1862. Or, cette convention, qu'Unibaso ne peut pas méconnaître, dont les armateurs ont dû nécessairement lui fournir copie, cette convention établit que Lee Knapp est pilote-interprète, et, comme tel, chargé de recruter des indiens. Il est très-vrai que ce titre de pilote figure singulièrement dans un document pareil, qu'il n'est nullement en rapport avec les attributions qui y sont définies; mais il s'explique, cependant, par la connaissance que Lee Knapp possédait des lieux qu'on se proposait d'explorer.

Il devait piloter le navire et servir d'intermédiaire entre le capitaine et les indigènes à engager, voilà tout. A coup sûr il n'était pas *subrécargue*. Il aurait été *subrécargue* de quoi? d'un navire sans chargement? *sobre, sur, cargo, charge.*

Messieurs, dans le langage usuel du commerce, on appelle de ce nom celui qui est chargé de veiller sur les marchandises. Lee Knapp avait-il à veiller sur des marchandises, voire sur des marchandises humaines? évidemment non; il devait au contraire quitter le *Mercedes* immédiatement après son chargement et passer à bord du *Barbara-Gomez*. Il n'était donc pas subrécargue. Lee Knapp était racoleur à gages, ni plus ni

moins; comme tel, il était naturellement aux ordres du capitaine, représentant des armateurs, en vertu du contrat qui le liait à ces derniers. Il avait pour mission de piloter le navire dans les eaux de l'archipel des Tuamotu, et le capitaine à travers les écueils semés sur la route du crime, par les dispositions du Code pénal.

Subrécargue! Unibaso n'a pas toujours répudié ce titre, aujourd'hui compromettant; s'il faut en croire Lee Knapp, il l'a revendiqué énergiquement lorsque le nommé Brolaski, qu'on intitule médecin du bord, je ne sais trop pourquoi, a voulu s'en affubler; il aurait même montré un papier prouvant qu'il en avait, lui seul, les attributions.

Les instructions ont été données verbalement, par l'armateur, dans le carré du navire, en présence d'Unibaso et de tous les officiers du bord. Unibaso n'ignore donc rien; il avoue lui-même, du reste, que son armateur lui a dit de venir aux Paumotu prendre huit cents immigrants qui, arrivés au Callao, seraient *placés* (retenons ce mot) par Lee Knapp. Eh bien! n'est-ce pas suffisant, et comment, après de tels aveux, peut-il encore prétendre cause d'ignorance!

Messieurs, le *Mercedes A. de Wholey* est parti du Callao, dans l'intention bien arrêtée de faire un coup de commerce inavouable, illicite. Les hommes de l'équipage le savaient-ils? Peut-être. Le capitaine, les officiers et Lee Knapp le savaient-ils? Oui, c'est évident.

Nous savions, répondront-ils, que nous devions faire un coup de commerce, mais nous ne savions pas qu'il dût être inavouable et illicite. J'affirme que vous compreniez aussi bien les moyens que le but de l'expédition. Je n'en veux pour preuve que les bois préparés pour une installation particulière, les dimensions énormes des chaudières, les amas de vivres et d'eau, les dispositions des panneaux propres à transformer la cale du bâtiment en une véritable prison. Vous saviez que c'était illicite, inavouable, puisque, partis du Callao dans des conditions ordinaires, en apparence, vous avez attendu, pour installer le navire à la manière des négriers, d'être au large, d'avoir mis entre vous et les témoins de vos préparatifs deux immensités : le ciel et la mer.

Unibaso, lui-même, n'a-t-il pas ingénument avoué, que les panneaux de l'avant et de l'arrière ont été grillés dans l'appréhension d'un *soulèvement* des indiens qu'on recruterait *volontairement*!

Voilà, certes des expressions qui hurlent de se rencontrer. Prend-on de pareilles précautions à bord des navires, contre les gens qui s'y embarquent volontairement et bénévolement?

