

THE PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE IN POLYNESIA 37

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Introduction

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

James Cowan.

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

The repercussions, particularly on Easter Island, Niue and the coral atolls of Polynesia, were traumatic and it would not be an exaggeration to say that no other event in the history of Polynesia has had such widespread effects throughout the region nor, on several islands, more overwhelming consequences for ^{the} islanders. Communities which found their numbers reduced by two-thirds, whether by outright kidnapping as on Nukulaelae, or by disease introduced by the kidnappers as on Rapa, or which were perhaps left as on Atafu with only a few aged ^{or} and infirm men to care for

the remnant of widows and orphans, had experienced not only a demographic catastrophe, but also in all probability the destruction of their social structure and the impairment of their cultural heritage and ethos.

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

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

When, therefore, the full realization of what had happened dawned upon the Polynesian island world of the 1860s the suffering of the bereaved and the shock to the local communities became the theme of countless oral traditions which still survived intact at the turn of the century. Their conspectus, however, was necessarily limited and often factually inexact, and with the accelerated acculturation of the years since World War II they have lost

much of their former content and credibility.

In this factual narrative we are concerned with what actually took place and only incidentally with what governments may have hoped, or even believed, was happening; and in actuality, if not in theory or official int^{er}pretation, the Polynesians taken to Peru were slaves, in that they became the property of, and entirely subject to, another person or persons.

True enough, the Peruvian Government classified them as colonists who had entered the country of their own free will, and a minority were no doubt procured by deceit rather than capture, but once battened down in a ship's hold behind iron grilles they nevertheless ceased to have any say in their future destiny. The point, however, is not fully argued until later and meanwhile, where any reasonable doubt remains as to their status at any given time, the migrants are referred to as recruits and the ships which carried them as recruiting vessels, for lack of more neutral and indeterminate terms.

In order to give a readable yet comprehensive view of the Peruvian activities in Polynesia it has been necessary to draw on several hundred scattered primary sources in missionary archives; British, French, Hawaiian and Peruvian Foreign Office correspondence; British admiralty and consular papers; as well as contemporary newspapers and periodicals, each of which provided insight on some facet of the whole operation. The first of these documents was obtained during

① The span of our narrative, however, is over 18 months: from the grant of the initial ~~XXXXXX~~ recruiting licence to Byrne on 1 April 1862 to the landing of the repatriates from the Adelante on Cocos Island in about mid-October 1863.

a visit to the Hawaiian archives in 1958, and as more and more came to hand over the years it became possible to integrate what had hitherto appeared an intractable collection of discrete facts into a composite picture.

A total of 33 vessels were engaged in the trade at one time or another, of which 30 were of Peruvian register, and in the course of their 38 voyages they called at 44 islands, including every inhabited group in Polynesia with the exception of Hawaii. To do this they followed three main routes: the Northern, commencing and usually ending in the Northern Cook Islands; the Southern, via Easter Island and Rapa; or the Central, direct ~~of via~~² ~~Easter~~ to the islands of French Polynesia; while 11 ships went no farther than Easter Island itself for their recruits.

Apart from one prospecting venture, the first ship sailed for the islands on ~~the~~ 22 September 1862 and none is recorded as leaving after 3 April 1863, the month in which all licences were suspended and arrivals placed incommunicado pending proof that the recruits on board were engaged voluntarily. The period during which the trade was actively carried on was therefore approximately seven months. ①

Owing to the unusually extensive geographical coverage, ~~however~~ in which events might be occurring simultaneously in South America and one or more Polynesian islands, the story has been divided into two parts: Peruvians in Polynesia; and Polynesians in Peru. The first

part, after sketching why and how the trade began, is concerned with a detailed enquiry into the numbers actually taken from each island, the ships involved and the recruiting methods employed by their captains and supercargoes; ~~ending with a synopsis of the conclusions reached as to the numbers of islanders taken to Peru, the ships employed, their routes and recruiting techniques.~~

^{in 1800}
The second part covers the voyage to Peru and the nature and conditions of employment there, and is followed by a consideration of the attitude of the major powers towards the trade, its eventual abolition, and the attempts made to repatriate the survivors.

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

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Chapter 2 ⁹

Tongareva Try-out ¹⁷

The first ship to be fitted out for the Peruvian labour trade was the 151-ton barque Adelante (Captain August Grassman), chartered by the Lima company formed by J.C. Byrne from the firm of Ugarte and Santiago.¹ As we have seen, Byrne's Recruiting Permit stated that he was to procure 'colonists from the South-West Pacific Islands'; enquirers were told that he had already recruited 3,000 colonists in the New Hebrides for French interests in New Caledonia and that he was now engaged on a voyage to the same group of islands to obtain a trial shipment for Peru. *This was to consist of* ~~These were to comprise~~ 'about 170 colonists of both sexes, who are to engage to serve in Peru for the term of five years, at four dollars per month wages, at the end of which term they are to be sent back to their own country if they wish it, at the expense of the purchaser of the contract', which was printed in Spanish and English (but not in 'the Polynesian languages', as reported) and was transferable. If the initial project proved to be a success he proposed to follow it up with a series of further recruiting voyages.²

Byrne had never, in fact, shipped a single recruit from any Pacific Island, but he had learnt enough about the reputation of Melanesians to equip the Adelante 'more like a Man-of-war than a merchantman', with iron

grilles over the hatches and dividing the hold into compartments, swivel guns mounted to sweep the deck and a plentiful supply of miscellaneous firearms and other weapons for the crew and the four extra guards carried.³

With the ailing Byrne himself on board to superintend operations; a Peruvian Government Agent, paid for by the company, to certify that the Congress Law on Asiatic immigration of 14 March 1861 was complied with; a surgeon, and an American master and chief officer; the Adelante left Callao on 15 June 1862, her first port of call being Hatiheu Bay, on Nukuhiva Island in the Marquesas. She arrived there on 16 July and remained for three days taking on water and embarking a Chilean, Jose Villegas, as interpreter, together with five Marquesans as a boat's crew, who were to be repatriated at the conclusion of the voyage.⁴

Still sailing west it was decided to stop-over at the atoll of Tongareva (or Penrhyn) in the Northern Cook Group, which lay on their route, in order to investigate the commercial possibilities of its lagoon, known to contain bêche-de-mer and pearl-shell.⁵ Here Byrne met a beachcomber known as Beni,⁶ who told him that a ship seen by them the previous day was the French Naval Schooner Latouche-Tréville, and that she had just recruited 130 Tongarevans to plant sugarcane, coffee and taro in Tahiti on two year contracts at \$4 a month; the first of the French recruiting voyages designed to lower local labour costs.⁷

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

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

There was no longer any need to engage in a long and expensive voyage to Melanesia to procure a cargo of truculent savages when gentler Christianized Polynesians were available for the asking. Plans were accordingly

changed and with the help of Beni they had more than a full ship within nine days, returning to Callao on 13 September with 253 recruits (83 men, 83 women, 30 boys, 19 girls, 19 male and 19 female infants).¹⁰ The main events of the voyage were the death of Byrne himself and one Tongarevan woman, and the birth of three children. Food ran short, which was to be a common feature of these voyages, and additional supplies had to be obtained from two ships met en route and at the port of Huacho.¹¹ On arrival the recruits were sold at \$200 for men, \$150 for women and \$100 for boys, care being taken to avoid splitting up families; the payments were stated to be in refund of passage money, thus avoiding undesirable comparisons with the slave trade. 206 of the new arrivals were consigned to J.^{M.}^{m. de} Ugarte, by a ^①prior contract, the rest being disposed of to a number of other buyers.¹²

William Thompson, British Charge d'Affaires at Santiago, was told that the Tongarevans fetched \$50,000, while Captain Richards, of H.M.S. Surveying Ship Hecate, mentions \$300 a head, but these figures were based on hearsay and can be discounted.¹³ Without question, however, the voyage was an extremely profitable one, resulting in sales totalling some \$32,000 (or £6,550 at the then current rate of exchange), almost all being profit, since the outlay on the unexpectedly short voyage was inconsiderable.

① acting on behalf of the investors in Byrne's company,

News of the lucrative human cargoes awaiting the enterprising entrepreneur on islands so near at hand resulted in a rush to form small companies to buy or charter anything that would float, fit them out for the new trade and set sail for the islands while the pickings were good; and within three weeks of the Adelante's arrival no less than five Peruvian and two Chilean ships had left Callao.¹⁴ While the subject will be discussed in detail later it should be emphasized here that these 'speculators', as they were called, were for the most part interested solely in maximizing profits; and as a consequence few of the captains whom they employed allowed humanitarian considerations to interfere with the work in hand, which was essentially to entice or force as many Polynesians on board their ships as possible and to land them alive in Peru.

The first of them to arrive at Tongareva was the brig Trujillo which, however, had no intention of poaching the remaining islanders, whom the Adelante had promised to return for, but merely stopped to kidnap a local chief as interpreter, with his family, before joining her consorts the Apurímac and Manuelita Costas off Rakahanga, where the three hoped to be first in a virgin field.¹⁵

The next visitor seems to have been a little 98-ton schooner called the Genara, which embarked 43 voluntary recruits (19 males and 24 females), together

with a second teacher, ostensibly to collect beche-de-mer at Titimatarangi, the local name for Christmas Island. It was a good ruse to obtain willing workers and no doubt suggested by the beachcomber Beni, for the neighbouring Fanning Island had been deservedly popular with the people of the Northern Cooks since 1852, when Henry English commenced recruiting on Manihiki and Rakahanga for work on his coconut plantations there on one or two year contracts.¹⁶

The Genara is not a positive identification for she was somewhat of a mystery ship, having left Peru possibly from some minor port since there is no record of her departure from Callao. Nevertheless she is the only one which fits the islanders' description of 'a small two-masted vessel', evidently of limited passenger-carrying capacity, and she is known to have landed her complement of 43 at Callao on 8 March 1863, their island of origin not being stated. Although Wyatt Gill was told that she had embarked 35, this figure did not include the teacher and his family; the total of 43 is therefore considered more likely to be correct.¹⁷

Having discharged her passengers and refitted, the Adelante left again for Tongareva on 10 October 1862, to pick up the remaining able-bodied islanders and their families. There she was met by the ^{brig} Jorge Zahara, also owned by Ugarte and Santiago and having as passenger the other member of the original firm of

licensees, B.D. Clark, the insolvent debtor from Melbourne. The Jorge Zahara had actually left Callao over a fortnight earlier but stopped at Nukuhiva to repatriate the boat's crew from the Adelante and pick up another.¹⁸

When Wyatt Gill called at the atoll on 11 March 1863 in the mission ship John Williams he was unable to find out how many had been recruited by these two vessels from the few aged people and children whom he found left with a single teacher, and the estimates given to him of '50-80' and 'over 50' are, as he suspected, too low.¹⁹

It is fortunately now possible to be more exact, since we know that the Adelante went on to Rakahanga, where she recruited 30, and returned from there to Callao with 203 (77 men, 78 women, 15 boys and 33 infants):/it can be assumed, therefore, that 173 of these were from Tongareva. The Jorge Zahara, on the other hand, obtained all her recruits on Pukapuka with the exception of the Rarotongan teacher Josia who, with his wife, had been taken from Tongareva as an interpreter.²⁰

There were only two more visits by recruiting ships. The brig Ellen Elizabeth called on 25 January and stayed for 10 days before leaving for the Gilbert Islands, followed later by a barque, probably the Dolores Caroline: but there was no one left to take, infants and the aged being unsaleable. The total number of islanders transported from Tongareva to Peru therefore totalled approximately 471, a figure which agrees well with the estimate of 700 living on the island

before recruiting began, less the 130 taken to Tahiti and 88 found by Gill in March. The discrepancy of only 11 may be accounted for, in all probability, by the inexactitude of the original population estimate.²¹

Friend /

- 1 The Friend, 2.11.63.
- 2 Barton to F.O., 29.5.62, 11.6.62, F.O.61/203.
- 3 Richardson III 1977: (?).
- 4 El Peruano, 30.3.63; M.T., 21.3.63:56. The interpreter proved to be useless.
- 5 M.T., 27.6.63:126. The island and its resources was known on the South American coast from a Chilean vessel having been chartered to rescue the crew of the Chatham, which had been wrecked there in 1853 - Daily Herald (San Francisco), 7.12.53.
- 6 Ben Hughes, who left Tongareva to live on Fakaofu about 1863 'with a wife and child and three natives of Øenrhyn' P / - Hooper and Huntsman 1973:378.
- 7 Newbury 1956:161. The Latouche-Tréville was actually on her way to Samoa to seek recruits but had no need to go farther; for her Tongareva labour the cost was only 20 francs (or less than £1) a head - M.T., 21.12.62:211; S.M.H., 12.3.63.
- 8 M.T., 27.6.63:126; Buzacott n.d.; Gill 1885:31.
- 9 Buck 1932:8. Add 244 on M 30
- 10 Reid to Maitland, 28.11.62, T.B.C.P., v.5; M.T., 20.6.63:122. For some reason the official Peruvian Government return of colonists landed only records the 206 consigned in advance.
- 11 An account of the voyage by Pablo Gamero, the provision master on the Adelante, will be found in Barton to F.O., 23.12.62, F.O.61/204.

El Comercio, 18.9.62, 26.9.62;

- 12/ Barton to F.O., 11.10.62, F.O.61/204; Reid to Maitland, 28.11.62, T.B.C.P., v.5; M.T., 20.6.63:122, quoting the Polynesian (Honolulu), 14.3.63.
- 13 Thompson to S.N.O., Callao, 17.10.62, T.B.C.P., v.5; Richards to Kingcome, 8.5.63, Adm.1/5826; but see also Miller to Wodehouse, 25.11.62, T.B.C.P., v.10.
- 14 Miller to F.O., 29.11.62, T.B.C.P., v.10; Barton to F.O., 11.10.62, F.O.61/204.
- 15 Jerningham to F.O., 9.2.63, F.O.61/210; M.T., 27.6.63:126.
- 16 Richards to Kingcome, 8.5.63, Adm.1/5826; Sterndale 1874:15; Crocombe, Marjorie, 1974:210.
- 17 Gill to L.M.S., 18.3.63, S.S.L.; Mangaia Journal, 1863, S.S.J.
- 18 M.T., 20.6.63. Unlike those taken by the Adelante on her first voyage, the five Marquesans, though signed on for a single voyage only, had eventually to be repatriated by the French Consul at Callao, who also obtained a payment in compensation for failure to return them as contracted - M.T., 27.6.63:127.
Ribeyro to Prefect of Callao, 5.5.63, and related correspondence, M.F.A.;
- 19 Gill to L.M.S., 18.3.63, S.S.L.; Mangaia Journal, 1863, S.S.J.
- 20 S.M.H., 25.8.63:5, quoting El Comercio; Jerningham to F.O., 28.1.63, F.O.61/210.
- 21 M.T., 27.6.63:126; Gill, Mangaia Journal, 1863, S.S.J.; Royle to L.M.S., 17.5.65, S.S.L.

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Chapter 3 9

The Easter Island Trinket Trade 31

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

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

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

There are several reasons why one would expect Easter to assume a pre-eminent position as a recruiting venue: it was the most isolated island in the South Seas; none of the great powers owned or claimed it as being within their sphere of influence; it contained a population of over 3,⁵000, all of whom were unevangelized and illiterate; and it was by far the nearest inhabited Pacific Island to Callao. In brief nobody was likely to know or care much about what happened to the community and the cost of removing them would be small.

Yet some of its advantages to the recruiter pose difficulties to the historian, since there was no one ashore to keep a tally of ships visiting and people leaving, while to add to our difficulties several captains went on ^{from} ~~to~~ Easter to other islands, transferring all, or nearly all, of their recruits to Peru bound ships before doing so, and even when they came straight back they might call the island by a variety of names. ^{N.P.} Thus one finds that Easter (the Rapa Nui or Te Pito o ~~the~~ Henua of the Polynesian inhabitants) is none other than the Estea or Paypay of the Eliza Mason, Independencia of the Teresa, Hayram or Hayrain of the Rosalia, Oroa or Baijee of the Caroline, and Necua of the Urmaneta y Ramos. The most probable reason for such a variety of fictitious names would seem to be the natural reluctance of captains to disclose their source of supply, whether of bêche-de-mer, sandalwood or immigrants, and the fact that the recruiting

methods adopted, which amounted in ^{many} ~~most~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~cases~~, cases to straight-out kidnapping, soon gave Easter Island a bad name ^{on the mainland.} ~~with the Peruvians ashore.~~

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

Perhaps the most important clue of all in solving what at first appeared to be an insoluble puzzle was the length of a given ship's round voyage. From working out the times taken for the direct return trip from Callao to Easter by the nine ships for which we have exact dates, one found a range of from 41-69 days (with only one ship over 54 days) and a median time of 52 days.

A reasonable voyage from Callao to Easter seems to have been about 15 days and for the journey back 28-30 days, exact times being largely dependent on the strength and precise direction of the dominant south-east trade winds. The nearest other recruiting centre in Polynesia was Tongareva, and the Adelante in her two journeys there and back took 90 and 96 days respectively; ^{while} the times taken by other vessels to more distant locations ~~are~~ ^{were} well over 100 days.

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

To provide a clear picture of the Peruvian recruiting operations at that island it seems best to divide them into three periods: those which took place before, during and after the climactic raids of December 1862. This is the more necessary since ~~some of the events have long been a favourite subject with writers on the South Seas, resulting in the accumulation and repetition of much misleading information.~~ ^{Several misconceptions concerning the nature and extent of the Easter Island labour trade are to be found in the sporadic references to it by writers on island history.}

The First Phase

another space ^{labour} The first ship to call at Easter Island was ^{actually} the barque Serpiente Marina, en route to Mangareva, but as she was not recruiting ^{there} ~~at Easter~~ all that need be recorded about her here is that she took on board two islanders, who presumably came out to barter or merely from curiosity; they were later freed at Papeete by the French authorities and repatriated.³

Early in October, however, the ~~EXTRA~~ Bella Margarita and Eliza Mason sailed from Callao to try out the island's potential as a source of labour. That the two pioneers were Chilean is probably no accident, for ships engaged in the Tuamotu pearl-shell industry and the Tahiti or trans-Pacific cargo trades not infrequently touched at Easter on their way to or from Valapraiso.⁴

The brig Bella Margarita returned to Callao on 24 November, after what must have been a remarkably short stay off the island, with 154 immigrants (142 men and 12 women), who were sold at an average price of about \$300 as labourers or servants. The shipment thus grossed a sum in the region of \$46,000, a lucrative speculation indeed when one considers that it was almost all profit and that the venture took less than two months to complete.⁵

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

Even these were beaten in the race to the island by a Ugarte and Santiago barque called the General Prim, which slipped out of port only two days after the Bella Margarita arrived. Making a record round trip of 41 days she was back on 6 January with 115 islanders (106 men, 7 women and 2 boys). The British Consul at Callao, who went on board, remarked that

they seemed in good health and had apparently come of their own free will, while the owners were adamant that no violence had been employed in recruiting by any of their vessels, a statement which we know to be true in the case of the Adelante and the Jorge Zahara.⁶

Meanwhile Captain Sasuategui of the barque Eliza Mason, *on charter to* ~~which had been chartered by~~ a Callao association known as the Six Friends (Seis Amigos), had wasted several weeks in an unsuccessful attempt to recruit Marquesans at Hivaoa, ^{so} ~~and~~ by the time he reached Easter the Bella Margarita, and probably the General Prim, had gone. After a fortnight of daily recruiting activities he was compelled to leave himself, a week before he intended, by the arrival of the first four of the fleet, whose captains, not desiring competition or even observers, warned him off 'at gun point'.⁷

Still the Eliza Mason had done well enough, despite her protracted voyage and the captain's protests that he had been forcibly prevented from ^{recruiting} ~~completing~~ his ^{full} complement, for on 26 January she landed 238 islanders (140 men, 86 women and 12 children) all of whom, ~~as~~ he stressed, had embarked after being presented with gifts by him and then engaged as voluntary passengers, 'with contracts signed by every one of them and the interpreter who accompanies them'.⁸

Evidence recently adduced by the anthropologist Grant McCall suggests that some Easter Islanders were not unwilling to leave their homes during the early period of European contact; the fact that nothing has been found to indicate that any of the 507 recruits and their families brought to Peru by the Bella Margarita, ^{General Prim and} Eliza Mason and ~~General Prim~~ came other than ^{voluntarily} ~~of their own free will~~ tends to support this thesis.⁹

The December Raiders

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

Leaving Callao together on 5-7 December, with the small and slow ^{88-ton} ~~schooner~~ Cora sailing a few days earlier and the Micaela Miranda two days late, they had with one exception assembled off Easter Island by the 22nd. Early arrivals had, ~~it is true,~~ ^{attempting to} made some desultory efforts to recruit, both ashore and by ~~attracting~~ ^{attracting} islanders ~~islanders~~ to come aboard, but without much success.¹⁰

On the night of the 22nd, therefore, a meeting of captains was held at which it was decided to initiate a combined expedition comprising armed crews from each of

the ships, under the command of the Spanish Captain Marutani of the three-masted, 400-ton, clipper-built barque Rosa y Carmen, which was recognized as the flagship ~~of the fleet~~. The scheme agreed upon was to round-up as many of the islanders as possible and take them to the Rosa y Carmen, where they would be divided between the participants in proportion to the number from each vessel taking part in the exercise.

The expeditionary force of about 80 ~~men~~ assembled on the beach at 7.30 the following morning, where the men were addressed by the Rosa's captain, who explained the plan of campaign.¹¹ Most of the troop were then dispersed to wander about as inconspicuously as possible in the neighbourhood of the beach area, where Marutani and the other captains were helping ^{others} ~~the men~~ detailed to spread out a selection of trinkets, such as necklaces, mirrors and other knick-knacks. Incited by curiosity and desire, about 500 islanders began to gather around this display: 'mostly on their knees examining the trade goods'.¹²

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

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

Approximately 200 'Indians' had been netted by the posse from the eight ships and these were taken, bound hand and foot, to the Rosa y Carmen: 'the air resounding with their cries and lamentations'. The following day they were divided up among the ships as already agreed upon, the share of the Guillermo being 13 and the Cora nine.

It had been decided that the captives, together with others who had come aboard some of the ships to trade, should be transferred to the barque Carolina and the schooner Hermosa Dolores for conveyance to Callao, as the rest of the fleet proposed to sail to Rapa for water and thence to the western Polynesian groups for further recruits. Before they were rowed over in the

ships' boats, however, they were labelled or stamped with their owner's mark. In the case of the Guillermo this identification was a large cloth collar on which was written the name of the ship, the name of the person and his or her number; while the other vessels apparently preferred a distinctive marking tattooed on the forehead.¹³

As the six ships expected to be away for some time it was obviously unprofitable to keep ^many of the prisoners on board except for some good reason: perhaps a promising youth to help with the less skilled shipboard chores, or a girl or two for the officers and crew. The Cora, for example, sent 22 ✓ but kept a boy Manuragui to help in the galley; the Guillermo sent 25 ✓ but kept a child aged six and an old woman, who was later thrown overboard by the super-cargo as too aged to sell; the Jose Castro, which turned back at Rapa, had 21 Easter Islanders on board when she returned to Callao, via Easter, but these were probably all procured on her second visit; the Rosa y Carmen sent 65 ^{and} ~~but~~ for some reason seems to have kept no less than 63; the Micaela Miranda sent 28 ✓ and apparently kept one; while the Rosa Patricia sent 45 ✓ and kept none.¹⁴

The Carolina and the Hermosa Dolores arrived together at Callao on 25 January 1863, the former with 122 recruits (104 men, 12 women and 6 children), all reported as being from the island of Oroa, and the schooner with 160 (137 men, 22 women and a child).¹⁵

the day following the main raid

The following day ~~the~~ second landing was made by a combined party from the fleet but the threatening attitude and defensive measures of the islanders forced a retreat to the ships. Three of the vessels now left but the others remained to try their hand once again on the 25th. The islanders, however, were on guard and the third attempt proved as unsuccessful as the second. ~~As~~ The Cronica de Callao reported: 'such was their terror that not only did they abstain from visiting the ships but retired to the interior setting on fire the bushes near the coast. For this reason the vessels were obliged to abandon operations there - and continue their voyage.' By the night of the 26th all the ships had gone, the Jose Castro and Guillermo being the last to leave. ¹⁶

~~As a result of the raids, the people now began to hide themselves in the numerous deep caves which honeycombed their island; to such effect that a year later Eyroud, the first missionary, wrote that: 'the entire population of the island could, at a moment's notice, disappear by hiding in these subterranean places'.~~

Adding up the figures for the Carolina and Hermosa Dolores, together with those on the ^{three} ~~four~~ ships which retained a few Easter Islanders each, we reach a total net recruitment of ⁷34~~8~~ as a result of the December raids: not a very impressive result when compared with the totals shipped by the three earlier vessels who operated on their own. ¹⁷

Mopping Up

The first ship to reach Callao from Easter Island after the December raids was the Rosalia, which arrived ostensibly from Hayram (or Hayrain) on 3 February with a load of 196 islanders (149 men, 37 women and 10 children).¹⁹⁻¹⁸

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

Robertson, the British Consul at Callao, boarded her, inspected the men clad in shirts and trousers and the women in dresses, and was assured by the supercargo that 'they were brought of their own free will'. A few days later, however, Edouard de Lesseps, the French Chargé d'Affaires, asked his British colleague at Lima to see a Dutchman, Harry Mass, who had been the Teresa's carpenter and who told him that: 'some natives swam off to the vessel and others were brought off to barter fish-hooks and clothing. When about 200 men, women and children were aboard, sail was suddenly made and the natives were then brought to Callao.' Although Captain Muñoz said that his recruits were from the island of Independencia Mass makes it clear that they were in fact from Easter, as is also evident from the method of recruiting.²⁰⁻¹⁹

By this time over 1,000 recruits had been taken from Easter, or nearly a third of its estimated population only four months before, and not surprisingly those who were left were getting more wary and defensive. They began to ^{conceal} hide themselves in the numerous deep caves which honeycombed their island; to such effect that a year later Eyroud, the first missionary, wrote that: 'the entire population of the island could, at a moment's notice, disappear by hiding in these subterranean places'.²⁰ Only one vessel arrived at Callao in March, the Peruvian schooner Jeoncora on the 9th, but she brought only 43 (19 men and 24 women).²¹

An attempt to repeat the December raids was made about 14 March by the Jose Castro, assisted it seems probable by the Carolina. Both had taken part in the first expedition and the Jose Castro had returned from ~~or soon after leaving~~, Rapa; ^{while} the Carolina had made a quick refit after dropping her consignment of recruits at Callao and left again for the island on 6 February. It is a possibility that the rendezvous was prearranged at their December meeting.

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

special permission before any crew or passengers on labour ships would be allowed to disembark, which would only be granted on the production of satisfactory proof that the latter had been voluntarily contracted and that no crimes had been committed during the voyage.²⁵

On 11 June the Barbara Gomez, which had left before the decree, returned with 23 recruits (9 men and 14 women) from Easter and was placed 'incommunicado' by the Peruvian Government.²⁶ The last shipment, by the barque Urmeneta y Ramos, arrived on 17 July (there being no record of which mainland port she left from ~~and~~^{or} when), bringing 31 passengers, allegedly from Necua Island.²⁷

Recruits landing from Easter Island in the final phase therefore totalled ~~488~~⁵⁹⁰, and the grand total of all islanders taken to Peru amounts to ~~1,435~~^{1,417}, or ~~approximately~~^{40%} ~~half~~^{of} the estimated population of the island.

At first sight it may appear that this total is in substantial agreement with the larger of the two ~~XXXXX~~ figures arrived at by Grant McCall in his recent enumeration of Easter Island shipments, since it is only 82 more than his estimate of 1,353. The resemblance, however, is ~~only~~ coincidental as ~~there is~~^{it conceals} a difference of ~~642~~⁶³⁸ between the two sets of figures, including a suggested shortfall of ~~349~~³⁵¹ recruits in McCall's totals of arrivals, i.e. by the Bella Margarita and the two trips of the Carolina, and on the other hand an excess of ~~250~~²⁸⁷ in the tally of arrivals by the Rosa y Carmen and two trips of the General Prim.²⁸

For those interested a detailed comparison of the two estimates is contained in ^{Table} ~~Appendix~~ ..., but the reasons for the differences may not in every case be apparent until later in the narrative, for as already stated it proved impossible to isolate the ~~Easter Island~~ figures until the

① Before leaving Easter Island to the ~~east~~ dealt with. demoralized remnant who had escaped the ~~east~~ collected hazards of migration ~~east~~ ster must ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

... since it is still being repeated by authorities on the island's history: ²⁹ the fable that the island was used as a human corral where other Pacific Islanders were taken and kept for eventual trans-shipment by another vessel. ^{N.P.} This statement was first publicized by the Rev. J.W. Murray in his address on 'Slavery in the Pacific' given at the ^{Masonic} ~~Mission~~ Hall, Sydney, on 18 June 1863, in which he said:

They have a depot at an island called Easter Island. ... To this island the slavers convey the wretched beings whom they manage to seize, and a schooner plies between the island and the coast, carrying cargo after cargo to slavery and death. ³⁰

As no evidence could be found to substantiate any such practice a search was made for its origin, and this was eventually located in a remark made by Pitman, the supercargo of the Rosa Patricia, when at Apia, to the effect that he had already shipped 45 islanders by schooner to Callao. This we know he did in December 1862, when he sent 45 Easter Islanders by the schooner Hermosa Dolores. ³¹ But by the time Pitman's story had reached

the British Consul in Samoa it had become misinterpreted into:

The supercargo states that Easter Island was their rendezvous and that he had already shipped Forty-five islanders whom he had collected from different islands and carried to Easter Island to await their Schooner.³²

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

- Single sheet with footnotes*
- 1 This estimate is for the population on 1 October 1862, just before recruiting commenced, and represents an upward revision of McCall's figures, which are based on the missionary Roussel's estimate of 1,200 islanders in March 1866 with the average mortality found during his stay of 22.5 per month. I.e. to the 1,200 has been added 945, being the presumed mortality over 42 months from 1.10.62-31.3.66, and a further 1,450 representing the estimated numbers taken off the island, thus giving an approximate population before recruiting started of 3,595. The final figure is almost certainly underestimated as it does not take into account the high death rate from smallpox at the end of 1863, *for which* - McCall 1976b:307-9; Thomson 1891:461; Powell 1899: 140-2. *there are no reliable figures -*

- 2 Jerningham to Ribeyro, 30.4.63, F.O.61/211; Ribeyro to Jerningham^m, 1.5.63, F.O.61/211.
- 3 Miller to F.O., 29.11.62, T.B.C.P., v.10; Laval 1968:384.
- 4 Moerenhout 1837:passim; Davidson 1942; Maude 1968:113-16, 305-6.
- 5 M.T., 20.6.63:122; Reid to C. in C., Pacific Station, 28.11.62, T.B.C.P., v.5; Barton to F.O., 23.12.62, F.O.61/204.

- 78 Véliz 1961:150.
- 87 Kingcome to Jerningham, 31.3.63, F.O.61/211; Véliz 1961:150.
- 68 Jerningham to F.O., 28.1.63, F.O.61/210; The Friend, 2.11.63.
- 9 McCall 1976a:96.
- 10 Reid to C. in C., Pacific Station, 3.1.63, T.B.C.P., v.5; M.T., 28.2.63:39.
- 11 The strengths of the individual contingents are not known, except that the Guillermo sent 11 and the Cora six or seven.
- 12 Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Jr. (eds) 1961:67.
- 13 There are several accounts of the December raid, but the most detailed and reliable is considered to be that of a participant, George S. Nichols, the Massachusetts-born carpenter of the Guillermo, made before the official enquiry concerning the capture of the schooner Cora, held at Papeete on 19 February 1863; Nichols deserted with Robert Fletcher, the ship's cook, not wishing to be associated with kidnappers - M.T., 28.2.63:38-9. An epitome will be found in Miller to H.B.M.'s Chargé d'Affaires, Lima, 3.3.63, T.B.C.P., v.10, and a translation of portions of the Cora enquiry in the S.M.H., 14.4.63:5. See also the summary in the M.T., 28.2.63:36, reproduced with other relevant data in Caillot 1910:465-8.
- 14 Jerningham to F.O., 28.1.63, F.O.61/210; M.T., 21.2.63:30; 28.2.63:37, 39; S.M.H., 25.8.63:5.
- 15 Official figures, the totals being reproduced in Jerningham to F.O., 28.1.63, F.O.61/210 and the S.M.H., 25.8.63:5.
- 16 Jerningham to F.O., 28.1.63, F.O.61/210; M.T., 28.2.63:39.

- ²⁰17 Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Jr. (eds) 1961:68-9, quoting Eyroud 1866:133; *Metraux* 1940:42-3.
- ¹⁷18 The boy on the Cora has not been counted, as he was freed at Tahiti and later repatriated.
- ¹⁸19 Jerningham to F.O., 9.2.63, F.O.61/210; Kingcome to Jerningham, 31.3.63, F.O.61/211.
- ¹⁹20 Jerningham to F.O., 26.2.63, F.O.61/210; Barton to Jerningham, 6.3.63, F.O.61/210; Jerningham to Miller, 13.3.63, T.B.C.P., v.5; Kingcome to Jerningham, 31.3.63, F.O.61/211; Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, v.69-A (1862-1863); Reid to Maitland, 28.11.62, T.B.C.P., v.5; M.I., 20.6.63:122.
- 21 Kingcome to Jerningham, 31.3.63, F.O.61/211.
- 22 M.I., 27.6.63:125-6.
- 23 The best account of the Misti's stay off Easter Island is in the M.I., 27.6.63:125-6. For her voyage from Valparaiso to Tahiti, via Easter and Rapa, see p.
- 24 Robertson to Jerningham, 3.4.63, F.O.61/211; Jerningham to F.O., 28.4.63, F.O.61/211.
- 25 ~~XXXX~~ See p.
- 26 Jerningham to F.O., 12.6.63, F.O.61/211.
- 27 Jerningham to F.O., 28.7.63, F.O.61/212.
- 28 McCall 1976a:97-101; 1976b:61-6.
- 29 See, for example, Heyerdahl and Ferdon, Jr. (eds) 1961: ; McCall 1976a:96.
- 30 The Empire, 19.6.63; S.M.H., 20.6.63:5.

31 Jerningham to F.O., 28.1.63, F.O.61/120, quoting ^{the} Cronica de Callao.

32 J.C. Williams to S.N.O., Australian Station, 10.2.63, Adm.1/5817.

.....

Repatriation: the final tragedy 32

To most of the 15 members of the diplomatic and consular corps at Lima who had met on 15 May to convey to the Minister of Foreign Affairs their 'satisfaction at the suitable measures taken by the Government of Peru' to prohibit the Polynesian labour trade, the whole distasteful incident was now over. Peru was considered to have done the handsome thing when Ribiero received the collective procès-verbal politely and replied with evident satisfaction that 'Peru and its present administration have deeply deplored these abuses committed on the introduction of the Polynesians' which had been sanctioned not merely so that ^{they} should work on the haciendas but 'to improve the condition of these unhappy beings by the blessings of civilization'. While fulfilling its duties by ordering judicial ^{enquiries} into offences committed by the speculators and their agents the Government 'would not cease to take measures which, respecting at the same time all rights legally acquired, shall satisfy the laws of humanity, the prescriptions of social morality, and the respectability of the Peruvian nation'.

The French Chargé d'Affaires, Edmund de Lesseps, however, was fully aware that, while these protestations were a step forward, his battle to achieve the liberation and repatriation of the Polynesians in Peru had scarcely as yet begun. It was, as he had come to realize, very

much a personal battle of wits between himself and Ribeyro, for while he could rely on the general support of his opposite numbers in the British and Hawaiian Legations neither country had any nationals directly concerned as immigrants and as a consequence both Jerningham and Thomas Eldridge had been confined, after making protests ^{based} mainly on humanitarian grounds, to observing and reporting to their respective ministers in London and Honolulu.²

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

To Ribeyro's surprise and frustration these complaints failed to impress the French Government, especially as public opinion in France was decidedly antagonistic to what was believed to be Peruvian condonation of a slave trade. Galvez, the Peruvian Ambassador, was at pains to point out that the French Minister appeared less concerned ~~with~~ at de Lessep's behaviour than with the protection of French Polynesians ~~by~~

threatened by the activities of Peruvian vessels; Peru had granted the licences to recruit and therefore Peru was held responsible rather than the actual recruiters, who were no doubt the real culprits but had ^{nevertheless} not been subjected to any severe punishment; and in a final passage the Ambassador hinted at the possibility of demands being made for humiliating reparations and large indemnities.⁴

Mutual understanding between de Lesseps and Ribeyro was made even more difficult by the fact that they were poles apart in the way in which they felt about, and responded to, the whole problem of Polynesian immigration. To the warm-hearted and sympathetic Frenchman the Polynesians were essentially individual human beings who had been entrapped and enslaved by pirates and were now helplessly lost in an alien and pitiless world far from their homes and friends. In his compassion for them he made no distinction in practice between French subjects, of which there were in truth only 26 among the kidnapped workers, and any other islanders needing help.

Ribeyro also professed, and from his correspondence one feels that he genuinely possessed, humanitarian sentiments of a high order. But to him the Polynesians were abstract units of labour and the problems their introduction posed were primarily legal ones. The regulations governing recruitment were, he was convinced, equitable; if they proved to be inadequate as safeguards they must be amended until they were; and, above all, they must be rigidly enforced. Hence the attempts to reform the law and the injunctions to tighten up its enforcement which have been chronicled in

previous chapters.

When Rebeiro was convinced that despite legislative tinkering the whole Polynesian immigration scheme was an economic failure, in that the islanders would not or could not work as wage labour in the haciendas, and that its continuation was increasingly damaging the cred^eibility and international standing of the Peruvian Government, he had the courage and good sense to persuade the Council, of which he was President, to rescind the whole licencing system overnight and to arrange for the repatriation of the shiploads of recruits still arriving. On 27 April he wrote to the Secretary of the Home Department:-

All, or at least a great part, of these unhappy people, without knowledge of our civilized customs, with the vices of a roving, idle life, without wants that might stimulate them to the exercise of their physical strength, and unconscious of their moral being, came to give up their lives in a foreign clime, victims of a fatal nostalgia or of diseases caused by a too sudden change of climate and mode of living Nothing could save them; neither the kind treatment they received nor any of the other means employed to cheer them up or to moderate their vicious habits, were of any avail. Nothing proved of useful effect and the mortality of these unhappy natives has risen to a degree which excites compassion as well as surprise.

The government, he added, had done nothing discreditable in licencing the traffic, for the encouragement of immigration was a legitimate activity; 'but the Government of Peru, trying always to fulfil its high mission for the honour of the country and with the approbation of civilized nations must prohibit the introduction of Polynesian labourers'.⁵

Under the new regulations no labour ship could disembark crew or passengers without a special licence, 'which would only be granted after it had been made evident that the labourer

had been freely contracted and that no crimes had been committed during the voyage'.⁶

The legal position of any Polynesians who might arrive on ships still engaged in recruiting operations was thus as satisfactory as could be expected under the circumstances, provided the new regulations were rigidly enforced. But de Lesseps was even more concerned with the position of those already in Peru, since the Legation figures showed that of approximately 2,150 islanders who had entered the country only about 800 still survived.⁷ He requested the setting up of an International Commission with powers to demand the labour contracts from both shippers and employers for scrutiny, and to hear evidence throughout the country, as well as on board the labour ships, with a view to placing the islanders in proper care until repatriation: so that 'humanity is satisfied'.⁸

Not surprisingly Ribeyro rejected this suggestion in toto, pointing out that such a Commission would be carrying out judicial functions affecting private citizens, contrary to the provisions of the Constitution. Furthermore the objects desired could not be achieved by such an extraordinary tribunal, whereas they could be in legally permissible ways.⁹

The main point at issue was Ribeyro's insistence that only islanders 'in complete liberty' or voluntarily surrendered by their owners without compensation could be repatriated. He felt that many were of such little use that their masters might well prefer to release them for repatriation, and in a letter to the Minister of Government he recommended that the Prefecture

should encourage them to do so. General Freyre thereupon directed the local authorities throughout Peru that:-

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

Though it was subsequently decided to add a financial inducement of 50 pesos for each contract surrendered, to the last Ribeyro was adamant that islanders found by the Government to be in good health, well-treated and enjoying good conditions, and who wished to remain where they were, could not be forced to leave.¹¹

To de Lesseps, on the other hand, the islanders were for the most part engaged by fraud through false promises and their contracts, with signatures or signs verified by agents paid by the licensee, were almost all void.¹² The report of Eucher Henry on his tour of the province of Chancay enquiring into the condition of the Polynesians employed on the haciendas reinforced the Chargé d'Affaires in this opinion. Henry's memorandum has already been quoted in detail and it is sufficient to repeat here that, after examining numbers of them, he affirmed: 'the complete and absolute invalidity of the so-called contracts by which it is said the Polynesians agreed to sign on', their invalidity being patent from no less than five ^{alleged} defects found on every contract seen by him. In any case de Lesseps considered the situation far too serious to wait for employers to give up their workers, for by then most of them would be dead. He urged the Govern-

ment to take ^{immediate} ~~urgent~~ action to step up the scope and pace of repatriation, appealing to humanity, justice and morality.¹³

It appears that many of the recruits themselves became aware that their main prospect of redress in the seemingly hopeless situation in which they found themselves lay in efforts being made by the French. On two recorded occasions the sight of the French flag flying from ships in Callao harbour resulted in spontaneous demonstrations from the islanders on recruiting vessels. By way of contrast de Lesseps received a threat against his life, presumably from someone who resented his interference in what many regarded as Peru's domestic concerns.¹⁴

Not that the French stood alone in campaigning against the trade in Polynesian^s, for within Peru itself it was ably and energetically carried on by the Lima daily El Comercio, even then the leading Peruvian newspaper and a journal of international repute. At first El Comercio adopted a neutral wait and see policy, remarking, for example, on the apparent physical and moral superiority of the early Polynesian immigrants to the Chinese; but by December 1862, when Byrne's licence was superseded by free competition, it condemned the trade as disguised slavery, degrading to humanity, and rejected the contracts made with the islanders as being clearly null and void, asking why no one helped and protected these unfortunates.¹⁵ To its credit El Comercio never deviated from this stand, deploring the inept manner in which the Polynesian incident had been handled and its ultimate material and moral cost to the nation.¹⁶ In this attitude the Lima

daily was supported, on a more literary level, by the influential periodical Revista Americana, while the official El Peruano naturally reflected the government viewpoint.¹⁷

A further example of the Government's concern with the Polynesian problem, and incidentally of its ignorance of the geographical, political and social situation in the South Sea Islands, was their decision on 8 July to appoint Manuel José Pálaciòs as Peruvian Consul-General in Polynesia, with Antonio B. Carrasco, an official in the Continental Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as Chancellor.¹⁸

Pálaciòs was to have his headquarters at Tahiti and to represent Peru in the principal islands of Polynesia, including the French, British and Hawaiian Polynesian territories, his main duties being to find out exactly what the recruiters had been up to, whether any of them were being subjected to legal proceedings and, if so, whether the charges against them were legally justifiable, and to intervene on their behalf if warranted and diplomatically expedient; in addition he was to report whether recruiters flying other national flags were at work, how they had been received and if they had been successful. If necessary the Government contemplated despatching some sort of official Commission of enquiry to follow up his findings.¹⁹

The project, praiseworthy in conception, was b^ungled. Pálaciòs' credentials were addressed to the King of Hawaii but sent to France for processing and the grant of his ? exequator, to the embarrassment of the Peruvian Ambassador.