Met-on le pavillon dans sa poche, efface-t-on le nom du navire sur le tableau de poupe, dissimule-t-on celui des lisses, grille-t-on les ouvertures des passages, met-on toujours, partout et à travers tout, quand on n'a rien à se reprocher, quand on n'a voulu, en définitive, que se livrer à l'exercice d'un droit?

Ce qu'Unibaso a fait, il l'a fait sciemment, en toute connaissance de cause, sachant que c'était mal; il savait que c'était mal, puisqu'il dissimulait ses apprêts.

Les moyens de défense employés par Unibaso pour secouer sa part de responsabilité de faits dont il ne cherche même pas à démontrer la légitimité, sont réellement singuliers; ils décèlent, de la part de cet homme, ou une complète ignorance des lois de la mer, ou la supposition d'une ignorance non moins complète dans la magistrature locale.

Unibaso, capitaine du *Mercedes*, serait parti du Callao, sans instructions, ni verbales ni écrites, de ses armateurs, ce n'est qu'à la mer qu'un individu, le premier venu, Lee Knapp par exemple, lui aurait donné des ordres; et cela sans que ledit individu appuyât l'autorité qu'il exerçait sur un acte primordial, pas même sur son inscription sur le rôle d'équipage! Et, sur les dires de cet individu, embarqué au moment du départ, il l'aurait reconnu comme subrécargue, il aurait fait installer son navire aux allures pacifiques, en navire négrier, il l'aurait conduit où il aurait voulu, passivement, sans observations, sans récriminations! Il serait allé quelque part, pour faire quelque chose, obéissant à quelqu'un, c'est tout. Et lorsque ce quelque chose se trouve être une contravention, un délit ou un crime, il pense qu'il lui suffira de dire qu'il n'a rien su, rien vu, rien entendu pour se soustraire à l'action de la justice!

Mais qui donc, aux yeux de la loi, est le maître du navire en pleine mer et en pays étranger, sinon le capitaine? Est-ce que la loi, et je dis la loi commerciale et maritime de tous les pays, est-ce que la loi ne rend pas le capitaine entièrement responsable des faits illicites commis dans la navigation, et les armateurs civilement responsables des actes du capitaine?

Est-ce que le capitaine n'a pas la direction exclusive du navire?

Est-ce qu'il n'a pas une autorité disciplinaire, tant sur les gens de l'é-

quipage que sur les passagers, est-ce qu'il n'est pas chargé de maintenir le bon ordre à bord?

Est-ce que ce pouvoir disciplinaire ne s'exerce pas aussi longtemps que dure le commandement, et non-seulement en mer, mais aussi dans les ports et rades, soit avant, soit pendant le voyage, soit après l'arrivée, tant que l'expédition n'est pas terminée?

Et la responsabilité du capitaine ne s'étend-elle pas jusqu'au cas de force majeure, c'est à dire d'évènements que la prudence humaine ne saurait prévoir ni empêcher; et est-ce un cas de force majeure que l'intrusion d'un individu sans qualité, dans l'emploi de subrécargue?

Unibaso irresponsable! mais il ne peut pas ignorer les principes que nous venons d'exposer; mais c'est lui qui a tout dirigé, tout ordonné.

N'est-ce pas à lui que Grandet s'adresse, lorsque les indigènes veulent quitter le bord?

N'est-ce pas lui qui stipule, au nom des armateurs, avec Grandet; qui stipule ensuite au même nom avec les indigènes; et, un autre que lui aurait-il eu qualité pour le faire? Je le demande, Grandet se serait-il contenté de la signature de Lee Knapp ou de celle de Brolaski, pour s'entremettre dans cette affaire?

N'est-ce pas lui qui dissimule le pavillon et le nom du navire, qui donne l'ordre aux indigènes de descendre dans le faux-pont, à l'approche du *Latouche-Tréville*?