In any case accreditation other than to France was unnecessary, for no Hawaiian or British subject had been recruited; in fact the only British island in Polynesia was Pitcairn, though admittedly Jerningham could not have told Ribeyro this for he did not know it himself. Apparently no thought was given as to how Pálaciòs was to move around his vast consular district in the absence of regular shipping services, or whether he would prove welcome ^{there} in the light of Peruvian depredations; the French authorities were ^{particularly} ~~naturally~~ exercised lest the now thoroughly aroused Polynesians should prove hostile.²⁰

In the end Pálaciòs went to Paita to find some means of transport and ^{succeeded in sailing to Hawaii with Miller, his} ~~although the repatriation vessel~~ Barbara Gomez, ^{Secretary, who was the nephew of the former British Consul there.} ~~was detoured to pick~~ ~~him up there he did not sail on her but went instead to~~ ~~at~~ Honolulu, ~~where in interviews~~ he showed a surprisingly accurate knowledge of the labour trade and its activities; ~~and~~ ~~professed~~ ~~a determination to bring those involved in criminal activities~~ ~~to justice.~~ ^{and} He then, like the trade itself, faded away, without apparently visiting a single island touched at by the recruiters.²¹

?
The first labour ship to arrive after the enactment of the new regulations was the Barbara Gomez on 11 June, with 23 recruits from Easter Island. She was duly placed in incommunicado, while the French Consul at Callao, stating his conviction that 'the natives had been tricked into coming like all the rest', offered to supply interpreters to assist an official enquiry into their island of origin and the circumstances under which they had been embarked.²²

Within a few days the Government had decided to repatriate these ~~islanders~~³; the ~~contractors for the labour~~¹², Arthur Wholey and M.H. Penny, consented to the arrangement and in the event the Prefect of Callao, looking for a 'comfortable and safe ship' able to accommodate 200 emigrants, chartered the Barbara Gomez herself for the purpose at 32 pesos a head with victualling at the owner's expense.²³

At first it was intended that the Barbara Gomez should only go as far as Easter Island, whence her own complement had been obtained. But more and more Polynesians seeking repatriation turned up at Lima and Callao; 34 (including 8 ~~women~~ women) were sent by Henry from Ancon and Chancay on the Diamant, of whom 15 had to be placed in the hospices of St Andre and St Anne, and the rest on the French store ship: many were desperately ill, some 'presenting the appearance of mere skeletons', while two had died en route and others were not expected to survive more than a few days.²⁴ De Lesseps himself went on the Diamant to Ancon to supervise operations, and the whole incident caused a great deal of friction with the government who felt, not unjustifiably, that some of the labour collected were neither wandering free nor voluntarily surrendered, particularly as an impression had gained currency that the French were part of a Mixed Commission.²⁵ The upshot was that de Lesseps declined to correspond with Ribeyro except through the British Chargé d'Affaires, pending further instructions from France.²⁶

Other Polynesians were delivered to local authorities by their owners and brought to Callao by sea, 16 on the Peruvian warship Loa and others by the Tumbes, which sailed south to Pisco picking up those released in the valleys of Pisco and Canete.²⁷ A few were sent direct by their employers, among them being the Rarotongan teacher Josia and his wife who had been taken from Tongareva by the Adelante. The worthy couple had evidently been kindly treated and claimed British protection, to Jerningham's discomfiture. They were eventually taken on board the Barbara Gomez, where they found others whom they already knew.²⁸

Yet more islanders arrived by the Rosa y Carmen and the Urmeneta y Ramos in July and when the Barbara Gomez finally sailed from Callao on 18 August she carried the survivors of the 182 who had arrived on the three ships as well as others delivered to the Government, with or without compensation. A naval 2nd Lieutenant, Guillermo Black, was on board to supervise the repatriation and see that each person was returned to his or her home island or the island or recruitment.²⁹ Since it was felt that ships engaged in repatriation might well be attacked by the islanders de Lesseps suggested, through Jerningham, that the French warship Diamant should accompany the Barbara Gomez, but in the event the Government decided that she should drop the 100 Easter Islanders on board at their home and then call at Papeete for advice and a safe conduct before going farther.³⁰

To the islanders who had been rescued from certain death at the eleventh hour and told that they were to be taken back to their own homes it must have seemed that their new Christian God was at last coming to their aid. Yet they would have been wrong: for ironically this was when the smallpox struck them down.

The disease was more or less endemic in Peru and in March El Comercio repeated a plea to landowners to have their Polynesian labour vaccinated as it was killing them off.³¹ But out in the rural areas it was more sporadic in its incidence and as yet there had been no major epidemic.

On 24 May, however, the American whaler Ellen Snow was put in quarantine with suspected smallpox on board. Early in June her crew were allowed to land: with the result that Lima suffered one of its worst epidemics in decades.³² Ribeyro, who considered that the climate of Peru was unhealthy for the islanders, removed those in the Callao warehouse, which served as a pied à terre for repatriates in transit, to the Barbara Gomez and urged de Lesseps to do the same with ^{any still} those in his care, so that 'they will enjoy better health'. The upshot was that the ship, already considered to be unseaworthy and only legally able to carry 172 passengers, though chartered by the Government for carrying 200, took on board 360 and soon became no better than an overcrowded and insanitary floating pest-house filled with victims of smallpox, and before long dysentery as well.³³ 'Many of these poor men and women', reported Jerningham, 'were in a state of complete

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The French despatch ship Diamant was got ready to leave with the survivors of the Marquesans, Cook Islanders and others kidnapped by the Empresa, among them being Davida (Tavita), the son of the High Chief Namangatini of Mangaia, with three of his four companions, one having died.³³ She left Callao bound for Papeete, via Paita, and it was hoped that the 29 islanders on board (18 men and 11 women) had escaped the infection; but smallpox broke out and as a result she made for the nearer Marquesas and arrived at Nukuhiva on 20 August where the surviving passengers, 14 having died on the voyage, were put in quarantine in the vacant administration building at Taiohae in the care of the Catholic missionaries, despite the demurs of the French Resident.³⁴

His hesitation proved to be justified for the Nukuhivans, understanding nothing about contagious disease, soon broke into the quarantine area to greet their friends and relatives. The epidemic which followed spread rapidly through the island of Nukuhiva and, despite the devoted care of the missionaries, 960 died on Nukuhiva and another 600 on Uapou, where a canoe had taken the contagion, making a total of 1,560 deaths out of an estimated total population of 3,800 during the period of six months it lasted.³⁵

It appears that a total of 13 repatriates may have survived to return to their home islands: six Marquesans,

four Manganians, and one each from Atiu, Tahiti and Tongareva, the last two possibly taken ~~XXXX~~ by the Empresa from Caroline Island.³⁶

Meanwhile Ribeyro, who ^{had come to the conclusion} ~~considered~~ that the climate of Peru was unhealthy for the islanders, removed those in the Callao warehouse, which served as a pied à terre for repatriates in transit, to the Barbara Gomez and urged de Lesseps to do the same with any still in his care, so that 'they will enjoy better health'. The upshot was that the ship, ~~XXXX~~ already considered to be unseaworthy and only legally able to carry 172 passengers, though chartered by the Government for carrying 200, took on board 360 and soon became no better than an overcrowded and insanitary pest-house filled with victims of smallpox, and before long dysentery as well.³⁷ 'Many of these poor men and women', reported Jerningham, 'were in a state of complete

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nudity', which 'certainly ought not to have been permitted in the Port of a nation claiming to be civilized like Peru'.³⁸³⁴

It seems difficult to excuse the Government for not having the islanders immunized when, as McCall records, 'the citizenry of Callao-Lima ... flocked to be vaccinated' and their speedy removal was being urged in the press to protect the other members of the community.³⁵³⁹ Nor is it easy to condone the overcrowding, nor again the iniquitous contract by which the owners had to provide food for all on board at a flat rate of 32 pesos a head, regardless of the length of the voyage. Ribeyro had ~~XXXXXX~~ deplored the fact that the immigrants had arrived in the country in exceptionally bad health; an enquiry would have revealed the fact that most of them had left their islands in good health but had been half-starved during the voyage to Peru: the repatriation contract practically guaranteed that any survivors would return home in a similar condition.

Not to labour the point it would seem that the Barbara Gomez was directed to sail ^{on 18 August} with 318 passengers (42 had presumably already died) suffering from a virulent and highly contagious disease, without proper medical care, to get them out of sight and mind, regardless of the virtual certainty that they would bring pestilence and death to every island visited during the voyage.³⁶⁴⁰

To add to the odds against the repatriates surviving the voyage the Barbara Gomez was ordered to proceed first to Paita, in the far north of Peru, to pick up Palacios, the

Peruvian Consul-General to Polynesia, who was to be taken to his proposed headquarters at Papeete. It was a fruitless diversion for Palacios did not embark, presumably because he had already left for Honolulu, but it resulted in only 15 out of the 100 Easter Islanders being still alive by the time the ship arrived at their home. ^{37 41}

'They carried with them the infection of smallpox', says Métraux, 'which in a short time decimated the rest of the population. The casualties caused by the epidemic are said to have been in the thousands.' The two Catholic Fathers waiting on Tahiti to proselytise the island heard that half the population had died from smallpox. Dunbabin, the only writer to state a figure for the deaths, puts them at 1,000. Both figures are in fact approximately the same, since from ~~XXXXXX~~ the estimates given on page ... we may deduce the population in October 1863 to have been about 2,000. ^{38 42}

^{when} By ~~the~~ time the Barbara Gomez left Easter Island it seems to have been realized that to deliver the death ship into the hands of the French authorities at Tahiti would be injudicious. The course, therefore, was now set for isolated Rapa, the southern rendezvous of the recruiters whose victims were now being returned. By the time they arrived there 329 out of the 360 embarked had been thrown overboard, allowing for the 15 landed at Easter, and a ship's boat conveyed '16 poor emaciated human beings to the shore with a peremptory request to the people to receive them', the captain adding

that 'he would not take them any farther; if they did not receive them, he would take them back to the vessel and then throw them overboard, and they might swim for their lives'.^{39 43}

When the L.M.S. missionary J.L. Green visited Rapa a few months later he was told that the repatriates were from the Tokelau Islands, Niuafu'ou, Tongareva, Manihiki (or Rakahanga), Atiu and other islands, while the survivors spoke of 'the almost brutal treatment and inhuman neglect' which prevailed on the vessel, a statement borne out by the fact that Black, the naval officer superintending the repatriation 'was so horrified by the events on board that he refused to comment to the Lima press when he returned'.^{40 44}

The Rapans, as one would expect, took the sick and marooned Polynesians, who spoke a language which they could understand, into their homes to feed and nurse them back to health: as a result nine survived, but approximately 240, or two-thirds of the island's population, died and in 1865 there were reported to be only 20 adult males left alive.^{41 45} It seems that the epidemic ~~XXXX~~ which caused these deaths was dysentery and not smallpox for it spread to Borabora and the other Leeward Islands causing many fatalities, particularly among children.^{42 46}

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Before the Barbara Gomez had left Callao on her disastrous voyage to Easter Island and Rapa four more ships had arrived from the islands with fresh cargoes of colonists: the General Prim, with her complement of 174 Tongans; the Dolores Carolina with 130, Polinesia with 113 and Adelante with 172, all from the northern Polynesian atolls: a total of 589 new recruits.⁴⁷

Clearly no more could be taken on board the already grossly overcrowded brig, so the Adelante was chartered to take back

her own recruits and those on the Polinesia, and the Spanish barque Rosa y Carmen those on the Dolores Carolina and General Prim.⁴⁸

The Rosa y Carmen had arrived on 10 July and when attempts were made to put her ~~in~~ incommunicado her Captain Marutani was warned that a French squadron then at anchor was ready to seize the ship and arrest him 'on the charge that he had committed murder and violence among natives who were under French protection'. It is said that she immediately left again and signalled for assistance from two Spanish frigates outside the port. This was given by the Spanish Commodore Ail Pinzon and Captain Marutani was eventually able to clear his name in the Peruvian Courts.⁴⁹

No evidence to support this incident has been discovered in the Peruvian archives, though it is apparently credited by the Spanish historian Novo y Colson, and it must have been a perfunctory enquiry indeed that could whitewash the greatest scoundrel and the most disastrous voyage in the history of the Polynesian labour trade. Still there is no questioning the almost incredible fact that a gang of armed pirates, already responsible for the deaths through disease and starvation of considerably over 100 Polynesians, amid all the horrors of the Sunday Island shambles, were engaged by the Government as suitable persons for repatriating the immigrants, at the standard rate of 32 pesos a head for those over 12 years of age.

Deaths on shipboard eventually made it possible to transfer the Rosa y Carmen's passengers to the Adelante and by the time the latter left, with orders to take the Chancellor of the Peruvian Consulate-General, Don Antonio Buenaventura Carrasco, to Tahiti, only 429 of the 589 immigrants were still alive.

Apparently no further repatriates from the mainland had been put on board either of the ships, but the Government paid 50 pesos each to the shipowners or labour contractors for transferring the contracts of the new arrivals.⁵⁰

Wisely, Carrasco did not show up, and on 2 October the Adelante left for the northern atolls with a naval officer, Captain Gaspar Escurra, on board to supervise repatriation and apparently a doctor to attend to the health of the passengers. The 429 repatriates, including 49 children, amounted to nearly three times her legal complement, and like the Barbara Gomez she was ordered to call first at Papeete for advice and a safe conduct.⁵¹

Whether the captain of the Adelante ever had the slightest intention of carrying out his repatriation contract is doubtful, for on 21 October Captain Blake of the New Bedford whaling barque Active was off Cocos Island, 300 miles south-west of the Costa Rican coast and 540 miles from Panama, when:

... to my surprise I saw several tents and plenty of people on shore. I took a boat and went to see who and what they were. I saw there were white men among them, and a plenty of Kanakas. I took one white man into the boat, and he told me they were there in distress and in a starving condition.

They were landed there three days previously from Peruvian bark Atalanta, of Callao, from which port she sailed on the 1st of October with a cargo of 426 Kanakas and six or seven interpreters, who were brought to Callao with the Kanakas from their different islands to the westward. The bark was chartered by the Peruvian government to land them on the islands they were taken from, for \$30 per head, but she landed them at Cocos, sick and destitute. They were dying very fast from small-pox, dysentery, and ship fever. Out of 426, not more than 200 were alive at the time of our being there. The man did not tell me that they had the small-pox, but called it ship fever, and said that no one took it but the Kanakas, and as they agreed to take my casks and fill them and raft them for us, I concluded to go on and get our water, concluding it would be safe by not allowing a boat to land, and having no communication with them whatever. I anchored on the

21st October, at 12 o'clock M., and lay until 7 P.M., 22d, when a boat went near enough to see the dead bodies lying on the beach, and quite numerous, too. We saw enough to believe they had the small-pox in the most deadly form, ⁵² and immediately took our anchor and went to sea.

The story published in the press was that the captain, after losing his way to the islands, became mentally unbalanced by the scenes on board, and the ship was finally wrecked on Cocos Island. That the first statement, at least, is improbable is indicated by the more prosaic official report of Captain Escurra in which he states that:

A few days after sailing these wretched ones were struck by smallpox, to such an extent that it was necessary to get to the Cocos Island ... with the purpose of leaving those still alive there. That 200 died on the trip and that he estimated that from the rest more than half died, since everybody became infected with ⁵³ the disease, this being of the worst sort

That the Adelante was at Cocos Island in just over a fortnight implies that the captain must have turned due north instead of due west almost immediately after leaving Callao, and that the passengers were by then in a starving condition is an eloquent commentary on the adequacy of the provisions brought on board for the long voyage to the Cook, Tokelau and Tuvalu Groups, or for that matter of the supervision over the repatriation proceedings exerted by the Government.

Little more remains to be told: the survivors of the marooned party of Polynesians were abandoned by the captain but 40 were eventually rescued by a ship and landed at Paita, where they were presumably absorbed perforce into the local labour force as no further attempt was made to repatriate them. ⁵⁴ It is said that the captain committed suicide.

With the departure of the Adelante the Peruvian Government evidently considered that they had done all that could be expected of them to repatriate the islanders brought to Peru: with one exception. The Chilean ship Ellen Elizabeth left Tongareva on 3 February to seek labour in the Micronesian Gilbert Islands, and as the Group lay farther afield than any of the other recruiting fields it was October before she had completed her complement of 161 Gilbertese and arrived at the northern Peruvian port of Lambayeque.⁵⁵ One cannot be sure of the exact number still on board, for according to the sworn statement of Adolphus Bassett, the interpreter, during the long passage 'many of them died from cold - and work, for they had to pump - and want of food'.⁵⁶

On arrival the ship was placed incommunicado and kept at anchor for three months while Captain Muller haggled with the Peruvian Government over the price to be paid to his employer, the Valparaiso shipowner Jose Tomas Ramos, for the transfer of the labour contracts. Despite the extra expenses caused by the distance of the Gilberts from Peru in the end Muller was compelled to accept the standard rate of 50 pesos a head, plus 32 pesos for the repatriation of the surviving islanders to their homes; the usual government officer being placed on board to supervise repatriation proceedings.⁵⁷

After repairing the Ellen Elizabeth at Paita and calling at Tumbes for water they sailed west until sighting a high island - almost certainly from its location and description the uninhabited island of Eiao in the northern Marquesas - where the Peruvian officer wanted to maroon the Gilbertese, despite the captain's objection that there was nothing for

them to eat there. Fortunately they were unable to effect a landing and sailed on to Tongareva where the 111 survivors were forced on shore against their will 'for they wanted to go to their own islands', although those who were sick were glad enough to land.⁵⁸

Conditions on board the Ellen Elizabeth can be judged from depositions on oath made by the interpreter and John Fullenk, a Danish seaman, before the British Consul in Samoa, the following passage being taken from Fullenk's statement:

On the voyage to Penrhyn Island the Peruvian officer used to flog them with rope and rub tar and grease over their bodies for his amusement. Some sixteen or seventeen of them died from overwork and hunger for they had to be always at the pump. Rice was served out twice a day to the natives, about three quarters of a tumbler full each time. The rice was cooked - and a little tea cup of cold water twice a day. The natives were badly treated on board by the Peruvian officer and the Master and I have seen the dying thrown over board before they were dead. The Peruvian officer, Master and Mate each had a woman to live with them.⁵⁹

While the general treatment of the repatriates seems, therefore, to have been little better than on the two other government-chartered vessels, the Gilbertese had the unique advantage over the Polynesians of not having been exposed to infection by smallpox or even dysentery, as they would inevitably have been at Callao. Consequently only one-third of the recruits died during the course of their two voyages and the long wait at Lambayeque. They were unique, too, in that most of them eventually reached their friends and families.