N'est-ce pas lui qui a reçu des armateurs, l'argent, les effets, les marchandises destinés aux immigrants?

Lee Knapp vous a dit, que l'armateur avait recommandé, dans le carré du *Mercedes* et en présence de tous les officiers, de ne pas aller à Taïti, et cela par suite de conseils qui lui auraient été donnés par un M. Hun, son parent. Que voulez-vous de plus, pour établir la préméditation des faits qui se sont accomplis? Cela ne prouve-t-il pas jusqu'à l'évidence, que tous, armateur, capitaine, pilote-interprète et laissez-moi ajouter, etc., savaient que ce qu'on se proposait de faire était illégal, malhonnête, inavouable.

Eviter Taïti, où se trouvent les autorités locales, les protecteurs des populations qu'on se proposait d'enlever et d'exploiter, n'était-ce pas là la condition première d'une entreprise déloyale, honteuse, interdite par les lois.

Et, après cela, Unibaso dira qu'il ne savait rien, qu'il croyait à une opération *licite*. Allons donc! Si l'on s'était proposé une opération honnête, c'est à Taïti qu'on aurait touché d'abord, pour se mettre en règle

avec le Gouvernement : c'est Tahiti, et non pas la petite île déserte Hao qui aurait été le lieu de rendez-vous, le centre de l'opération.

L'accusation est donc rationnellement établie, quand elle présente Unibaso comme principal accusé, et Lee Knapp et Grandet comme ses complices.

Je ne m'appesantirai pas sur la légitimité des réparations que les indigènes viennent, aujourd'hui, vous réclamer; elles découlent naturellement des faits de la cause. Cent cinquante-deux habitants des îles Tuamotu, ont été trouvés à bord du *Mercedes*; plusieurs d'entre eux sont hors de leurs foyers depuis environ deux cents jours, tous ont perdu leur temps, et laissé péricliter les objets qui sont indispensables à leur existence; la somme demandée n'est donc pas exagérée; ce n'est pas arbitrairement qu'elle a été fixée. Du reste, les préjudices matériels ne sont pas les seuls qui donnent ouverture à l'action en dommages-intérêts.

Messieurs, pendant que vous examinez la conduite des deux hommes qui comparaissent à la barre de votre tribunal et qu'avec cette inquiétude d'esprit qui est l'honneur du juge consciencieux et intègre, vous recherchez le degré de culpabilité de chacun d'eux, la diplomatie, de son côté, s'occupe activement et d'une manière générale des faits qui font l'objet de la présente accusation.

La presse vous l'a appris, les représentants de la France et de Hawaï, au Pérou, ont cru devoir protester contre ces entreprises de transportation imprudemment autorisées par le gouvernement de ce dernier pays.

Ils ont protesté : présumant, avec toutes sortes de raisons, qu'elles n'étaient pas de nature à s'accomplir dans les limites du juste et de l'honnête. Les événements survenus se sont chargés de démontrer si leurs appréhensions étaient exagérées, si leurs craintes étaient chimériques.

Si leur expérience des hommes et des choses, la pratique des hautes fonctions qu'ils exercent, ne leur avaient pas fait prévoir que des moyens réprouvés par la morale, les mœurs et les lois seraient mis en œuvre, dans ce trafic insolite et suspect, le simple bon sens les aurait conduits à le supposer.

Ils avaient vu ce qui s'est passé, dans ce premier convoi de l'*Adelante*; ils devaient connaître, au moins de réputation, les agents chargés de

conduire les opérations et ils ont pu se dire : celui qui spécule sur l'homme, sur son frère en Dieu et en l'humanité, celui qui outrage l'œuvre de la création dans sa manifestation la plus pure et la plus complète, en la transformant en un objet de spéculation, celui-là ne cédera pas à de vains scrupules, à des considérations de respect humain; après avoir violé les lois de la nature, étouffé le cri de sa conscience, renié ses principes et ses sentiments religieux, il ne s'arrêtera pas devant la lettre des traités et les prescriptions des lois humaines!