The Gilbertese must have prospered on Tongareva, for a year later the missionaries Henry Royle and Charles Barff landed there to find all of them very much alive, to the

consternation of the 60 intimidated Tongarevans, with their one teacher, who had been spared by the recruiters:

... the naked forms, wild utterances, strange and uncouth appearance of these new comers effectively enlisted our sympathies', says Royle, 'and we prevailed upon our Captain to take as many of their number as would of their own accord follow us, in the mission barque. We departed thence with 35 and succeeded in finding for them very comfortable locations with our excellent teachers at Rakahanga and Manihiki.⁶⁰

Some no doubt settled permanently in the northern Cook Islands and on a visit to the three atolls in 1944 one could discern what appeared to be typical Gilbertese faces in the villages. Others were recruited by Messrs Greig and Bicknell for making coconut oil on Fanning Island and at the expiration of their contract period it was arranged with Hiram Bingham, the apostle to the Gilbertese, probably through Bicknell's brother in Honolulu, that the American Board's mission ship Morning Star should repatriate them on her next voyage from Hawaii to the Gilberts at the expense of their employers.

The upshot of what could have been yet another tragedy of the trade was that Bingham was reprimanded for his Christian act by the Boston headquarters of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and in reply remarked mildly that if a mistake had been made 'in helping them to their own home and kindred and friends' it was not likely to occur again, and that the Fanning Island Company had given the mission \$450 in passage money together with food for the party.⁶¹ The Gilbertese certainly fared by far the best of all the recruits brought to Peru.

It should now be possible to summarize the repatriation efforts of the Peruvian Government. When the landing and sale of recruits was prohibited at the end of April there had been, both by our own reckoning, based on corrected Peruvian

official figures, and the French Legation total, 2,150 Polynesians landed in Peru, of whom about 800 were believed by the French to be still alive. Only the Diamant and Barbara Gomez repatriated any of these: the Diamant took 29, all apparently from the Empresa, while the Barbara Gomez had presumably 178 put on her, i.e. her complement of 360 less the 23 she brought to Peru and the 159 transferred from the Rosa y Carmen and Urmeneta y Ramos.

It may therefore be said that an attempt was made to repatriate 207, or approximately 10%, of the 2,150 Polynesians who at one time or another ^{were} actually living in Peru as immigrants and all 932 of those who arrived too late to be allowed to land. Of the total of 3,082 brought to Peru, 1,139, or 37%, were thus retained or put on board the four repatriation vessels; but only 157, or 5%, landed once again on a Polynesian Island alive, or if we except the Gilbertese, who after all were not Polynesians, only 46 out of 2,921: or a mere 1½%, few of whom ever saw their own former island homes again. The proportion is even smaller if one bases it on the 3,241 actually taken from their own home islands but who died on the voyage to Peru, but slightly larger if one includes those who escaped or were freed and repatriated while en route, the grand total of those carried away from their islands being 3,404.⁶²

After the official repatriation was over at the end of 1863 interest in the labour trade died down in Peru itself. The battle between de Lesseps and Ribeyro continued for some months though with diminishing intensity; the two protagonists were once again on speaking terms and writing to each other direct, having effected a personal rapprochement on 16 September.⁶³

De Lesseps continued to demand a Mixed Commission to investigate the validity of the contracts of those Polynesian labourers still alive in Peru and for compensation to be paid to the families of all who had died, as well as for the refund of his expenses incurred in collecting and repatriating colonists.

Ribeyro, on the other hand, reaffirmed his view that a Mixed Commission was unconstitutional, a derogation of Peru's rights as a sovereign nation, and in any case useless since he regarded the Polynesian question as now terminated owing to there being so few still left in the country, and because those who were there could not be repatriated if remaining voluntarily under legal contract and with good working conditions. He considered indemnification as having no principle of justice or historical precedent to support it; and the reimbursement of de Lessep's expenses as unwarranted since the French had acted without authorization and the Government did not admit either the necessity or legitimacy of his actions. In turn, Ribeyro pressed for the return of the Serpiente Marina, confiscated by the French authorities in Tahiti, with damages and the rectification of the wrongs suffered by her owners, Bernales y Saco.⁶⁴

There seems to have been no resolution of the matters at issue, but rather a gradual fading-out over the months. Meanwhile the Polynesians in their homelands were still exercised as to what had happened to their relatives who had been taken by the recruiters and hopeful that they would one day return. In June 1864 John Williams, the British Consul in Samoa, wrote to the Foreign Office reporting the dumping of the Gilbertese on Tongareva but adding that 'not one of the kidnapped natives from Savage Island, Danger Island, or the Union Group have been

returned to their respective islands'. In December 1865 the missionaries of Samoa at their General Meeting pointed out that despite the assurances of the Peruvian Government that the Polynesians would be returned to their homes they were still missing, and suggested that Consul Williams or someone else who knew the islanders should be sent to search for them: 'if we could succeed in recovering two or three natives of each of the four groups ... who could give an account of the fate of their fellow-countrymen, it would be a lasting favour conferred upon the poor people, and fill their hearts with gratitude to their benefactors'.

In September 1866 the Directors of the London Missionary Society in England memorialized the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs with a plea for the discovery and return to their homes of the islanders still believed to be in Peru; and in answer to a query which he sent to Barton, the British Chargé d'Affaires in Lima, the Peruvian authorities stated that 1,200 islanders had been imported into Peru and 871 repatriated on the Barbara Gomez, Adelante and Diamant. Of the remaining 329 'at least two-thirds had died of small-pox and other diseases in the hospitals, or on the estates, and that there remained in Peru about 100, from whom no complaints have been received'. To this Barton added incorrectly that 40 were landed alive from the Barbara Gomez at Mangareva.⁶⁵

This meagre mélange of inaccuracies and half-truths, passed on to the islanders by visiting missionaries, was apparently considered by the Peruvian and British Governments as all that the Polynesian peoples needed to be told about the fate of their friends, relatives and fellow-islanders. Over the years, however, it was supplemented by stories

percolating through the islands from the relatively well-informed residents of Papeete; from the few surviving repatriates and, surprisingly enough, from five Polynesians who managed to escape from Peru after the repatriation venture had ended: refuting the old South Seas chantey that 'on no condition, is extradition, allowed in Calla-o'.⁶⁶

The best-known of these was Taole, son of Hegatule, chief of Avatele on Niue, who was working on the Callao wharves, closely guarded, when an American whaler with a partly Hawaiian crew anchored in the port. The captain acceded to the pleas of the Hawaiians to help Taole and he was smuggled on board, dressed in sailor's clothes; the ship made sail immediately and though chased by a government vessel they got away. After years in Hawaii Taole took passage to Starbuck Island to work for J.T. Arundel, where he met his former wife and returned home to Niue with her. Taole, who continued to sail around the islands as a seaman, recounted his experiences in Peru wherever he went and they have been retold countless times and with many variations to this day.⁶⁷

Others to return and speak of their ordeal included the Nukulaelae man whom Louis Becke met in the Carolines. He had managed to smuggle away in an English guano ship bound for Liverpool and after years as a seaman on American whalers he married and settled down in the Los Matelotas Group; though he was offered, and gladly accepted, a passage back home, the islanders would not let him leave.⁶⁸

Then there was Pilato, a well-known escapee who returned to his home island of Pukapuka; there was the sole person to get back to the Tokelaus, who died soon after from consumption

and from 'whose reports of cruelty, disease and death the Tokelau people do not expect to see any more of them'; and finally there was the Tongarevan brought back many years later on a warship with his mind apparently unhinged by his sufferings: 'he had been beaten very much because he had many marks on his body'.⁶⁹ This was the final tally: just five successful escapees from the 100 officially stated to have been still left alive in Peru and 'from whom no complaints have been received'. In fact escape was virtually impossible except for those who could somehow reach Callao, make the surreptitious contacts necessary with sympathetic captains of foreign ships and arrange a getaway past the guards and police.

Despite the dire predictions of Europeans from Fiji to Tahiti that no white man would in future be safe from reprisals on the part of the islanders, these were in fact but few and almost entirely confined to the still largely unevangelised Marquesans. 'The natives will take their revenge upon the first vessel visiting their shores after these Freebooters', wrote Consul Williams from Samoa; 'the islanders will attack and kill the crews of any ship of Spanish or Latin American origin', reported the French authorities in Papeete; 'the relatives of the kidnapped say ... "If the Spaniards come here again, they shall all be killed"', warned a Hawaiian missionary at Uapou.⁷⁰

True enough Whalon, mate of the New England whaler Congress, was seized while watering at Puamou, rushed inland and systematically tortured, under expert direction, by the children of kidnapped islanders. Before being eaten he was providentially rescued by the Hawaiian missionary Kehela and

ransomed for his black parson's coat and whaleboat, an act of bravery and self-sacrifice for which Kehela later received a citation and gold watch from Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States. Otoro, a Peruvian subject who had reportedly aided the kidnappers, was killed by the Marquesans in 1863.⁷¹

The Manganians captured the captain of an American whaler thought to be a slaver, and were about to attack his ship and crew when convinced by a European missionary that he was innocent of any crime; a somewhat similar attempt was organized on Niue but abandoned through mission intervention; while the mission ship John Williams was more than once in trouble through being taken for a slaver.⁷² But in general the islanders were quite capable of discriminating between white friends and white foes, and the more typical response from them was overflowing congregations in the island churches, at which prayers were said not only for friends and relations taken to Peru but for the repentance and conversion of the slavers themselves.

This is not to say that the Polynesians forgot what had happened: far from it. When the Terésa-Ramos arrived at Easter Island the first question asked was whether there were any people from Callao on board: 'The name of Callao makes them shiver with fear'. As late as 1890, when the George Noble called at Funafuti and the captain happened to mention that he was bound for Beru (in the Gilberts): 'The natives who were on board heard the word and fled incontinently, nor could they be persuaded to come back; the dread word "Peru" was enough'.⁷³

Probably no one has known the South Seas as intimately as J.B. Sterndale, who spent the best part of his life roaming from island to island. In 1874, in a report to the New Zealand Government, he wrote that:

... on account of the treachery and violence of Peruvian shipmasters engaged in the labour traffic, the story of whose misdeeds has been carried from island to island; over the whole face of the Pacific, wherever the natives are sufficiently enlightened to distinguish by name one nationality of white men from another, the word Paniora (Spaniard) conveys a meaning which might be interpreted fiend, while Callao might be interpreted hell.⁷⁴

'Te pa i Kalio' (the fortress, or prison, of Callao) is still remembered throughout Polynesia; on Niue a recent visitor who happened to mention the Peruvian raiders was immediately inundated with questions as to what had really happened; and letters arrive from Polynesian enquirers showing the liveliest interest on the subject. But with the passage of time the terror and the aching heart have gone and only a natural desire for factual information on what occurred remains.

Three years ago the great-great-grandson of a Tokelau Islander landed on Rapa in 1863 returned to visit the land of his forbears: and received a royal welcome. He had not forgotten; and neither had they - but it was no longer a time for tearful memories, but rather one for great rejoicing. So may it be: for the Peru of today is a great nation of kindly and progressive people, and the Polynesians of the islands need no longer try to forget one of the main episodes of their eventful history - but with understanding of how it all came to pass they can and should forgive.

- 1 Declaration of the Diplomatic and Consular Bodies in Lima, 13.5.63, GB-P 1864:31; Robinson, U.S. Ambassador, to State Department, 28.5.63, USNA; Ribeyro to Robinson, 22.5.63, GB-P 1864:31; Jerningham to FO, 29.5.63, FO61/211.
- 2 Jerningham to Ribeyro, 30.4.63, GB-P 1864:28-9; Eldridge to Ribeyro, 9.10.62, GB-P 1864:2.
- 3 Ribeyro to Peruvian Ambassador to France, 12.2.63, 25.2.63, 27.3.63, 13.5.63, 27.6.63, 29.6.63, 13.7.63, 13.8.63, MFA.
- 4 Galvez to Ribeyro, 14.8.63, MFA.
- 5 Ribeyro to Home Department, 27.4.63, MFA, also quoted in Ward, n.d.:8 and El Peruano, 2.5.63:199.
- 6 Official announcement, 28.4.63, also quoted in Ward, n.d.:8.
- 7 From Table ... it will be seen that our estimate, based on Peruvian and British figures, is 2,112 Polynesian immigrants at the time de Lesseps wrote, which may be accounted for by shortfalls of 37 and 1 in the Adelante's official figures for her two voyages.
- 8 De Lesseps to Ribeyro, 15.5.63, MFA.
- 9 Ribeyro to de Lesseps, 22.5.63, MFA.
- 10 Ribeyro to Minister of Government, 26.5.63, 9.6.63, MFA; Freyre to Ribeyro, 28.5.63, GP-P 1864:34.
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- 21 Ribeyro to Minister of Government, 22.7.63, MFA; El Comercio, 19.8.63; The Friend, 2.11.63.
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- 45 41 Hanson 1970:33; Green to L.M.S., 8.6.65, S.S.L. Saville speaks of nine alive in 1871, by then married to Rapan women, and this figure is considered more reliable than Green's seven, as Green considered the risk of infection too great to remain on the island whereas Saville's ~~stay~~ stay was more prolonged and he was actually able to baptize the survivors' children - Saville, 14.9.71-23.12.71, S.S.L.
- 46 42 McArthur 1967:278,310, quoting Platt, 27.5.64, S.S.L.

- 44 Green to L.M.S., 1.4.64, S.S.L.; McCall 1976:99, quoting El Comercio, 14.12.63.
- 45 Hanson 1970:33; Green to L.M.S., 8.6.65, S.S.L. Saville speaks of nine alive in 1871, by then married to Rapan women, and this figure is considered more reliable than Green's seven, as Green considered the risk of infection too great to remain on the island whereas Saville's stay was more prolonged and he was actually able to baptize the survivors' children - Saville, 14.9.71-23.12.71, S.S.L.
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- 58 Depositions of Bassett and Fullenk in Williams to F.O., 19.6.64, F.O.58/102.
- 59 Deposition of Fullenk in Williams to F.O., 19.6.64, F.O. 58/102.
- 60 Royle to L.M.S., 22.8.64, 17.5.65, S.S.L.
- 61 Bingham to Clark, 7.2.78, A.B.C.F.M.
- 62 For an analysis by islands of all these figures see Appendix
- 63 Protocol, Lima, 16.9.63, MFA.
- 64 Ribeyro to de Lesseps, 11.2.64, MFA; Ribeyro to Ambassador to France, 27.1.64, 12.2.64, 25.2.64, 27.3.64, MFA.
- 65 The Aborigines' Friend and Colonial Intelligencer, 1866: 536-537.

- 66 Churchward 1888:33.
- 67 Moss 1889:61-62; Cowan 1923:241-242, 1936:49-59; Freeman, 2.7.46, Freeman Papers.
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THE PERUVIAN SLAVE TRADE IN POLYNESIA

Introduction

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- 3 - The Easter Island trinket trade
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Table 1

Island Routes of the Peruvian Labour Ships

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

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

1 Chilean

2 Spanish

3 Left Valparaiso

4 Left Guayaquil

5 Arrived Lambayeque

6 Arrived Guayaquil

Table 2

Pacific Islanders recruited for work in Peru¹

<u>Cook Islands:</u>	Tongareva	-	474 ⁶⁹ ✓	
	Rakahanga	-	115 ✓	
	Pukapuka	-	145 ✓	
	Atiu	-	36 ✓	740 ✓
	Mangaia	-	5 ✓ =	739 ✓
<u>Niue:</u>			=	109 ✓
<u>Samoa:</u>	Upolu	-	3	
	Savai'i	-	4 =	7 ✓
<u>Rotuma:</u>			=	3 ✓
<u>Tokelau Islands:</u>	Fakaofu	-	140 ✓	
	Atafu	-	37 ✓	
	Nukunonu	-	76 ✓ =	253 ✓
<u>Tuvalu:</u>	Nukulaelae	-	250	
	Funafuti	-	171	
	Nukufetau	-	3	
	Nanumea	-	21 =	445 ✓
<u>Tonga:</u>	Ata	-	144	
	Niuafu'ou	-	30 =	174 ✓
<u>Marquesas Islands:</u>	Uapou	-	19 ✓	
	Hivaoa	-	6 ✓	
	Tahuata	-	1 ✓ =	26 ✓
<u>Caroline Island:</u>			=	4 ✓
<u>Tuamotu Islands:</u>	Fakarava	-	30	
	Katiu	-	25 ✓	
	Motu Tunga	-	54	
	Kauehi	-	11 ✓	
	Tahanea	-	42 ✓ =	151 ✓
<u>Easter Island:</u>			31	
			=	1,458 ⁰⁷ ✓

¹ including accompanying relatives of families.

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

<u>Totals:</u>	Polynesians (except Easter Islanders)	=	1,912
	Easter Islanders	=	1,450
	Micronesians	=	161

Total number of Pacific Islanders recruited for Peru = 3,522 ^{3,480}

.....

Islanders who returned home before reaching Peru¹

(a) Released or escaped before leaving Polynesia:-

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

(b) Freed and repatriated before leaving Polynesia:-

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

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

Table 4

Analysis of Methods Employed in Recruiting

Island	Recruited without desert	Recruited by ^{non-partition} desert swimming		Kidnapped	No evidence
		Term of Service	Place of Employment		
Tongareva	428 ✓		43 ✓		
Rakohanga		106 ✓		2 ✓	7 ✓
Pukapuka		85 ✓	60 ✓		
Atu				1 ✓	5 ✓
Nangia				5 ✓	
Nui		50 ✓		59 ✓	
Samoa				7 ✓	
Rotuma				3 ✓	
Fakaofu				140	
Atafu				37	
Nukunono				76	
Mukelae				250 ✓	
Funafuti				171 ✓	
Mukufetu					3 ✓
Nanua					21 ✓
Atu				144 ✓	
Niuafo'ou			30 ✓		
Nufoa	5 ✓			14 ✓	
Hiraoa				6 ✓	
Tahatu				1 ✓	
Aniue Island					4 ✓
Fakarua			30 ✓		
Katia			25 ✓		
Neta Tanga			54 ✓		
Kaneki - Talasa			42 ✓		
Easter Island	507 ✓			650 ✓	250 ✓
Gillett Islands					161 ✓
	938	241	948 → 284	423	1,150
Percentage of hour =	31%		31%		38%
Known methods =	3,036				3,480
Not known =	444				
					<u>3,480</u>

①

a fort which captures all passengers would have been
well aware of from the way in which the Adelphi's
initial assignment was dropped of. ^{1a}

^{1a} EL Pinar 30.3.63, evidence of Antonio Guerra.

No doubt he felt that he had covered his Tickers - only
~~set~~ in this case believed to be only \$600.

Chapter

The Recruiting Fleet

No references
as yet

The detailed survey of recruiting operations in the islands made in Part I shows that ^{of the} a total of ² 33 ships ~~were~~ engaged at one time or another in the labour trade, ~~of which~~ three were wrecked; two disappeared; ^{four} ~~five~~ were either ^{impounded} ~~confiscated~~ or sent back to South America by the French and ceased recruiting activities; ^{two were abandoned and sold in Papeete;} and 27¹ carried passengers to Peru on 27 voyages.¹

¹ See Table.

The ships

As the island trade was in operation for too short a ~~XXXX~~ period for any ships to be built specifically for recruiting, those employed were chartered from the fleet of merchant vessels engaged in the South American coastal trade, ^{the China coolie trade or in fishing} of which ~~there~~ were ¹⁰⁶ ~~95~~ on the Peruvian register, in 1863.² They were officially classed as frigates, barques, brigantines and schooners but these designations appear to have been applied rather arbitrarily, with brigs and brigantines lumped together, including some ships known to have been three-masted. Difficulties in identification also arise through popular usage conflicting with the official: the barque Rosa y Carmen, for example, is sometimes called a frigate and the schooner Cora a brig.

But leaving the niceties of nautical terminology for maritime historians to decipher it can be said that there were ⁴ 13 three-masted barques engaged in the trade, varying in size from 150[✓] to 402[✓] tons, with a mean of 213[✓] tons; and 11[✓] so-called brigantines, for the most part two-masted, of

from 156[✓] to 286[✓] tons, with a mean of 195[✓] tons. Frigates were rather too large to be economic propositions for island hopping and the only one to visit Polynesia was the 312[✓]-ton Rosa Patricia; while the ~~seven~~^{six} schooners, with a mean tonnage of 120³, must have been uncomfortably small except perhaps for the Easter Island run. ~~28~~⁷ of the ships were registered in Peru, four in Chile and one in Spain, but as Chilean vessels were prohibited from taking any part in what was considered by that government to be the slave trade several Chilean ships are known to have been transferred to the Peruvian registry, including the Adelante and Monte.³

Once chartered the ships had to be specially fitted out before they could carry large numbers of islanders, usually against their will, on ocean voyages which often took several weeks. ~~One~~^{more than one} ship was rumoured to have been an African slaver while the brig Espera and ~~another~~ was formerly on the China coolie run and these may have required no special adaptation; but they were exceptional.