Au milieu des raisons spécieuses données en réponse aux notes des honorables représentants de France et de Hawai, nous rencontrons quelques considérations qu'il est utile de ne pas perdre de vue, permettez-moi de les rappeler.

« Il me semble, y est-il dit, qu'une protestation devrait s'appuyer sur un fait consommé, sur la réalité d'une offense qui en découlerait ou d'un dommage positif à réparer, mais non sur une éventualité. Si, parmi les deux-cent cinquante colons amenés par l'*Adelante*, s'étaient trouvés quelques sujets de S. M. I. arrachés de leurs foyers *par la force ou par la fraude* et si l'honorable chargé d'affaires l'avait fait connaître au gouvernement, celui-ci aurait su réprimer les criminels ou ceux qui auraient commis le dommage. » (1)

On voulait des faits consommés, des dommages causés, on en a; on voulait que ces faits portassent sur des sujets de l'empire, on en est certain aujourd'hui. De plus, le gouvernement péruvien assure que ce que vous êtes appelés à faire ici, il l'aurait fait lui-même à Lima; les violences et les fraudes que vous devez réprimer, il les aurait réprimées le cas échéant. Ainsi les actes qui vous sont déférés, sont condamnés, reprouvés, flétris par le gouvernement dont relèvent leurs auteurs; s'ils avaient pu se dérober aux poursuites judiciaires de l'autorité française, ils auraient été l'objet de celles de l'autorité péruvienne. Aveu précieux à recueillir, arraché, peut-être, par la nécessité de satisfaire aux émotions et aux sentiments de l'opinion du monde.

Mais, dira-t-on, nous ne nous proposions nullement de vendre les hommes qui composaient notre cargaison, nous repoussons cette imputation, elle est fausse, sans fondement.

Eh! qu'importe vos dénégations, vos protestations, vos manifesta-

(1) Note de M. le ministre des relations étrangères du Pérou, en date du 5 novembre 1862, en réponse à celle de M. le chargé d'affaires de France au Pérou, en date du 15 octobre de la même année.

tions; les faits sont là, ils vous démentent, ils vous écrasent de leur muette éloquence.

Vos projets de contrats imprimés sont transmissibles par la voie de l'endossement, comme une lettre de change tirée à vue. On y lit : L'engagé s'oblige à servir *l'engagiste, ses héritiers, fondés de pouvoir,* OU CEUX QU'IL DÉSIGNERA, (*O sus designados*). N'est-ce pas là une annihilation complète de la liberté individuelle ? N'est-ce pas là l'esclavage dans toute sa hideur ? Comment, vos légataires auraient hérité d'un ou de plusieurs hommes, en même temps que d'un ou plusieurs immeubles ! Vous auriez pu écrire sur votre testament : je lègue à un tel, une paire de bottes et l'homme qui doit les entretenir. Vous auriez pu acquitter une dette, en cédant un de vos Tuamotu, l'échanger contre une montre ou un habit, l'apporter en dot à votre femme, l'écrire à l'actif de vos comptes comme valeur en caisse ! Et cela aurait pu se faire au pays qui, s'appropriant la vieille maxime française, déclare que le contact de son sol rend l'esclave libre ! Et c'est la presse de ce pays qui a pu reproduire cette clause sacrilège !

Vous ne vous proposiez pas de les vendre, dites-vous ? mais si, vous l'avez avoué ! Tenez Unibaso, vous qui prétendez ne rien savoir, vous avez dit dans l'instruction, que si vous aviez eu à bord, les huit cents indiens que vous aviez ordre de recruter, vous les auriez transportés au Callao où Lee Knapp les aurait PLACÉS. *Placés*, chez qui ? chez votre armateur ? tous, les huit cents, sans en excepter un seul ? Non, sans doute, vous les auriez *placés* un peu partout, n'est-ce pas, en vertu de la clause de transmissibilité du contrat ; au prix le plus élevé, selon le dégré de force musculaire de l'individu, que d'ignobles maquignons auraient inspecté et estimé. N'est-ce pas cela ? Et cela, n'est-ce pas le commerce des esclaves ?