We know a good deal about the conversion of the Adelante for work as a recruiter: fortunately, since she was the prototype of the recruiting fleet and her adaptation for the trade was evidently studied and copied by other shipowners who had no knowledge themselves of what was required.

The Adelante was a well-found ship, like others belonging to the firm of Ugarte and Santiago, and large enough to accommodate the 170 male and female colonists which Byrne proposed to bring back, even though the Peruvian regulations

quite unless
for village

stipulated not more than one passenger for each registered ton.⁴ Both the captain and mate were Americans; and she carried a doctor and a Peruvian Government Agent, as well as Byrne himself, who were more particularly concerned with the welfare of her prospective island passengers.

Nevertheless by the time she had been fitted out she looked, in the words of John Davis, the mate, 'more like a Man-of-war than a merchantman'. The hold had been divided into three compartments with iron gratings separating them; there were similar iron gratings over the hatches to prevent any egress; two swivel guns were mounted by the after hatch to sweep the deck, and two more were placed on top of the poop; two dozen muskets were kept ready for use by the crew, together with 'three blunder busses and our revolvers and bowieknives, cutlasses and ammunition in abundance'; and finally four extra crew members were signed on to guard the hatches day and night. One would have thought rather formidable precautions for transporting islanders who had volunteered to work in Peru on a five year contract.⁵

The Adelante was, in brief, equipped like an African slaver; and she was by no means an exceptional case fitted out for carrying bellicose Melanesians from the New Hebrides and Solomons, as had been Byrne's intention when she sailed. The evidence shows that iron gratings and a plentiful supply of arms were the norm,⁶ and if she differed from many of the ships which followed her hopefully from Peru it was in being seaworthy, which many of them were not: 'amongst the ships

① the Coza, which had to be sold in Papeete as unseaworthy, and

already dispatched are several crazy old vessels that had long been laid up as hulks, but which in the enthusiasm of speculators have been equipped as good enough for the service', like ^①the Misti, whose crew refused to ~~sail~~ ^{continue the voyage} in her beyond Rapa lest she foundered. It was not to be supposed that the best vessels would be used in such a trade, though there were exceptions such as the Spanish Rosa y Carmen, described as 'a beautiful 400-ton clipper barque of the true slaver type'.⁸

When the Sapiente Marina and Barbara Gomez arrived at Papeete it provided an unique opportunity for inspecting the adaptations which had to be made to typical Peruvian coastal vessels to enable them to carry recruits. The former is described as ^{being 'fitted like a slaver'} having, besides the usual conversions, 'a strong open barricade across the ~~open~~ ^{upper} deck a little abaft the mainmast' ^{with 'l' e} her ^l tween-decks ~~were~~ extremely low, ~~and~~ ill-ventilated and ~~much~~ encumbered with the extensive arrangements for berthing her expected passengers'. In the case of the latter ^{sail} the special fittings had not yet been installed, but the materials were ready on board. She was officially described as very old and leaky; and the British Consul at Tahiti concluded that 'much suffering awaits the unfortunate natives crowded into such inefficient ships'.⁹

There is ~~not~~ need to labour the point, for earlier pages have shown that normal recruiting procedure was to entice, force, or throw recruits into the ship's hold on the first opportunity, where they were kept ^{secure} by means of the iron grilles

over the hatches, which were designed to provide a measure of light and air while preventing any possibility of escape. ~~the armed guards spoken of by observers were presumably unnecessary once the recruits were battened down securely and the ship at sea.~~

The other fittings for the trade consisted of plank ^{bunks} ~~beds~~ for sleeping on fixed around the sides and ^{sometimes also} down the centre of the hold; and where these were not provided the recruits sat or slept on the wooden deck as best they could. Fresh water for drinking was kept in large casks, which were filled whenever possible at the islands visited; while the food, which was mainly rice, was ^eboild in large ^{or boilers} coppers. There was never enough water to permit washing and the toilet facilities were primitive, consisting of buckets emptied from time to time over the side.

To sum up, the Peruvian recruiting fleet was for the most part a motley assemblage of aged coastal vessels averaging about 150 tons and fitted with bunks, gratings and armament on the traditional lines of the slave trade.

and their crews

Ship towing

With the shipowners, unless they also operated their own vessels in the trade, one is not concerned: to them it was merely another charter and the nature of the cargo was only of importance if it was considered to add to the risk of damage or loss. ^{ose} The owners ~~and operators~~ who actually engaged in recruiting labour were a varied lot: some of them wealthy and respected members of the Lima and Callao commercial community such as Don Santiago Ugarte, Juan Manuel de Ugarte and other members of the house of Ugarte y Santiago;

Arturo Woley and Company, concerned with obtaining workers for the Chincha Islands guano deposits; and the Lima trading firm of Bernales y Saco; others were less known and often ad hoc syndicates of investors such as the Seis Amigos of Callao and the ~~SIX~~ seven entrepreneurs who chartered the Manuelita Costas; yet others were foreigners like J.C. Byrne and B.D. Clarke, who pioneered the trade; the English Callao merchant Higginson, part-owner of the Rosa Patricia, and

Kiihue, the Prussian Vice-Consul ^{who, with two associates, is} at Callao, ^{said to have} ~~owned~~ ^{chartered} the Empresa de Lima ^{from Francisco Carnarare in return for 30% of the profits obtained.} There is no point in listing ^{more} ~~others~~, even where their names are known, for most of them

seem to have been, as Miller said at the time, merely obscure small-time speculators, who expected to realize handsome profits 'from the collection of South-Sea Islanders'. A few actually did. ^{or 600 huastros (\$690) if the venture did not succeed.}

① → Ribeyro, the Peruvian Foreign Minister, once expressed his satisfaction at finding that none of the crew members of ships charged ^{in Tahiti} with kidnapping or other offences connected with recruiting operations ^{were} ~~appeared to be~~ Peruvians, and the examination of crew lists supports his contention.¹⁴ This was not, however, because of any particular antipathy towards the trade but because the crews were the usual heterogeneous collection of unemployed seafarers to be found in the west coast ports of the early 1860s and the relatively few Peruvians who were seamen usually preferred to remain in the short-run coastal trade.

¹¹ MT, 28.2.63: 35.

¹⁴ El Comercio 12.5.63

An analysis of the crew list of the Misti, for example, shows that 5 of the 18 were Portuguese, 3 English, 2 German, 2 Filipino, 2 Chilean, and 1 each from Colombia, Denmark, Spain and Java; ^① other ships differed only in the nature and proportions of the mixture. ¹⁵ Chileans tended to be under-represented, at least on Chilean vessels, because of their Government's denouncement of the trade and the imposition of penalties of up to 10 years hard labour for those who took part in it on ships flying the Chilean flag. On the other hand there was an unusual number of Polynesians, owing to their knowledge of the islands and usefulness as interpreters; these were mostly Cook Islanders, with at least one Samoan, and were engaged at Callao where they had been deserted or discharged from whaling and trading ships.

Among the captains and other ship's officers one was more likely to find Peruvian nationals, as they would often stay with the ship from one voyage to another; and occasionally one finds a captain as part-owner or charterer, such as Captain Carcamo of the Micaela Miranda. ^① On the smaller vessels the captain managed recruiting operations himself but where a supercargo was carried he either acted as recruiter or assisted the captain in this work. Some of the supercargoes, like the Baltimore Pitman on the Rosa Patricia and Alexander Saco on the Serpiente Marina, ^{were specially engaged to} represented the interests of the owner or charterer; ^{for example} Lee Knapp on the Mercedes A. de Wholey, ^{also} was called Pilot and interpreter but ^{acted as supercargo on} a contract by which he was ^{to receive} ^{80 per cent with and 20 per cent} ^(£2.30) for each adult recruit landed at Callao. ¹⁷ ^(£92)

36% were kidnapped, 35% went ostensibly through misrepresentation. and the only considerable shipments of voluntary recruits not known to have been deceived in any material particular were two made by the Adelante from Tongareva and the first three from Easter Island made by the Bella Margarita, General Prim and Eliza Mason. Even in the case of these five voyages, however, the recruiters had no means of ensuring that the terms and conditions of employment as set out in the contracts were in fact being observed once the recruits had been sold and their contracts transferred. The supervision of labour conditions was a function of the Peruvian Government and the extent to which they performed this work will be ^{considered} ~~shown~~ in Part II.

- 1 The Tasmanian whaler Grecian has been excluded from the table, as she had no contact with Peru other than through the General Prim.
- 2 Sources for the pre-recruit population estimates are:
Tongareva - Royle to LMS 17.5.65, SSL; Nukulaelae - Turner, G.A., 1878; Nukunonu - Gill and Bird, Journal, 13.2.63, SSJ; Funafuti - Turner, George, Journal, 21.7.76, SSJ; Fakaofu (23.1.63) - Bird to LMS 29.5.63, SSL; Easter Island - see Ch.3, fn¹; Rakahanga - Nautical Magazine 37:451-2; Atafu - Gill and Bird, Journal, 13.2.63, SSJ; Pukapuka - Gill to LMS 18.8.71, SSL; Niue (August 1862) - Lawes to LMS 21.7.63, SSL.
- 3 Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.414, 28.8.64, (NA).
- 4 The figure of 200 quoted in Gifford 1929:283 is clearly an error if there were 100 school children left on the island.
- 5 Some of these were stated to have been kidnapped but the number is unknown - Governor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No.359, 25.8.64, Enc.2, AN.

Appendix ...

The percentage taken from Ata should be very significant, but cannot be given as the pre-recruit population is not ascertainable.⁴ Again, it would be misleading to work out figures for the five Tuamotu Islands since so many of the people recruited, particularly from Motu Tunga, appear to have been temporary residents. The small numbers taken from the other 17 islands ^{had a lesser impact} are of little consequence, especially ^{on} ~~for~~ those, such as Upolu or Rotuma, which had large populations: even the 109 taken from Niue represented only 2% of the total population in August 1962.

The significance of these figures, by which is meant the effect of demographic catastrophes of this order on the island cultures, will be discussed in the final chapter; all that need be emphasized here is that the consequences bore very unevenly over Polynesia as a whole and were seen at their worst in the atolls, where in some instances the operations of the Peruvian recruiters amounted to virtual genocide.

To conclude this summary of the activities of the Peruvian recruiters in the islands an attempt is made in Table 4 to analyse in statistical form the methods adopted by them to fill their complements: whether by invitation without involving deceit or coercion; by misrepresentation as to the place, nature or term of employment for which the islanders were being engaged; or by outright kidnapping. No attempt ^{has been} ~~is~~ made to separate the various methods of misrepresentation employed since ~~it will by now be~~ ~~obvious that~~ in most instances several were used at the same time as necessary, and that in general the kind and locality of the employment and the amount of remuneration offered was not based on objective fact but fabricated to induce a favourable response from the people concerned. While the extent to which the islanders were in fact deceived or would have gone in any case cannot of course be conjectured the table shows that of the 3,197 islanders (including wives and children) for which we have ^{evidence}

An attempt is made in Table 4 to analyse in statistical form the methods adopted by the Peruvian recruiters to fill their complements: whether by invitation without involving deceit or coercion; by misrepresentation as to the place, nature or term of employment for which the islanders were being engaged; or by outright kidnapping. No attempt has been made to separate the various methods of misrepresentation employed since in most instances several were used at the same time as necessary. While the extent to which the islanders were in fact deceived or would have gone in any case cannot of course be conjectured the table shows that of the 3,197 islanders ~~XXXXXX~~ (including wives and children) for which we have evidence ~~36%XXXXXX~~ 29% went voluntarily, 35% ostensibly through misrepresentation and 36% were kidnapped.

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Chapter

Recruiters and Collaborators

The detailed contemporary accounts of recruiting operations suggest that a varying degree of deception was inherent in every attempt to recruit the islanders for work in Peru. In the case of the first voyage of the Adelante it was admittedly slight; but even here one finds them 'embarked without any other contract than a verbal agreement to carry them to one of the islands near to work'.¹ To describe Peru as an island is ^{perhaps} legitimate enough, since the Tongarevans had no conception of continents, but even by Pacific standards Callao was not near.

Probably the extent of ^{misrepresentation} ~~prevarication~~ was no more on the next three voyages by the northern route - those of the Jorge Zahara, Trujillo and the second trip of the Adelante - and on the first three to Easter Island - those of the Eliza Mason, Bella Margarita and General Prim. For there was apparently a sufficiency of recruits willing to go; if only for this reason, therefore, there was no need for more fraud than was involved in concealing the fact that on arrival at Callao all who were not consigned to owners in advance would be sold to the highest bidder, ^① 人

Accepting the ordinary dictionary definition of kidnapping as 'carrying off a person by illegal force' we can ^{also} ~~therefore~~ exonerate those in charge of recruiting on the first seven voyages from being guilty of the ~~is~~

practice, ² and also give the benefit of the doubt to the small schooner Genara.³ The use of physical force, whether to get the recruits on board or to keep them there, was begun by the Serpiente Marina and the December raiders at Easter Island, the Mercedes A. de Woley in the Tuamotus and the Empresa de Lima in the Marquesas; and when those left ashore understood that force had been used to detain their friends no one was likely to volunteer as a recruit again: so once commenced the practice had to be continued.

There are degrees of kindapping, however, just as there are of recruiting by deceit, and the worst form - the landing of armed bodies of sailors to capture, embark by force and incarcerate on board their ship any able-bodied islanders they could find - was only carried out on Easter Island and the three atolls of Fakaofu, Atafu and Nukunono in the Tokelau Group. It was attempted on Rapa but the terrain made any round-up impracticable;³ while on atolls such as Manihiki it is probable that the difficulty of landing through the surf made it too hazardous a venture. With the possible exception of Captain Marutani of the Rosa y Carmen and Captain Mota of the Rosa Patricia most ~~recruiters~~ ^{kidnappers} preferred to use slower techniques in which the islanders were cajoled to visit the ship to trade their produce and handicrafts, or for a banquet, a religious service or some other pretext, and then imprisoned between decks.

about from Easter Island, however, most recruits

~~The vast majority of recruits, however,~~ were neither volunteers who came on board trustingly and without demur nor ^{kidnapped} prisoners compelled to come by force majeure but rather men and women who were prepared to consider seriously the pros and cons involved in leaving their islands, usually for the first time in their lives, on what seemed to be an exciting yet conceivably perilous adventure. By 1862 the inhabitants of all but the remotest islands had heard tales of compatriots who had worked on European owned plantations in the main Groups, on Fanning or Caroline Island, or diving for shell in the Tuamotus - though the era of the organized labour trade had barely commenced - and many young people were attracted ^{by} at the prospect of seeing other islands and other islanders.

The most important questions asked by potential migrants concerned the distance from home of the island where they were to be employed, the nature of the work which they would be expected to do, how much they would receive and when they would be returned; and to all such anxious enquirers the recruiters were able to give reassuring answers appropriate to the locality. The island was near to Fanning, their Shangri-la, the Tongarevans were told, and they would be engaged on collecting ^à bêche-de-mer, an exercise which everyone was accustomed to; ⁴ it was near Pitcairn, about the same height and could be sailed to in a canoe, they assured the Tuamotuans, adding that they would be cultivating sugar-cane and coffee, as on Tahiti, and

would be repatriated 'whenever they wished, and in any case when they felt tired';⁵ they were wanted for work on a coconut plantation at nearby Plamerston Island, the Pukapukans heard; while the Tuvalu people, ^{anxiously awaiting their promised money teachers,} understood that they were being taken to learn about Christianity. The fiction of being taken to work on a neighbouring island was indeed such a frequent feature of the recruiters' spiel that the authorities at Tahiti concluded that it was an invariable one. ^{5a}

The wages offered were initially \$4 a month, with food, clothing and housing. This was the same as at Tahiti, but less than the \$6-\$10 paid at Fanning;⁶ but only the Tuamotu people, who were accustomed to being recruited for diving, were sophisticated enough to argue. At first offered ^($\$3.45 - \4.60) three or four piastres, they refused to come for less than ^($\$5.75$) five, a sum which was immediately conceded: presumably in their case the amount was of little practical consequence, as it was not to be supposed that labour engaged ^{for the} Chincha Islands would live to receive any wages. ⁷ ^① The Trujillo offered \$5 for men, on a 12 months contract, and ^② \$2 for women, ^{and} the supercargo of the Rosa Patricia ^{offered} \$6 a month on a 6 year contract.⁸ In fact one gains the impression that the rate of wages and length of contract were set at whatever figures ^{were} deemed necessary to secure ^{or keep them quiet,} recruits, the captains and supercargoes being fully aware that they would not necessarily be considered relevant by whoever purchased the islanders on their arrival at Callao.

* The Pamuelita Cotas, for example, had 2 mill canons, an 'espingada',
14 rifles, antenno and pistols, with the usual 'gullies' (as the
in gullies were termed) - El Penon, 30.3.63.

① The Pamuelita Cotas The separate Penon had a capacity of 75 litres each water
canon 16-18,000 gallons of water (an 60-61 tons) - El Penon, 30.3.63.
of water and for two boilers had a capacity of 75 litres each. ¹⁰

10 El Penon, 30.3.63.

3 MT, 21.3.63:57.

- 1 See Table I.
- 2 Leibel 1861: 215-7; Paz Soldan 1863: 57-9.
- 3 Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, v. 69-A (1862-1863). Shipping ~~messages~~ reported in Chile declined by 3,746 tons between 1862 and 1863 but not all of it can be attributed to vessels being transferred ^{to} Peruvian registry in order to engage in the Polynesian labour trade - Véliz 1961: 156.
- 4 GB-P 1864: 6-7.
- 5 Rubinson 1977: 213.
- 6 The Manuelita Costas, for example, had two small cannons, an 'espergada', 14 rifles, cutlasses and pistols, with the word 'grilles' (as the iron gratings were termed) - EL Peruano 30.3.63, evidence of Antonio Guerrero.
- 7 Miller to FO 29.11.62, TBCP, v. 10; reproduced in GB-P 1864: 14-16.
- 8 Lubbock 1931: 102.
- 9 De la Richerie to de Lesseps 4.12.62, Exe 4, AN, also quoted in EL Peruano 30.3.63; Miller to FO 29.11.62, TBCP, v. 10, reproduced in GB-P 1864: 14-16.
- 10 De la Rubine to de Lesseps 4.12.62, Exe 9, also quoted in EL Peruano 30.3.63.
- 11 MT 28.2.63: 35.
- 12 SMH 25.8.63: 5.
- 13 Basadze 1961: III: 1450.
- 14 EL Comercio 12.5.63.
- 15 MT 27.6.63: 125; SMH 14.4.63: 5.
- 16 Jenyns to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/210, reproduced in GB-P 1864: 5.
- 17 MT 21.3.63: 57.
- 18 Piche 1967: 143-4.
- 19 Angiel in LMS Archives.
- 20 Gill to LMS 18.3.63, SSL; see also p.

(2) As we would expect there were people who would have nothing to do with the trade. An English merchant in Lima wrote that pressing solicitations had been made to him to join the speculators, since he had lived in the islands and was consequently regarded as an authority by Peruvian artists who had no knowledge of Polynesian whatever; they also tried to charter his firm's ships, of which there were four in Callao harbor. In reply he explained the risks and difficulties of the enterprise - but to them a big Polynesian (vessel) was worth 200 fathoms [approximately \$200]; and that was all they could see about.¹²

¹ SMH 258.63:5.

with hindsight one can appreciate the assurance given to the tender of the next
captain of a Pinera ship to call at Nambiki, who wanted to acquire the
Aparimaco's note cards, that Captain Gray was in transit for his 'uncle' and would
be put to death.¹

The people of Nambiki had no conflicts against ^{little} Captain Gray or Captain Andres
Grau of the Nanchita Costas and regarded their former owners faithfully, despite
the calumnies against them perpetrated by Captain Jervis of the J2.²

despite the assurance given by C 1) of the J2 that

2. Full to LMS 18.3.63, SSL;
see also p.

¹ Full to LMS, 18.3.63, SSL.

(2)

While it is true that the recruiting entrepreneurs were licensed to engage in the trade of the Pennsylvanian Government, ~~but~~ this did not imply any screening of their suitability or that of the ships they owned or chartered. In fact, as the Pennsylvanian historian Jorge Basadre points out, the licenses were not required by law but initiated at the request of Byrnes for his own protection and in the hope of securing a monopoly, and sought by his successors as offering a semblance of government sanction to their operations.

13

① on the Empress there were 4 English, 4 Italians, 2 each Spanish, Chilean
and American, and one each Greek, Portuguese, French and Danish; ¹⁵

¹⁵
SMH, 14.4.63:5

① The British Foreign Office was advised that at least one of
the captives was said to have been formerly engaged in the African
slave trade. ¹⁶

¹⁶
Shirreff to FO, 28.1.63, Reference G B - Palmer, 1864:5.