Messieurs, les actes de piraterie que faisaient pressentir les premiers faits accomplis dans les archipels océaniens, par les nombreux navires qui infestent nos mers depuis plusieurs mois ont pris, vous le savez, un tel caractère de férocité, ils indiquent, de la part des capitaines et agents, un tel mépris des lois, un tel oubli des sentiments d'humanité, une résolution si déterminée de ne reculer devant aucun moyen, si coupable, si barbare qu'il soit, que le gouvernement local a cru devoir leur donner une publicité extraordinaire. Cette publicité, pilori de l'opinion publique, est le premier châtiment infligé à ces misérables, honte et opprobre du monde civilisé, qui désolent nos contrées, jettent le deuil et

de désespoir dans les familles et arrêtent le cours de cette civilisation chrétienne que la France poursuit en Océanie depuis plus de vingt années.

Les hommes du *Mercedes* sont-ils en dehors de cette catégorie d'écumeurs de mer qui fusillent, noient, torturent de malheureux océaniens sans défense; sont-ils meilleurs que ceux-là ? Non, je n'hésite pas à le dire. Il existe entre eux et ces hommes de sang un lien de solidarité trop facile à saisir; ils sont de la même famille, c'est ma conviction profonde. S'ils n'ont pas employé le fer et le feu, c'est que la fourberie et la mauvaise foi leur ont suffi, c'est que les naturels des Tuamotu sont tombés dans le piège qu'ils leur ont dressé.

Comme les autres, ils auraient employé la force, comme les autres ils auraient vendu leur cargaison, comme les autres ils auraient envoyé nos protégés sur ces îles mortifères des Chinchas, devenues l'ossuaire des asiatiques qu'on y a employés, l'effroi de toutes les populations du Sud de l'Amérique; comme les autres ils auraient fait de ces hommes libres, de malheureux esclaves !

Et c'est dans les lieux où flotte le drapeau de cette grande et magnanime nation qui, la première, a aboli la gêne, le carcan, l'exposition publique, les peines corporelles, la mort civile, la peine de mort en matière politique; c'est en face de ce glorieux drapeau qu'on vient tenter cette confiscation de la personnalité, outrager la liberté individuelle, faire litière des plus hautes considérations sociales et religieuses !

Et tout cela se serait accompli sans une immense explosion des sentiments d'indignation, sans protestation, sans répression énergique ! Et tous administrateurs et administrés, gouvernants et gouvernés, aurions tacitement adhéré à ces abominations !

Nous les aurions tolérées! mais ç'aurait été le comble de la faiblesse ou de l'aveuglement, l'aveu le plus significatif d'une impuissance radicale, l'abdication de nos droits les mieux établis et de cette dignité patriotique que tout français porte en soi et qui doit résister à l'oblitération du temps et de l'éloignement.

Une spéculation odieuse a été tentée; elle n'a manqué son effet que par des circonstances indépendantes de la volonté de ceux qui s'en étaient promis les bénéfices; cette tentative sera réprimée. C'est en vain qu'on voudrait en dissimuler la honte sous le voile d'un intérêt national, d'un but d'agrandissement, d'un avantage collectif. Tout cela ne servirait de rien, car dit Livry : « Quel que soit le but ou l'avantage

d'une chose, lorsqu'elle porte un cachet d'infâmie, on ne saurait la faire sans en recevoir l'empreinte. »

En somme, Messieurs, et en dehors de l'opinion générale qu'on peut avoir sur cette étrange affaire, opinion que, pour ma part, j'ai considéré comme un devoir de manifester publiquement, dès que j'ai été appelé à y prendre une part quelconque; vous n'avez en ce qui concerne les intérêts de mes mandants, qu'à considérer si ce que les accusés ont fait contre eux, ils l'ont fait dans la limite de leurs droits, s'ils ne l'ont pas outre-passée ; en un mot si les dommages éprouvés par les taïtiens que je représente ne prennent pas leur source dans une faute imputable aux prévenus. Si, oui, il est évident qu'il doivent la réparer.

C'est dans ces sentiments que je vous prie de vouloir bien adopter les conclusions que j'ai eu l'honneur de déposer.

MT 28.3 63:71-2

RÉPLIQUE.

Je n'abuserai pas longtemps de l'attention du tribunal, ne supposant pas que les louables efforts de la défense soient de nature à ébranler la conviction de Messieurs les juges et à modifier l'impression qu'avaient pu produire dans leur esprit, les dépositions des témoins, les paroles que j'ai eu l'honneur de prononcer hier, et, enfin, le réquisitoire si lucide du ministère public. Je ne veux que relever certaines allégations du conseil d'Unibaso, basées sur des faits entièrement erronés.

On s'est longuement étendu sur l'intervention des chefs de Faarava, ainsi que sur les circonstances qui se rapportent à l'enlèvement de Tepaiaha et de sa famille, et l'on vous a dit : Les indigènes n'ont fait qu'obéir aux ordres de leurs chefs et Tepaiaha, particulièrement, en

signant le contrat, a stipulé, non-seulement pour ses administrés, mais aussi pour lui personnellement et pour les siens.

Eh bien! Messieurs, sur les trois signataires du prétendu contrat, forgé à Faarava, le 17 novembre 1862, un seul, Pohemiti, est reconnu comme chef par l'autorité locale et reçoit d'elle, à ce titre, des émoluments annuels; les deux autres, Kaoko et Tepaiaha, n'ont aucun caractère officiel. Ces deux hommes ont une certaine influence dans leur localité, ils en profitent pour exercer une autorité que l'administration peut tolérer, par une sorte de concession faite aux usages et aux traditions du pays, en tant qu'elle concourt au maintien de l'ordre et de la paix publique, mais cette autorité ne saurait, en aucun cas, s'étendre aux actes, droits et prérogatives exclusivement attribués aux chefs commissionnés par le gouvernement local.

L'enlèvement de Tepaiaha et de sa famille, est établi de la manière la plus positive. Il a dit, lui-même, dans l'instruction, et il a répété devant le tribunal : « Moi je n'étais pas engagé, je ne devais pas partir avec les autres. » Kaoko était présent lorsqu'il a vainement demandé à Grandet de le renvoyer à terre; plusieurs témoins ont affirmé qu'ils avaient parfaitement entendu cette demande.

Quant à l'enlèvement de Rua et de Tuata, la défense n'a pas même tenté d'en contester la véracité. Ce qu'elle a contesté, c'est que d'autres indigènes aient demandé à débarquer. Or, vous vous souvenez que Tetohu, le chef de l'île Motutunga, a déclaré que les hommes de son pays, ayant manifesté le désir de quitter le bord, il transmit leur réclamation à Lee Knapp, qui répondit : c'est impossible. Vous vous souvenez aussi de la déposition de Paou; il a affirmé que plusieurs fois on avait fait une demande semblable, et que toujours elle avait été refusée. Il a ajouté qu'on n'avait jamais laissé descendre à terre que les hommes mariés, qui consentaient à laisser à bord leurs femmes, leurs enfants et leurs bagages.

On a tenté aussi de jeter une sorte de défaveur sur la déposition du témoin Reilly. Ce témoin a dit vrai, si je juge de l'ensemble de sa déposition par un détail qui m'a été, aujourd'hui même, pleinement confirmé. Reilly vous a dit que souvent on extrait le guano aux endroits où l'on a récemment déposé les cadavres des chinois qui succombent à l'influence pernicieuse d'une atmosphère empestée. Eh bien! un habitant de Taïti m'a dit avoir vu de ses yeux, dans les

chargements de guano faits aux îles Chinchas et transportés à San-Francisco, des squelettes humains.