The role of European residents in helping the recruiters by allaying ^{the islanders'} fears and inducing ^{their} confidence cannot be over-estimated, for they ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ were known to and ^{largely} trusted by ^{communities, many also they lived,} the islanders, they provided the local expertise and they suggested the mendacious yet plausible stories most likely to overcome any reluctance to embark. ^{W.P.} There were few traders as yet on the outer islands: only three were on the islands visited for recruiting, and of them Peter Laban on Nukulaelae was away at the time. But there were others, for the most part beachcombers but including a few shady entrepreneurs, and ^{most} all of these appear to have been willing enough to betray the people who had welcomed,

h the lavish hospit-
enowned.
^{months later,}
Uapou, the captain and
chomber Henry Nichols
O Marquesans for sale
failing that by force,

① The practice of signing on a local European began with the very first recruiting voyage, when Byrne engaged a Chilean named Jose Villegas at Nukuhiva, where he had been living for four years, to act as interpreter for the duration of the voyage.⁹

all we hear of him is that, refusing passage to the Tupperans, he had no success.

on a commission of 20 to 10 piastres a head: if he worked with them, they said, his fortune was made. When he seemed loth to leave his Marquesan wife and children the doctor urged him to bring them on board and settle in Peru, as they ~~XXXX~~ would be making many voyages to collect Indians and he could act as their permanent recruiting agent.¹⁰

After a time Nichols began to suspect that he was being hoodwinked and ^{after his substitute had been done up, possibly on the captain's orders, he} succeeded in escaping ashore, ^{in one of the ships boats,} whereupon the captain employed Autoro (or Otoro), a locally resident

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① On the arrival of the Empresa ^{six months later,} at Uapou, the captain and doctor endeavoured to persuade the beachcomber Henry Nichols to help them to obtain a minimum of 200 Marquesans for sale in Peru, by persuasion if possible but failing that by force, on a commission of 20 to 10 piastres a head: if he worked with them, they said, his fortune was made. When he seemed loth to leave his Marquesan wife and children the doctor urged him to bring them on board and settle in Peru, as they ~~XXXX~~ would be making many voyages to collect Indians and he could act as their permanent recruiting agent.¹⁰

^{after his wife had been starved, he} After a time Nichols began to suspect that he was being hoodwinked and ^{in view of the wife's habits,} succeeded in escaping ashore, whereupon the captain employed Autoro (or Otoro), a locally resident

Colombian, or as some alleged a Peruvian, as a temporary recruiting agent. ⁷ He was still looking for a suitable permanent recruiter, ^{Captain Detet then} however, and on leaving the Marquesas ~~he~~ called at Caroline Island and signed on Joseph Browne, who was continuing the coconut plantation and stock raising enterprises there commenced by the Tahiti merchants Collie and Lucett.¹¹ Browne was described by the British Consul in Tahiti as 'a person well known amongst these Islands, where for some years past he has made a livelihood' and was evidently highly regarded by his new employers since the Empresa was deviated to Huahine to get his letters posted.¹² Unfortunately for him/his services ended when the authorities took legal action against the captain and doctor on their return to Peru.

though he succeeded in getting the youths on board at Huahine he had a false clearance and

Similarly Lee Knapp of the Mercedes A. de Woley, who had himself lived in Tahiti and knew the local personalities, ~~deliberately~~ sought out the near bankrupt Frenchman Charles F. Grandet, who was collecting debts owed to him in the Tuamotus, and persuaded him to act as local recruiter for a salary of 100 piastres a month plus $2\frac{1}{2}$ piastres for each adult landed at Callao. The remarkable success of the Tuamotu recruit owed much to Grandet's influence with the chiefs and his assurances that the operation had the blessing of the French authorities and the Catholic mission. After the capture of the Mercedes he would almost certainly have received a heavy sentence had he not died in hospital soon after being brought to Tahiti.¹³

At Mangareva the captain and supercargo of the Serpiente Marina made 'advantageous proposals' ^{of dubious reports} to a local trader, Jean Pignon, to act in a similar capacity to Charles Grandet, the intention being that he would assist in procuring the three or four hundred recruits which they hoped to obtain there. After a fracas with Mangarevans ashore the ship left in a hurry for Tahiti and the deal fell through. ^{After Aguirre} ①

It is obvious that even where the local inhabitants were willing to leave without any show of compulsion those left behind would sooner or later find out that they had been duped. European collaborators had therefore of necessity to leave themselves or face the consequences of their treachery. Ben Hughes on Tongareva, called Beni by the islanders, helped as recruiter for the Adelante and he was still there when the John Williams visited the atoll in March 1863. The missionary Wyatt Gill reported that: 'He has been acting as agent for the Callao vessels. He went in one of them to the other islands and when his dirty work was done, they brought him back to Penrhyn's.' No doubt he found it advisable to leave soon after Gill called, as this was when the remaining inhabitants first learnt that they would in all probability never see any of their fellow islanders again. Later in the same year he settled down, with his wife, child and three other Tongarevans, on Fakaofu in the Tokelaus. 15

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recruiting agent. He was still looking for a suitable
government recruiter, however, and on leaving the Marquesas
he called at Caroline Island and signed on Joseph Browne,

who was continuing the coconut plantation and stock raising
of the Coro, offered James Corcor, a beachcomber at Papea, \$5
for each 'Indian' procured by him. 14
and Lucett. Browne was described by the British Consul in

Tahiti as 'a person well known amongst these Islands, who
for some years past he has made a livelihood' and was

The Coro also had to leave Papea via a schooner, for the
Empress was recruited by the French authorities since the
unfortunate for him his services ended when the authorities

captain of the Coro left Papea with 64
recruited, being captives by the islanders, and made for Papea

the he offered \$500 a month, a local beachcomber, \$5
had himself lived in Tahiti and knew the local personalities

He had been in the Coro and was the captain's helper, and the
Papea offered the Coro and was employed by the French

for the Tahiti with the Coro a price of 200
a salary of 100 pence a month plus 2 pence for each

adult landed at Papea. The remarkable success of the

Tuamotu recruit owed much to Gendreau's influence with the

chiefs and his assurance that the operation had the blessing

of the French authorities and the Catholic mission. After

the capture of the Marquesas he would almost certainly have

received a heavy sentence had he not died in hospital soon

after being brought to Tahiti.

Tom Pox was a sailor on an American ship who deserted his ship at
At Tangarua the captain and supercargo of the Serpentine
Tahiti in 1860 or 1861. On the arrival of the Deceit London and Palovina
saw the Deceit and Palovina to a local trader, John
off the Deceit in April 1863 he noted as intended and go-between.

The Deceit Palovina London Palovina Deceit London Palovina Deceit London Palovina
it is obvious that Christie London Palovina Deceit London Palovina
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treachery. Ben Hughes on Tangarua, called Deceit by the
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still there when the John Williams visited the Deceit in
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in the Tokelau.

Another quisling was Paddy Cooney on Pukapuka, who left on the Rosa y Carmen, with his Tuamotuan wife and 60 islanders, ostensibly to work for the Tahiti merchant J. Brander on nearby Palmerston Island. Cooney was 'a British subject and a notorious character' who had lived for years on Pukapuka, as well as on Tahiti, Aitutaki, Samoa, Palmerston Island and for a short time on Fanning. There is little doubt that he concocted the Brander story as being guaranteed to produce a satisfactory number of recruits, just as he and Tom Rose (or Ross) worked out the ingenious plan for persuading the Nukulaelae people to leave their island. ^{N.P.} Rose was a sailor who had deserted his ship and judging from the account of life on Nukulaelae which he gave on his return to the States he must have possessed a gift for mendacity approaching genius. He also joined the crew of the Rosa y Carmen and, so far as one knows, never returned to the islands; Paddy Cooney did, and eventually met with a violent death: 'one cannot wonder', says Sterndale, 'that the judgement of God should seem to cleave in some shape to this sort of scoundrel'. ¹⁶

Pitman, the brash Baltimore supercargo of the Rosa Patricia, tried to persuade an Apia merchant to act as recruiter, offering him \$10 a head for Samoans and \$1,000 if he would take the barque to an island where a satisfactory quantity of saleable ^{islanders} ~~humans~~ could be obtained. He promised to return in five weeks to see if ~~any~~ a satisfactory deal could be made but did not do so, presumably because he had

by then found another recruiter; and, as Pitman was aware, there was always the danger of meeting a warship at Apia.¹⁷

What Pitman did was to sail straight to Olosenga, where the American Eli Hutchinson Jennings had settled in 1856 and by 1863 had eliminated other claimants to the island. According to an islander living on Olosenga Jennings agreed to act as a recruiter in the Tokelaus, where he was well-known to the inhabitants as Ilae (or Ilai) and spoke the local dialect fluently. Described in a Fakaofu account as 'cruel' and 'exceedingly brutal', Jennings very possibly devised, and certainly facilitated, the method of kidnapping employed at Atafu. *No doubt he felt that he had earned his Fades - money, based on he been only \$600 for the 57 slaves he killed to build* ¹⁸ ~~It seems probable that he was returned to Olosenga by the Rosa Patricia on the completion of his work.~~

This then is the extent of our rogues' gallery, for the remaining Europeans who came into contact with the recruiters treated them with reticence and without cordiality. The officials at Papeete, consuls at Apia, the captain of the Marilda at Pukapuka, who was told that his recruits for Fanning Island would have been worth \$7,000 if they could have been transferred to the Dolores Carolina, the captain of the Clarence Packet at Rotuma and the Emily at Sunday Island, are among the few who have left written records. The Europeans living in the Polynesian islands were as a group decidedly hostile to the Peruvian intruders, some on moral grounds, some out of sympathy with the islanders, but most because they feared the effect of wholesale kidnapping ventures on race relations and trade. The missionaries

and officials were the most vocal, particularly in their communications with metropolitan principals, and the effect of their letters and petitions will be considered later.

Among the Polynesians themselves there was but ~~one~~ ^{two} a ~~single~~ ^{little negotiator} collaborator; a dissolute and unpopular chief from Hivaoa living on Uapou called Pehipo who agreed to maroon, and if possible murder, the two supercargoes on the Empresa in return ~~for~~ four bottles of whisky and a knife; but even he was not concerned ~~with~~ in any kidnapping operations. Pehipo was a product of the faction-torn mid-century Marquesas, and was later banished at the request of the other chiefs. ¹⁹

Every effort was made to obtain the co-operation of chiefs and mission teachers by reassurances and the offer of bribes, but though they were often deceived into acquiescence they were never suborned. ¹ On Rakahanga the ariki and ^{He takes Toini} missionary signed ^a the contract for taking 40 men at \$5 a month wages and 12 women at \$2 but ^{again} only after being assured that it was ^{really} for light work ~~only~~ ^{the other hand when} gathering cotton, and that they would be returned in one year; ^{in Atiu, it served as a} On Atiu the ariki was offered \$3,000 for 200 men, ^{and} sufficient warning ^{to} caused him to forbid anyone from visiting the ship; and on Atafu the mission teacher was offered cash down and 'lots of clothes' in return for two or three recruits, but refused to accept anything; he also declined to accompany the ship to Fakaofu and Nukunono to help with recruiting, ^{though} but was eventually compelled ^{under duress} to write a noncommittal note to the teachers on Fakaofu; ²⁰ The Captain of this vessel is about to go to you two - to seek

men. ~~There is no man left in our land. Do as you please in the matter; you and the chiefs.~~ This was certainly not collaboration.²⁰

If several of the Fakarava chiefs, and probably some of the others in the Tuamotus, signed agreements to allow people who wished to recruit to leave their islands it was only after they had been assured that the activities of the Mercedes A. de Woley had the blessing of the French Government and the Catholic Church; in the Marquesas and on Mangareva recruiters were told by the chiefs that the prior sanction of the authorities was necessary before anyone could leave, despite the assurances made by the Peruvians ~~XXXX~~ to the contrary.²¹ On Manihiki and again on Mangareva persuasion and offers of money did not result in a single recruit;²² while the accounts of Paul Vehi's culpability on Ata seem to have grown with the passing years without much evidence to support them.²³

Others who appeared to be co-operating with the recruiters were in fact acting under duress: the main Togaevan chief kidnaped by the Trojillo's captain to act as interpreter at Rikobunga; the Tokelau Ocoa kidnaped by Captain Murray of the Touza to recruit Easter Islanders; and others recalled to effect: all these acted from coercion and not as volunteers.

To get these people on board required a certain amount of finesse; and to all anxious enquirers the recruiters were able to give reassuring answers appropriate to the locality

*but it seems certain that the nature of their employment was manifested to the
Peruvians ^{while} and that the Russians were told nothing at all - not even where they were
going to*

- 1 Pablo Gamero, quoted in Barton to FO, 23.12.62, FO 61/204.
- 2 The Trujillo ^{helps a} is ~~another~~ doubtful case, but despite charges made by the missionary Lawes the two British seamen on board did not consider that any of her 126 recruits had been kidnapped - Gill to LMS, 18.3.63, SSL; Jerningham to FO, 9.2.63, FO 61/210.
- 3 MT, 28.2.63:39.
- 4 Gill, Mangaia Journal, 1863, SSJ.
- 5 MT, 14.3.63:52, 28.3.63:67.
- 6 Crocombe, Marjorie, 1974:212; Buzacott, n.d.
- 7 MT, 14.3.63:49. A dollar and a ^{to} piastre were worth approximately the same.
Evidence in Jerningham to FO, 28.1.63, 4B-Parl. 1864:6;
- 8 Gill to LMS, 18.3.63, SSL; MT 7.3.63:43; Gill, Mangaia Journal, 1863, SSJ.
- 9 Barton to FO, 23.12.62, FO 61/204; MT, 21.3.63:56; E1 Peruviano, 30.3.63.
- 10 MT, 28.2.63^{:34}; SMH, 29.6.63:5.
- 11 MT, 28.2.63:34;
Lucett 1851:II:233-4; TBCP VI:4,10,91; Adm.1/6009; ~~Adm.~~ 1/6059.
- 12 W.H. Williams to Miller, 21.4.63, Adm.1/5826; MT, 7.2.63:22; Robinson to State Depart., 28.4.63, USD.

- 13 MT, 21.3.63:54-63; Laval 1968: .
- 14 Laval 1968: ; MT, 28.2.63:40
- 15 Gill to LMS, 18.3.63, SSL; Manguia Journal, 1863, SSJ;
Hooper and Huntsman 1973:378.
- 16 Gill to Miller, 2.11.63, TBCP, v.10; Gill to LMS, 18.3.63,
SSL; Boston Daily Journal, 8.8.65:32,34,35; ~~XXXXXX~~
Sterndale 1874:50; Murray 1865:337,339; Murray 1876:381,
385.
- 17 Gee to LMS, 26.1.63, SSL; Bird to LMS, 16.2.63, SSL; Gill
to LMS, 18.3.63, SSL.
- 18 Bird to LMS, 30.3.63, SSL; Hooper 1975:90,93. For an account
of Olosenga and the Jennings family see Bryan 1974:137-65.
- ✓ 19 MT, 28.2.63:35; SMH, 14.4.63:5.
- ✓ 20 Richards to Kingcome, 8.5.63, Adm.1/5826; SMH, 13.10.63:3;
Bird to LMS, 29.5.63, SSL.
- ✓ 21 MT, 14.3.63:50-1; El Peruano, 30.3.63.
- 22 Laval 1968:375; Gill to LMS, 18.3.63, SSL.
- 23 *Gifford 1929:283*

Notes

- 1 Both figures are of recruits estimated to have been landed in Peru. According to Amelio's estimates ^{and his estimated recruits were} totals taken were approximately 1,407 ^{due to deaths of} Rosa y Lamer 35 and Gullerco 1, and ^{and} Amareta ^{and} General Puro 2, Gua 1 and Niote 2. ^{and} Sapite Numa 2.
- 2 Round trip took 50 days ^{only}, and ^{was} therefore clearly to Easter Island.
- 3 Peruvian official and British Consul's figures are both 115.
- 4 Round trip took only 51 days and was therefore clearly to Easter Island; ^{for} Amareta's presence among the fleet at Easter Island see M.T., 28.2.63:39.
- 5 Round trip took 53 days, and was therefore clearly to Easter Island.
- 6 M.T., 28.2.63:39 ^{see} Ch. 2, p. 17. For identification of Stevens with Gua see Museo de Historia Natural returned to Callao with one child only.
- 7 For rationale of figures for Rosa y Lamer see p. ...
- 8 Freed and ^{the} rehabilitated ^{the} French at Papeete; Gua had one only - M.T., 21.2.63:30; Wahing in all.
- 9 Gua kept one on board after Desender and, ^{the} one freed and rehabilitated ^{the} French - M.T., 21.2.63:50.
- 10 For the islands from which the recruits on the General Puro during the round voyage see Ch. 11.
- 11 The Callao figures are stated to represent estimated numbers landed at Callao; if this is intended to be taken literally 356 should be deducted from his total of 1,353 since recruits from the Barbara Gony, Rosa y Lamer, Amareta y Puro and General Puro (2) were not landed but retained on board during rehabilitation. Apart from this no deaths in transit are known to have been reported the difference between ^{the} recruits taken from Easter Island and arrived at Callao are estimated at 41 (1 death on Gullerco and 35 estimated deaths on Rosa y Lamer; 2 freed by the French on Sapite Numa, 1 on Gua and 2 on Niote).

- 1 Barton to FO 23.12.62, FO 61/204; MT 21.3.63:56; EL Peruano 30.3.63.
- 2 MT 28.2.63:34; SMH 29.6.63:5.
- 3 MT 7.3.63:183; MT 10.10.63:189.
- 4 MT 28.2.63:34; Lucett 1851:II:233-4; TBCP VI:4, 10, 91; Adm. 1/6009, 1/6059.
- 5 W. H. Williams to Miller 21.4.63, Adm. 1/5826; MT 7.2.63:22; Robinson to State Dept. 28.4.63, USD.
- 6 Miller to Jennings 26.6.63, TBCP v.10.
 7 MT 21.3.63:54-63; ^{Local 1968:379.} De la Rucherie to de Lesseps 31.12.62, AN;
- 8 Local 1968:375-8; MT 28.2.63:40.
- 9 Gell to LMS 18.3.63, SSL; Anguila Journal 1863, SSL; Hooper and Hinton 1973:378.
- 10 Gell to Miller 21.11.63, TBCP, v.10; Gell to LMS 18.3.63, SSL.
- 11 reproduced in Ward 1967:V:261-2; Boston Daily Journal 8.8.65:32, 34, 35; Stoddale 1874:50; Murray 1865:337, 339; Murray 1876:381, 385.
- 12 Gell to LMS 26.1.63, SSL; Bird to LMS 16.2.63, SSL; Gell to LMS 18.3.63, SSL.
- 13 Bird to LMS 30.3.63, SSL; Hooper 1975:90, 93. For an account of Olesenga and the Jennings family see Bryan 1974:137-65.
- 14 Richards to Kuzenev 6.5.63, Adm. 1/5826; Expire 9.7.63:5; SMH 21.8.63:7.
- 15 EL Peruano 30.3.36, Evidence of Antonio Guerra; MT 28.2.63:35; MT 7.3.63:44; SMH 14.4.63:5.
- 16 Gell, Anguila Journal 1863, SSL; Richards to Kuzenev 8.5.63, Adm. 1/5826; SMH 13.10.63:3; Bird to LMS 29.5.63, SSL.

- 17 MT 14.3.63:50-1; EL Penasco 30.3.63.
- 18 Lavel 19.68:375; Gill to LMS 18.3.63, SSL; Gifford 1929:280.
- 19 Releton to Jennyson 5.2.63, statement of O'Neill and Walter, in Jennyson to FO 9.2.63, FO 61/210; MT 27.6.63:126; EL Penasco 27.3.63, letter Ben de Leon to Pony Soldier 20.3.63.

Chapter

Journey to Peru

Irrespective of the means used to obtain recruits - whether by persuasion, deceit or kidnapping - once a ~~KIXKXKX~~ ship had obtained as many ^{islanders} ~~from an island~~ as the captain or supercargo considered possible, or at least expedient, the normal practice was to confine them between decks by closing the iron grilles or, if there were none fitted, by battening down the hatches. This was done to prevent the crew being attacked while the ship was being got under way and the recruits from jumping overboard and swimming for the shore ^{or} while their island was still in sight.

All accounts agree that the initial shock of finding themselves helplessly trapped and realizing, perhaps for the first time, that they were being carried away as slaves to an unknown destination and an unknown fate resulted in a feeling of ^{the desperate} ~~complete despair~~ ^{despair} and hopelessness. Perhaps the following first-hand account obtained from men of Avatele on Niue who escaped after a night aboard the Rosa Patricia gives the best picture of what it must have been like after a typical recruit:

When the ship sailed on the night of the capture, the natives on board thought she was only making a big tack; but they soon found they were really off. They held a council as to what was to be done; the young men were for the seizing the captain and crew, tying them all up and then taking the ship in and, when

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on all three voyages, though her first two voyages were special ones.