On a prétendu que le capitaine du *Mercedes* ignorait qu'il y eût à bord des ballots de marchandises. Je néglige les nombreux témoignages qui établissent le contraire, pour ne tenir compte que de celui du maître-d'hôtel du *Mercedes*. Cet homme vous a dit : « Je délivrais moi-même les marchandises aux indiens, sur *l'ordre du capitaine.* »

Du reste, Unibaso interpellé par Monsieur le président, dans l'audience de lundi dernier, sur la possession et la distribution des effets et des marchandises, a répondu : « Elles m'avaient été confiées ainsi que l'argent, comme capitaine. »

Les grilles des panneaux, vous a-t-on dit, avaient été placées pour préserver les femmes et les enfants de se précipiter dans la cale du navire, et la barrière, dressée sur le pont, avait été mise pour un motif moral.

Or, Unibaso a déclaré dans l'enquête, je l'ai déjà dit, que les panneaux avaient été grillés dans l'appréhension d'un *soulèvement* des indiens embarqués *volontairement*.

Quant à la barrière, si elle n'a été dressée que pour prévenir la promiscuité des sexes, le résultat n'a pas été atteint, car le témoin Paoa vous a dit, hier, qu'il a demandé à débarquer, parce que sa femme avait à bord des relations adultères avec un autre indigène.

La défense rejette entièrement les dépositions des plaignants, parce qu'ils se sont constitués partie civile, et nous fait un reproche d'avoir connu ce qu'ils ont déclaré dans l'instruction. La loi nous accordant le droit de nous porter partie civile jusqu'à la fin des débats, nous avons usé de ce droit de la manière qui nous a paru le plus utile à nos intérêts. Messieurs les juges n'ont pas besoin qu'on leur rappelle qu'il y a lieu de tenir compte de la position particulière des témoins qui déposent devant eux.

Ils apprécieront si leur nouvelle position a pu altérer la sincérité de leurs déclarations, si elle a pu, surtout, exercer une influence quelconque sur celles qu'ils ont faites pendant l'instruction.

En ce qui concerne la connaissance de ces déclarations, veuillez

remarquer, Messieurs, que je ne vous ai entretenu que de celles qui ont été faites par ceux que je représente ici. Or, ceux que je représente ici, ont dû nécessairement me confier tout ce qu'ils savaient. L'observation de la défense n'est donc pas réfléchie.

Du reste, Messieurs, si on repousse les témoignages, pourquoi les discuter?

Les indigènes n'ont éprouvé aucun dommage appréciable, a-t-on ajouté; vous examinerez aussi la valeur de cet argument. Je me borne à répéter que les préjudices matériels ne sont pas les seuls qui donnent ouverture et droit à des réparations civiles.

On a cité un passage de la note de M. le ministre des affaires étrangères du Pérou, établissant que l'expédition de l'*Adelante* n'avait donné lieu à la constatation d'aucun fait répréhensible. A cette déclaration, j'oppose les procès-verbaux d'enquête qui ont été livrés à la publicité dans ces derniers temps.

En somme, Messieurs, la défense n'a pas même tenté de justifier, d'innocenter les faits relevés par l'accusation, faits qui servent de fondement à la demande de la partie civile: tous ses efforts ont tendu à déplacer l'accusation et à rejeter la responsabilité sur la tête de Lee Knapp. Il y a donc unanimité en ce qui concerne la criminalité de ces faits; vous ferez à chacun la part qui lui revient dans leur perpétration. Pour moi, quelque soit le degré de culpabilité de chacun des accusés, il me suffit d'avoir prouvé qu'un dommage a été causé, pour justifier mon intervention dans ces graves débats.

Je persiste dans mes conclusions.