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them all up and then taking the ship in hand, when

the natives were all safe on shore, untying the crew and letting them go; but the old men overruled this lest any of the foreigners should be killed in the affray. Two white men, armed, guarded the hatch-way, which was shut down and the poor creatures below were in total darkness. They kept knocking at the door, deck, and sides of the ship, and calling to be let out. After a while, some of the white men went down and beat them with great pieces of wood for making a noise. When the poor captives thought it was about the time of their evening worship, they united in their wretched confinement in singing and prayer.¹

The next day the Rosa Patricia stood in to recruit at Mutulau, on the north coast, where two or three canoes came off to trade. The captives succeeded in breaking a hole in a door, reached the deck and jumped overboard. Despite being fired on from the deck seven reached the shore, the rest being recaptured by a boat's crew from the barque. Taole, son of the High Chief Hegatule of Avatele, was one of those who reached the deck and years later, after his escape from Peru, he recounted how he had been stunned on the side of his head by a weapon brandished by one of the crew and thrown back into the hold, and that: 'Three of our men were killed in the struggle, and two others were terribly ~~XXXXXX~~ wounded; and overboard they went, dead and dying'.²

Even when islanders came on board voluntarily the sight of their homes disappearing in the distance was often enough to ^{make them} change their minds about leaving it; as for the captives, as long as their island was visible from the deck,

and even after that if they knew its position, there were men who would try to swim for it if they could break out of their confinement. On Nukulaelae Murray met one of them three years later and records that: 'He could see the island from the deck of the ship when he slipped overboard, but had great difficulty in doing so when in the water - being able to only when on the top of a large wave. He swam a night and two days before reaching the shore completely exhausted'.³

The treatment of recruits on board, once their island had been left, varied very widely as between ships. By far the best conditions prevailed on the pioneering voyage of the Adelante where Byrne's 253 charges were allowed the run of the ship once he had come to realize that they were essentially inoffensive and anxious to please, a fact which, coupled with their good looks, occasioned much surprise on their arrival in Peru. 'They travelled in complete freedom, not guarded as are coolies', reported the El Comercio, adding that: 'The new emigrants' race is infinitely superior, physically and morally, to the Chinese. They have nothing of their oblique look and brutal appearance and ~~appear~~^{seem} very like the chino-cholas of Peru. They have large eyes and very white teeth, with an appearance of ~~grandeur~~ and humility.'⁴

In all probability such benevolent treatment was seldom, ~~if ever,~~ repeated for as deceit and force came increasingly to be employed to overcome the reluctance of the islanders to leave their homes greater restraints had to be enforced

on their freedom ^{during} throughout the voyage. Nor were these precautions altogether unwarranted, for as Taole tells us: '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.' Not always in vain, for the attack ^{on,} and disarmament of, the officers of the Sapiente Marina and the successful capture of the Cora showed what resolute Polynesians could do.

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

Twice a day our gaolers lowered food and water to us, ship-biscuit and vessels containing 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 choice of escape, for there was no land to be seen; everywhere around us the ocean. ⁵

The Rosa Patricia may be regarded as an average ship; ~~and~~ on the worst class of slavers conditions were not nearly so good, accounts indicating that the passengers were confined between decks for most of, and sometimes all, the time. Irons seem to have been provided on only a few ships, probably as a precautionary measure against recalcitrants, though a pilot who boarded the Rosa y Carmen at Mangareva reported that: 'between decks of this vessel there were several, tattooed on the face and hands, and all ironed'; and in the Chinese coolie trade, the prototype

on which many of the Polynesian trade practices were modelled, 'passengers could be confined to their bunks - if required', at least on the Ville d'Agen.⁶

Food was invariably the main problem, though water was often short enough: even on the Adelante they ran short and had to obtain supplies from an American clipper and a Hamburg merchantman en route, before calling at Huacho for yet more. On the Mercedes A. de Woley rice and biscuits were supplemented by salt meat but nowhere does the bill of fare come up to the 'abundant supply of rice, bread, beans and meat, as well as brandy and wine' promised by the captain of the Cora to anyone willing to sign on as a recruit. On the worst ships there was nothing but rice, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~^{or} coconuts: the interpreter Bassett said that on the Ellen Elizabeth 'the natives had ⁽¹⁾ Rice twice a day about a tumbler full each time, and about three tumblers of water per day'.⁷

The reason for near starvation conditions on so many vessels appears to have been due to the parsimony of the speculators and an expectation that captains would be able to purchase, barter for or, better still, commandeer supplies in the islands. As the Easter Island raiders soon found out this was in fact impossible, whether at Rapa, where they first tried, or at the atolls, where all they could filch was a limited number of coconuts. It was inadvisable to call at Papeete, Apia or Levuka, where supplies could have been purchased if captains had the necessary money, and

even raids on the remoter high islands for much-needed water - unobtainable at the atolls - ran the risk of retaliation from the incensed inhabitants, by then fully aware of the nature of the man-stealing ships.

After the ^{meeting} rendezvous of the fleet at Rotuma showed that bulk supplies of stores were simply non-existent anywhere in the islands away from the main commercial centres it became necessary to return to Callao without further recruiting, transferring the islanders whenever possible to more recently arrived ships - the Dolores Carolina, Polinesia and Adelante - which had not yet exhausted their supplies, and rationing the remainder to the bare minimum necessary to sustain life.

Observers at Callao were apt to remark on the smart appearance of the recruits on their arrival, with the men in their shirts and trousers and the women in frocks. These clothes, described as 'slop clothing suitable to the native taste', were issued to them, usually a day or two before, but occasionally, as on the Mercedes A. de Woley, as soon as they came on board. Accounts in which the passengers are described as naked are presumably due to the rapid deterioration of any tapa cloth, coconut or pandanus leaf skirts, or other clothing made from local materials. 8

As one would expect the treatment of recruits on board also varied, the crew no doubt taking their cue from the officers, and they in turn from the captain. Quite frequently those questioned had no complaints and even those kidnapped, as on the Empresa, cheered up and apparently

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

I beg that whoever may read these lines may treat these islanders well; by doing this you will be able to get whatever you need from them, for although they are docile and obliging they don't like to feel themselves brusquely treated; they are moreover, isolated creatures who should be looked upon with compassion because of the unhappy situation in which Providence has placed them. ¹²

It would probably be fair to say that in the majority of recruiting ships the Polynesians were treated without unnecessary brutality, but essentially as slaves. Every adult on board was worth good money if landed in sound condition at Callao and it made good economic sense not to lose any en route if it could be avoided. As Taole said of the armed guards who threatened to shoot those who made a noise: 'We taunted them and bade them fire. They would not do that while we were safe in the hold. They did not desire to deplete their cargo of slaves.' ¹³

MM Not unexpectedly, however, the beauty of the younger women was not lost on the officers and, as it did not reduce their value as merchandise, they were apt to be given the age-old choice of female captives the world over: whether to be seduced or raped. Among other charges heard ~~XXXXXX~~ on appeal in the Peruvian Supreme Court against the captain and doctor of the Empresa was one of taking

four women by force from their husbands' ~~sides~~ and keeping them in the cabin during the voyage; but admittedly the couple were particularly inept in their behaviour and, so far as is known, no one else was prosecuted for this offence, which was punishable by death under the Peruvian code. Yet several other cases are reported by witnesses; and the captain of the Dolores Carolina even announced his intention of giving a feast to celebrate his 'pretended marriage' with a Rakahanga girl.¹⁴

If care was taken to keep the able-bodied saleable recruits alive the records indicate that the sick or wounded not considered likely to recover were, with those already dead, unceremoniously thrown overboard: in a verified case on the Guillermo the elderly woman concerned was not even sick, but merely considered too old to sell.¹⁵

Sickness was a serious risk on the longer voyages, particularly on ships where to increase ~~potential~~ profits the recruits were kept immured in grossly overcrowded and insanitary holds between decks. In reporting the arrival of the Adelante from her second recruiting voyage with 203 passengers the British Charge d'Affaires at Lima remarked: 'I doubt whether much cleanliness is observed on board of these vessels, for I was informed the other day that a gentleman of my acquaintance, a proprietor, went on board this or another Polynesian emigrant vessel, with the object of obtaining some islanders, but was so much disgusted with the odour proceeding from the ship and with the appearance of the people, that he did not engage any'.¹⁶

End of
chapter

①

The interpreter Newbury said that on the Eller Elyzelett the recruits were given a measure of cooked rice 'as big as little cup of tea' and a little salt fish twice a day, which being quite insufficient forced them to steal any food they could find; if caught they were 'whipped vigorously'. For drinking they were retised to about three tumblers a day.⁷

⁷ Galma, Tahiti, to Monterey, No. 359, 25.8.64, Enc. 2, AN;

Add to rest of 7

None of the crew members were signed in when false pictures,
kept in stock for slave trading, were displayed and
described whenever the opportunity offered, e.g. from the Cora,
Espresso, Guillermo, Manuelita Cortes and Marta.

¹ For the four who left the Manuelita Cortes at Imbabura see
El Penon 30.3.63, index of Antonio Guena; the others
have been returned elsewhere.

After it became apparent that bulk supplies of food provisions were unobtainable and
ships stores were run-~~down~~ ~~away~~ from the main command centres it became necessary
to return to Callao as rapidly as possible, retaining the minimum necessary to sustain life. The last ships left on the Western Pacific route
an attempt to obtain supplies at Potomac and when they found that nothing
could be purchased or purchased from the local trading stores, the Sydney trading
ships which called there on the local ~~at~~ Potomac they also had to make
trucks for Callao, retaining minimum necessary to sustain life. Even before they left
the island the Sydney Captain Hornell of the Sydney Packet said that of all Peruvian ships that the return on

had use only staying and called out to be for something to eat, then allowed by of
one coconut a day. x

x see 19

1. (as in 1)
2. (as in 2)
3. (as in 3)
4. (as in 4)
5. (as in 5)
6. (as in 6)
7. (as in 7) + Gaenor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No. 359, 25.8.64, Ex. 2, AN.
8. Empire 9.7.63:5.
9. (as in 8).
10. ↑ Gaenor, Tahiti, to Ministry, No. 359, 25.8.64; ^{AN; Goal} Vellins & FO 19.6.64, FO 58/102.
11. (as in 9).
12. (as in 10)
13. (as in 11)
14. (as in 12)
15. (as in 13)
16. (as in 14)
17. (as in 16)
18. (as in 15).

Calling at Tutuila for water the Rosa y Carmen's casks were seized by the Samoans when they discovered that she was a 'man-stealer'. Of the six Fakaofu men sent ashore in intended ransom for the water casks three died almost immediately from the disease so it must have been already in evidence, though ~~deaths from it were presumably still confined to the people from that island.~~ She had then approximately ²⁷¹~~300~~ passengers on board; there was scarcely any drinking water left and rations had been reduced to half a popo (an old coconut) every two days.²⁰

It was almost certainly at Tutuila that Captain Marutani realized that with insufficient food and water his human cargo, with the contagion spreading, would never make Callao in saleable condition, if indeed they were still alive. The Rosa's course was therefore changed from due east to south and on ~~the~~ 9 March she called at Niue, where a seaman was sent ashore with a letter requesting medicine for dysentery from the Rev. W.G. Lawes. At the same time the opportunity was taken to kidnap a further 19 men.²¹

From Niue the Rosa kept on heading south for Sunday (or Raoul) Island in the Kermadec Group, which was reached on the 15th. It seems probable that the island was chosen on the advice of the beachcombers Paddy Cooney ~~or Tom Ross~~, who knew the South Seas well; ~~the former at least~~ ^{and} ~~was stated~~ ^{known} to have been still on board. At all events the captain could not have picked a better place, for its population at the time consisted of only four families, numbering 22 men, women and children in all, who were engaged in growing quantities of

potatoes and other vegetables in the fertile volcanic soil, and raising cattle, pigs and fowls, for sale to the whalers who had been accustomed to call there over the years for refreshment and supplies.

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

The object of the slaver visiting Sunday Island was to try and restore the health of his cargo, which must have been very numerous as 300 or more men, women and children that were in a dying state owing to their crowded condition were landed in a most deplorable plight. They were so emaciated and feeble that they could not stand, some not able to crawl. The first launch load that was landed consisted of fifty-three men; only three could stand of the number, three were found dead on reaching the beach, and the residue were hauled out of the boat in the roughest manner to be conceived, and thrown on the beach - some beyond the surf, and others in it. Several were drowned where they were thrown, and eighty died immediately after landed. Some, not having strength to crawl beyond the reach of the tide, were drowned. As soon as some of the others gained a little strength, and were able to move about, they eat almost ^{an} ~~over~~ everything that came in their reach and the consequence was that diarrhoea, flux and cramp seized them and carried them off in numbers. The dead bodies were buried on the beach, in the sand, and when the tide rose and the surf set in all the bodies were disinterred and strewed all over the beach and allowed to remain

as the tide left them. On the 19th April a considerable number of the people had partially recovered, and were able to walk about. Many of them intended to start for the high land, just before the sailing of the barque, and hide themselves; which they can do, as the island is favourable for that purpose. ²²

The captain of the Emily was an old island hand who understood Samoan, including the Tokelau dialect. On going ashore he met several people from Atafu and Nukunono known to him personally, and soon heard from their lips the sad story of their abduction at gun^X-point. He found, too, men and women from Niue, Pukapuka, Manihiki, Easter and other islands, some of whom had been on board since December, and heard accounts which confirm the gist of much that has already been related; they confirm also that the Rosa y Carmen obtained part of her human cargo from ^{with} ~~other~~ ship¹. ²³

At least one ^{visiting whaler} ~~other ship~~ saw the Rosa y Carmen when off Sunday Island, the New Bedford ~~whaler~~ Rainbow, whose Captain Nicholls reported that by the time he arrived there 130 of the islanders had died and only ⁷ ~~30~~ were still alive. ²⁴ The figure of ⁷ ~~30~~ may refer to the number actually ashore; if not it is an underestimate. His opportunity for acquiring accurate information was considerably less than that of the Emily's captain, especially as nothing could be learnt from the crew of the Spanish slaver, which got under way whenever a strange sail was sighted.

While the islanders were recuperating, or dying, ashore at Denham Bay Captain Marutani and his well-armed crew proceeded to appropriate the cattle, pigs, fowls, vegetables and everything else useful belonging to the settlers, with

which he replenished his ship's almost exhausted commissariat for the long voyage to Peru; in return he left them with the germs of the virulent dysentery which had raged on board the Rosa, from which eight of the 22 died, the survivors being taken to Apia on the Emily: 'some families had lost a father, some a mother, and one both father and mother'. As a result of the Rosa's visit Sunday Island was left pillaged and uninhabited.

It is impossible to say exactly how many islanders died at Sunday Island: Lawes says 60 (mainly Pukapukans); the Emily's captain speaks of 80 dying immediately after landing; Captain Nicholls states 130; and another report 'one hundred in a short time from landing'.

the reports

The Rosa y Carmen was said to have had 300 on board her at Tutuila, and again 300 on arrival at Sunday Island after having picked up an additional 19 at Niue. Taking the captain's figure of 300 at Sunday Island as approximately correct, since he had every opportunity of conversing with the people ashore, and subtracting from it the 128 landed at Callao on 10 July (78 men, 35 women and 15 children), we reach a total of 172 deaths, which is probably the best figure obtainable, though some of them would have taken place on board. The Rosa did not leave Sunday Island until 1 May, by which time the epidemic had abated and one may conjecture that with the better food few, if any, died after that date.

If any succeeded in their intention of hiding until the Rosa had gone they must have died on the island, for the Emily sailed before the barque and we have no report of any survivors. A Catholic teacher who knew the captain called out as he left the shore: 'Tell the priests how we suffer, and ask them if they can do nothing for us'.²⁵

We are able to catch a further glimpse of the Rosa y Carmen on her way to Callao, for she called at Pitcairn Island at a time when it was deserted except for Moses and Mayhew Young, with their wives and 12 children, who had returned there in January 1859 from Norfolk Island, where the whole community had migrated three years before. Captain Marutani came ashore, saying that he wanted a load of sugar-cane for some 'slaves' ^{whom} which he was returning to their homes.

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

Numbers of poor natives of different ages, from quite young children to men and women in and beyond middle life, many of whom were entirely naked, were crowded into the close and stifling hold of the ship. Those who were not entirely naked had a waistcloth only for their covering. All seemed sad, ^{and} their countenances bore the trace of ^{much} sorrow, and had a look of hopeless misery. The atmosphere of the place where the poor natives were confined was very unwholesome from want of fresh

air, and many of the slaves were suffering from a distressing cough that shook their frames. The captain told them that he was going to the Gambier Islands, on his way to restore the poor creatures to their homes. 26

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

Easter Island had gained such an unsavoury reputation as a recruiting ground that it is not surprising that the Pitcairn Islanders should have obtained the impression later that the people they saw must have come from there: some may have, of course, since there were 63 Easter Islanders on board her when she left that island ~~XXXXX~~ over five months before her call at Pitcairn late in May or early in June; but there had been many more kidnapped by the Rosa since that date - from Rakahanga, Pukapuka, Atafu, Nukunono, Fakaofu, ~~Nukulaelae~~, Funafuti and Niue - and many had died.

It is clear from this unsavoury story that even by the standards of ~~XXX~~ his Callao employers Captain Marutani, though regarded by himself and his fellow captains as the doyen of the Peruvian slaver captains, in fact showed gross

commercial ineptitude. In grasping for inordinate profits he took unwarranted risks with his human capital and in the end lost everything; for ^{as a result of the detour to} ~~apart from the~~ ~~carnage at~~ Sunday Island he arrived back in Callao over half a year after leaving it, and by that time the trade was at an end and the 128 recruits still left alive were forbidden to land. But the denouement must await another chapter.

¹ W.G. Lawes, quoted in SMH 19.6.63:4-5.

² Cowan 1936:52.

³ MT 27.6.63:125; Murray, Journal, 1866, SSJ.

⁴ El Comercio 18.9.62.

⁵ Cowan 1936:53, -4.

⁶ El Peruano 30.3.63; for irons on the Serpiente Marina and Manuelita Costas see Barton to FO, 29.4.62, FO 61/203; MT 28.2.63:33; SMH 4.4.63.

⁷ Barton to FO, 23.12.62, FO 61/204; MT 28.2.63:37, 21.3.63:57, 4.4.63:77; Williams to FO, 19.6.64, FO 58/102.

⁸ Miller to FO, 29.11.62, TBCP, v.10; Jerningham to FO, 26.2.63, FO 61/210; MT 14.3.63:50, 4.4.63:77.

⁹ Cloughogue 1940:50.

10 MT 28.2.63:35.

11 MT 28.2.63:39; Moss 1889:105-8.

12 The letters are written in good Castilian Spanish and dated Bucobuco, February 10th 1863 - the originals are preserved in the LMS Archives at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

13 Cowan 1936:53.

14 Report on Supreme Court review of the Empresa case, 9.10.63, etc., MFA; Richards to Kingcome, 8.5.63, Adm.1/5826; Bird to LMS, 29.5.63, SSL; Williams to FO, 19.6.64, FO 58/102.

15 Cowan 1936:52; MT 28.2.63:39; Williams to FO, 19.6.64, KXXS FO 58/102; Domingo Valles (?) to Captain of the Port of Callao, 29.4.63, MFA.

16 Jerningham to FO, 26.2.63, ^{GSP} ~~BR~~ Parliament 1864:16.

For 17 see over the page
→
18 ~~17~~ Cowan 1936:54. ✓

19 ~~18~~ The Empire 9.7.63:5. ✓

20 ~~19~~ Bird to LMS, 29.5.63, SSL; see also p. ✓

21 ~~20~~ Samuela to Murray, 31.3.63, quoted in SMH 11.6.63:5; see also p. ✓

22 ~~21~~ SMH 21.8.63:7. ✓

23 ~~22~~ It seems probable that the Manihiki people seen were taken from Rakahanga, as the communities formed a single unit until 1852 and the closely related groups still commuted freely between the two islands; see p.

17 ~~23~~ It was said to be 'a fearful scourge which resembles cholera, taking off its victims in two or three hours'
- SMH 25.7.63:7. ✓

24 Letter from W. W. Gill, ^{17.63,} SMH 13.10.63:3.

2/5 The most detailed account of the Rosa y Carmen's visit to Sunday Island is to be found in the SMH 21.8.63:7, most of it being reproduced in Rhodes [1936]:II:64-5; there is important supplementary information in the SMH 25.7.63:7, and Lawes to LMS, 21.7.63, SSL. See also Smith 1903:87-8; the Weekly Review and Messenger 1.8.63; and the Anti-Slavery Reporter 1.12.63:277ff; while there are rather inaccurate references to the incident in Sterndale 1874:45; Dunbabin 1935:9; and Morton 1957:23. Elsie Morton does, however, establish that the islanders were landed at Denham Bay.

26
25 Young 1894:137, 168-70.

1 Lubbock 1931:102. Lubbock calls the ship by another name but it is quite clear from his account that he is referring to the Rosa y Carmen.

2 (as in 17).

3 (as in 20)

4 (as in 22).

5 (as in 23)

6 (as in 24)

7 SMH 21.8.63:7.

8 (as in 25).

9 (as in 26).

10 Jennings to FO 28.1.63, FO 61/210.

11 El Peruano 2.5.63:200; ↑

Minute of Foreign Affairs to Minister of Govt. 2.5.63, MFA; SMH 10.9.64,
'The seizure of the Guano Islands by Spain'.

12 Novo y Colson 1882:124-5.

Table I lists the ³² ships engaged in the labour trade, 27 of them being under Peruvian registry, four Chilean and one Spanish. Among the penalties placed by the Chilean Government on those taking part in what was regarded as slavery operations several Chilean ships were purchased by Peruvian interests and transferred to the Peruvian registry, among them being the Ardeante (formerly the Chilean David Thomas¹) and the Bruta (formerly the Chilean ~~Arce~~ Arce²).

The average tonnage of the 30 vessels for which we have a record is 192, only one of them (the Empress de Vera) being a frigate, with 14 barges (average 213 tons) headed by the acknowledged flagship of the fleet, the 402 ton Rosa y Carmen, 11 brigs (average 195 tons) and six schooners (average 123 tons). It has proved impossible to distinguish between brigs and bergantines since the ships classed as bergantines by the Peruvians were ~~rather~~ termed brigs by the French and British. Barges and schooners on the other hand can be readily identified even though one was ~~referred~~ called trou-à-net and brig-goulette in Tahiti.

Notes of caption in identifier of nationality as transliterated
also the American Grammar James Gresson

² MT 27.6.63:125

¹ Minute for Foreign Affairs, Chile, to British Chargé d'Affaires, Vera, 15.10.62, enclosed in FO to Adm., 3.1.63, Adm. 1/5850.

Shambles on Sunday

Among the heterogeneous medley of vessels which composed the recruiting fleet there was one which by general consent was acknowledged to be the flagship, ^{with} her captain ^{was} the commander. The 402-ton Rosa y Carmen was not only by far the largest ship to engage in the trade - the Esperanza was the only other over 300 tons - but she was by all accounts a beautiful-looking clipper lugger 'of the true slover type', heavily armed and remarkably fast.

Her Captain Marutani ^{either the captain of the first cutter of buccannier of name.} was in keeping with his ship: described as 'a terrible ogre with one eye', ~~she~~ was usually seen carrying a gun, several revolvers and a bowie-knife, he was a swashbuckling ruffian who braved no interference from any side either ashore or aboard. Like most of his merely Spanish officers and crew of twenty, he was rumored to have staved his time in the African slave trade; at all events he made little attempt to obtain his recruits by persuasion, preferring to round them up at gun-point and stow them 'twice-decks fettered in ward.

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

His kidnapping attempts were, however, foiled by the French force at Mangrove; the terrain at Rapa and the reef passage at Ralabanga; and it was not until Pukapuka that, unwittingly awaiting the arrival of a beachcomber, he obtained 60 real recruits. In the Tokelaws he made his main haul by kidnapping

and many had died.

The Rosa y Carmen arrived off Callao Harbour on 10 July, seven months and three days after she had left the port. It was the longest voyage made by any of the remaining fleet and she had touched at nine islands. The 63 Easter Islanders taken on board on 23 December had been in her hold for over six and a half months, cramped without adequate light, air or sanitation, starved and naked, with part of the time a virulent epidemic of dysentery raging on board followed by pulmonary infection. It was the most voyage in the history of the colour trade; and one wonders if indeed any of the earliest captives to embark could be still alive.

But the drama was not yet ended. With the return of the Carlota and Hermana Delores with their 282 captives from the December raid at Easter Island news of the Rosa y Carmen's leading part in the exploit had spread through the Callao waterfront and was eventually reported in the leading Peruvian newspaper EL Comercio. The French Chargé d'Affaires was pressing for action against the perpetration of atrocities against the islanders and particularly against those under French protection.

When the trade was abolished on April 28th no ship could disembark islanders without a special licence to be granted only when it was clear that they had been voluntarily engaged and that no crimes had been committed during the voyage. In May 1 the Ministry ordered the Captains of all Peruvian fleets to put the Rosa y Carmen incommunicado on her

a further 136 islanders, of which 80 were ^{rescued} ~~transferred~~ ^{officers} transferred from his steamer tender, the
 tug Neacola Mermaid. When the Rosa left the Tokelau Group she therefore
 had 266 passengers on board, including seven boys picked up off the reef at
 Rakobanga.

Five men were ^{taken} picked up at sea while en route to Tutuila for water
 but by now Captain Muntario's big-headed obstinacy in ^{holding} ~~keeping~~ on board several
 islanders ^{at Fakaofu} suffering from acute infectious dysentery had begun to turn his ship
 into a pest-house. At Tutuila, furthermore, the Rosa's Camerio's Cashes ...
 they were still alive. After an abortive attempt to procure 200 more recruits
 by force at Tau, in the Manua'a Group, the Rosa's course was therefore ...

The Rosa's Camerio was said to have had ... an additional 19 at Niue.
 These were mostly estimates, however, and we now know that on the assumption that
 no one had died on board the more exact figures would have been 265
 and 284. But with dysentery raging on the vessel we cannot make
 such an assumption and the best that can be done is to subtract from the
 284 (the maximum number ^{she would have been} on board after leaving Fakaofu) the total of 128
 (78 men, 35 women and 15 children) who were alive when she arrived
 at Callao. The resulting figure of 156 may ^{readily be taken to be} the number of deaths
 during the voyage and while most of them would undoubtedly have
 taken place ^{on off} at Sunday Island it is likely that some had died on board
 before her arrival. The Rosa did not leave Sunday Island after
 that date.

armed. But look now on Captain Montano's side for there was friction between Peru and Spain and the following year the Spanish naval squadron was to seize the Chincha Islands with their valuable guano deposits which produced three-fifths of Peru's revenue.

Meanwhile the Spanish ^{its commander, Admiral Pizarro,} squadron was at Callao and ~~was~~ ^{was} to ~~warn~~ ^{warned} the Captain that a French vessel entering in the harbour was prepared to arrest him and seize his ship under the pretext that he had caused death and violence to French protected islanders. Seeing one of the French ships get under way he prepared his squadron for action, whereupon the French warship was ordered to return and the Rosa entered in the harbour.

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

Captain Montano may have succeeded in vindicating his character and conduct. But his 126 recruits were nevertheless not allowed to land and for the standpoint of his Callao employers, who were in the business for profits, however gained, he had shown gross commercial ineptitude. In obstinately grasping for indefinite profits he had taken unaccounted with his human cargo he had lost 55% through death

The role of the

5 Pablo Gamero, quoted in Barton to FO 23.12.62, FO 61/204.

6 The Trujillo is perhaps a doubtful case, but it seems certain that the ~~RAKAHANGANS~~ nature of their employment was misrepresented to the Rakahangans and probable that the Niueans were told nothing at all - not even where they going to - Gill to LMS 18.3.63, SSL; Jerningham to FO 9.2.63, FO 61/210.

1.50

3 11.50 - 23.00

Thirty Pieces of Silver

If the Europeans in Tahiti were united in their opposition to the Penamoa below trade their antipathy was not necessarily shared by the few whites living on the islands where the recruits sought their living targets. Indeed, the role of the local European residents in

156 out of 284 55¢

and arrived back too late to sell off the remainder. The voyage of the Rosa y Larra was, in short, a dead loss.

them in the rural areas, when the powerful hacendados were a law
into themselves.

③
No particular form, however, was laid down by the government so the
contracts as drawn up by different companies and entrepreneurs varied

Stewart 1951: 19, 42-4.

Stewart 1951: 137, quoting Zagona 1872. For Chinese contracts see /

①

The contracts were on all essential points similar to those signed by Chinese coolies, on which they were no doubt based. ③

... in detail as it will be seen from the English and Spanish specimens reproduced in Appendix ... The stipulates that a free passage to Peru will be provided but English language contract, for example, permits any indentured to provide clothing, though this was usually, if not invariably, supplied. The generally no loan or Spanish contract, on the other hand, provides for the receipt of passage expenses and clothing from the lender. But there is no point in interpreting the contracts literally as legal documents for, as a Peruvian authority points out, the government had ^{in any case} no power to enforce

Chapter

Callao Reception ^{contracts}

'At last', Taole tells us, 'the dreadful voyage came to an end. The ships reached a far-stretching land, with great mountains rising inland, a vast bare land, in no way like our islands of the ocean.' In common with all but a handful of the Polynesians taken to Peru, he had reached the main Peruvian port of Callao, known to many other kidnapped islanders like himself as 'the gate of hell'.¹

On arrival the recruit would have found, if anyone could have explained it to him, that he had undergone a change in legal status and was now officially designated a colonist: one who had come voluntarily to Peru, presumably to better his condition in life. To this end he had signed a transferable contract to serve as a 'cultivator, gardener, shepherd, a servant, or labourer in general' for a specified monthly wage and for a stated period of years sufficient to enable his employer to recoup the cost of purchasing it. On the expiration of this^e contract period he was in theory free to return to his island if he so wished, subject to some means of transport being available and to his having saved sufficient money to pay for his passage. Alternatively, and as the Government hoped, he could continue to live in Peru as a free citizen.²

① →

① →

The contract was supposed to be signed by the intending colonist at the time of recruitment and by the captain of the ship on behalf of the consignees in Peru, who were usually also the owners or charterers. When granting the first immigration license to Byrne it was stipulated that the recruit's signature or mark should be witnessed by an agent authorized by the Government ^{— but} and appointed ^{and hand by} ~~at the expense of~~ the licensee.³ More importantly it was laid down that colonists should not be permitted to land until the port authorities were satisfied that the provisions of Article I of the law of 14 March 1861 had been observed and, in particular, that they had been engaged 'with their own spontaneous wish, by the persons in whose service they are to be employed' and that none were 'transferred to other persons without their consent'.⁴

On subsequent voyages the requirement that authorized agents should be carried to witness the signing of contracts at the time of engagement does not appear to have been insisted on. It was, in fact, an idea suggested by Byrne himself and, as critics pointed out, it afforded little protection to the recruits since it was unlikely that an employee of the charterer would exercise any serious check on recruiting procedures. George Dunian of the Empresa, the only agent who is known to have objected to islanders being kidnapped, was marooned at the next island visited and nearly lost his life as a consequence.⁵

①

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

¹ Kinyere to Admiralty 27.4.63, Adm. 1/5826.

① → The examination and verification of contracts by the harbour authorities at Callao, if conscientiously carried out by ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ cross-questioning the recruits through a competent interpreter, would have soon^m led to the discovery that nine-tenths of them had been tricked or forced into leaving their islands and had little or no knowledge of the purport of the document, written in Spanish and occasionally also in English, which they had been told to put a mark on often long after they came on board.⁶ ② In any case the simple cross which was considered sufficient was a guarantee of nothing: not even that the recruit whose name appeared on the contract had actually made it.

In point of fact, and despite repeated injunctions by the Lima authorities, the subordinate officers at Callao who had to supervise the immigration regulations made no serious attempt to enforce them: 'the only justification for this legal farce was the insistence of the Peruvian Government that if Polynesian settlers were introduced, ^{it} ~~this internment~~ was to be at least accompanied by certain procedures that gave it a lawful appearance.'⁷ ~~and Cantuarias, the Chilean Consul, was told frankly by one of them that 'in view of the lack of manpower in Peru and the impossibility of forcing shipowners to repatriate unlawfully captured settlers, it was admissible to allow the traffic to continue free from obstacles that would hinder it uselessly.'~~⁷

sket

(2) 'It may, I am sure be safely assumed,' wrote the British Consul in Tahiti, 'that not one of the Islanders obtained will possess anything approaching a clear knowledge either as to where he is going, or as to the length or description of servitude to which he may be deaving himself, than what his cursa at the bottom of one of these so-called contracts.'

⁶ Miller to FO 29.11.62, TBCP v.10.

Only one case has been found where the Government ordered an enquiry into a charge of fraud used in recruiting a particular individual. This involved an Easter Islander named Corique who was a passenger on the Bella Margarita and had been allegedly tricked into recruiting by being told by Don Juan N. Delgado that he was only being taken away so that he could return with large supplies of food. Should the charge be proved the Prefect of Callao was directed to arrange for Corique to be returned to Easter Island and the guilty parties prosecuted. *Other cases are not strictly comparable: for instance* the better-known Oaca affair concerned a Tahitian said to have been *kidnapped by the captain of* smuggled on board the *Teresea* ~~Eliza Mason~~ at Paita in Peru itself, to act as interpreter on a labour cruise; while the Empresa prosecution *dealt with* concerned the activities of the frigate throughout its stay in the Marquesas. ⁸

As early as December 1862 El Comercio ^① *argued that* the Polynesian immigrants were legally disqualified from negotiating contracts and that those completed in their names were invalid: why is it, the journal asked, 'that no one helps and protects them?'. Three months later El Comercio was again stating its conviction that the first Polynesian who claimed before a competent Court that his contract was null and void would gain a favourable verdict both for himself and his fellow colonists, since the official contention that they were perfectly free to dispose of their labour under agreed conditions for an agreed term was incorrect; for actually the islanders had no understanding of the obligations imposed on them by their

① Led me to the conclusion that the Polynesian immigrants
were attracted aboard ships by hunger and curiosity and
later sold for whatever prices and periods of service could be
obtained without their understanding the terms of the
contracts which decided their fate. The journal argued
convincingly that the colonists were legally deposed.

by their contracts, what forced labour for four, six or eight years implied, how much their passage ^{were} was valued at or how they were to pay for them. This applied to all contracts, whether the islanders were required to sign them at their island of embarkation or in Peru, ^{and a fortiori where} ~~or~~ their signatures or marks ^{had been} ~~were~~ forged for them. 9

The argument was an academic one for how was any Polynesian to obtain the necessary permission, funds, expertise and leisure to test his rights in a court of law, in the unlikely event of his being told that he had any? What happened in practice on arrival at Callao was that the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ captain and labour consignee took the necessary steps to satisfy the port authorities that all legal formalities had been complied with, and in particular the provisions of the law of 14 March 1862, and the immigrants were then, if not already disposed of, sold to the highest bidders.

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

Obviously the infections were contracted on the pier rather than the ship, but wherever held the object was to assess

(1)

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

Stuart 1951: 81, quoting 'Treford' in the South Pacific Times 27.5.73.

In some instances ^{part} or all of the immigrants on board had been consigned in advance. Byrne, for example, had contracted to procure colonists for Juan Manuel Ugarte, who took delivery on behalf of a consortium of investors.

^a But Again this commercial procedure made little difference to the immigrants for the contractor would normally resell them at a profit, as witness the evidence of Antonio Guerra who affirmed that when in Callao he went on board the Adelante: 'and there I saw ^e dealers selecting natives and paying 3,000, 2,000 ^(388 and 291) and 1,500 ¹⁰ francs for them according to their sex, age and strength'.

~~Converting Guerra's figures at five francs to the dollar~~ ~~they~~ seem a bit inflated, for the officially quoted prices obtained for the first shipment of colonists on the Adelante were \$200 for men, \$150 for women and \$100 for boys, it being stipulated that families should not be split up by buyers; while the first consignment from Easter Island by the Bella Margarita fetched an average price of \$300, nearly all being men. As the unsuitability of the Polynesians for manual labour under conditions obtaining in Peru became apparent, however, prices dropped and it was said that the last colonists to be permitted to land, in April 1863, were virtually unsaleable. "

While the payments were nominally to cover the cost of the colonists' passages, at least in the case of the early shipments they clearly provided a handsome profit to the entrepreneur for the admittedly high risks involved in the

trade. This is well shown by the fact that ^{immediately} after the Adelante sale Don Juan C. Vives offered to procure similar cargoes for only 100 pesos (or approximately \$100) a head. Since the contract period was meant to be sufficiently long for the immigrants to refund the cost of their passages by working for the employer who had bought ^{them} ~~their~~ contracts, as well as allowing for a small monthly wage, a lower passage charge should, if the colonists had been treated fairly, have been to their advantage by reducing the time necessary for them to serve as contract workers.¹²

Unfortunately practice differed from legal principles, for if in passing through the ~~the~~ Callao immigration formalities the islander had become legally a colonist, for all practical purposes he had now also become a slave; since however disguised by legal terminology embodied in enactments which were not and, given the circumstances, could not be enforced, the Polynesian labour trade was in fact a slave trade; and was soon recognized as such both within and outside Peru. As early as December 1862, when only two ships had arrived with Polynesian colonists, an article in the Valparaiso El Mercurio termed the importations 'a real slave trade', since 'to give an appearance of lawfulness and to comply outwardly with the regulations of the Peruvian Government, they are, by deceit, made to sign contracts they do not understand', and the islanders in reality 'know neither where they are going nor the work they are destined for'. A letter written from Papeete and published in Lima ~~pointed out that: 'The Polynesian immigration to Peru is,~~

pointed out that: 'The Polynesian emigrant, like the negro, is ignorant of his destination; like the negro he is sold, and like the negro he has no real interference in the contract which is realized upon his person'; and El Comercio agreed that the Polynesian labour trade 'is being converted into a true ~~"trata"~~ ^[trata], or slave-trade'. 13

Many quotations such as these could be adduced from official and unofficial sources in Britain, France, Australia, the Pacific Islands, Chile and Peru itself, proving without doubt that contemporary opinion, other than that of the Peruvian Government, considered the recruitment of Polynesians as much a slave trade as the antecedent traffic in negroes from West Africa to America. Perhaps it is sufficient, however, to quote the Oxford English Dictionary ^{definition} of slave as 'One who is the property of, and entirely subject to, another person, whether by capture, purchase, or birth; a servant completely divested of freedom and personal rights': if we substitute 'deceit' for 'birth' this is an exact description of the status of the Polynesian colonists in Peru.

a fine "trata" or slave-trade;

and is being converted into

- 1 Cowan 1936:54-5. All but 197 recruits from the islands arrived at Callao, the exceptions being 36 mainly Marquesan recruits landed at Huacho from the Empresa, and 161 Gilbertese on the Ellen Elizabeth who arrived at Lambayeque and were repatriated without landing.
- 2 Contracts varied in their form and substance: a facsimile of one signed by Captain Sasuategui of the Eliza Mason is reproduced in Fig. ... and translated in App. ...; while the English version of another, which was published in Spanish and English, will be found in GBP 1864:9.
- 3 SMH 24.6.63. Paz Soldan to de Lesseps, 5.11.62, quoted in the
- 4 El Peruano 25.6.62, 20.9.62, quoted in GBP 1864:8; for the text of the law of 14 March 1861 see p.
- 5 SMH 14.4.63:5.
- 6 ^{7.3.} MT 14.4.63:43, 28.3.63:68. Pitman, the supercargo of the Rosa Patricia, stated in Apia that the kidnapped Niue Islanders on board 'had not yet signed any papers, but he would make them do so before they reached the Peruvian coast'; on the other hand the British Consul at Callao was told that many on the Trujillo could write, 'and that all those who could, have individually their own contracts in their possession'. - Gill to LMS, 18.3.63, SSL; Robertson to Jerningham, 11.1.63, GBP 1864:6.
- 7 Min. of Govt. to Prefect of Callao, 15.9.62, MFA; 17.9.62, GBP 1864:8; Zegarra 1872:32, App.17; Paz Soldan to Min. of Govt., 14.11.62, MFA; ~~Min. of Govt. to Prefect of Callao, 4.12.62, MFA~~; El Peruano 25.6.62, 3.2.63, 20.2.63, 2.5.63; Decree of 20.12.62 in GBP 1864:9; Véliz 1961:150. 4.12.62,
- 8 Min. of Govt. to Prefect of Callao, 4.12.62, MFA; De Lesseps to Ribeyro, 20.3.63, in El Peruano 27.3.63:160; Ribeyro to de Lesseps, 12.6.63, MFA; Ribeyro to President of Supreme Court, 15.6.63, MFA.
- 9 El Comercio 3.3.63.
- 10 El Comercio 18.9.62; El Peruano 30.3.63, Min. of Foreign Affairs, Doc.10.

- 11 Barton to FO, 11.10.62, FO 61/204; Reid to C. in C., Pacific Station, 28.11.62, TBCP, v.5; Ribeyro to Min. of Govt., 28.7.63, MFA; Jerningham to FO, 29.5.63, GBP 1864:30.
- 12 El Comercio 18.9.62, 10.10.62; Peru 1862:324; Mackenna 1862, quoted in Véliz 1961:149.
- 13 Véliz 1961:149; El Comercio 8.2.63, quoted in Jerningham to FO, 9.2.63, GBP:12.